

JOHN DONNE AND MUSIC

by

MARY ELAINE SIGMON NELSON

VOLUME I
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College of Arts and Law
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores John Donne's engagement with music through his life, writing and the setting of his lyrics to music. It argues that Donne was more involved with music than previously thought. Donne's encounter with music appears to have begun at a young age, fostered at home, nurtured through relationships (family, friends, patrons, peers) and shaped by experiences (listening to music, playing music, and commissioning music when Dean of St. Paul's). Examples of musical references and figurative language in Donne's poetry and prose reveal a musically trained mind. Donne's social and professional connections with the foremost composers and musicians of his time establish his association with key figures in early modern English musical culture. My analysis of the surviving repertoire of seventeenth-century musical settings of Donne's poetry explores the relationship of those settings to literary and musical genres, and to broader social and cultural contexts in early modern England and Europe. Significant changes in musical style and literary taste in the culture of the period are reflected in the different ways in which Donne's poems were set to music. The musical settings of Donne's poetry also show how characteristic features of his verse – rhythmical, thematic, and imagistic counterpoint and even discord – are refashioned and re-presented in musical performance. The considerable number of Donne's poems that were set to music by composers evince the impact his lyric poetry had on the musical culture of the early to mid-seventeenth century. Based on manuscript and printed evidence, I argue that Donne's affinity for music is most evident in those of his lyric poems titled, in manuscript and print, as 'Songes' or 'Songs', melodic lyrics that were meant to be sung as well as read. By situating this group of poems in the context of early seventeenth-century English musical culture and performance, this thesis prompts us to re-

evaluate our reading of Donne's 'Songes/Songs,' our view of Donne's engagement with musical culture, and indeed of his musicality.

DEDICATION

For every woman who never had the opportunity
to receive an education and pursue her dreams,
I sing from a 'room of one's own'.

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ORTHOGRAPHY, CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Orthography and Conventions

Early modern text quotations are presented as closely as possible to their original punctuation, spelling and spacing. Accent marks, circumflexes and ligatures have been preserved in the text and in the music. Abbreviations have been expanded or explained. Deleted words are indicated by hyphens.

Before the change in England, Wales and Ireland in 1752 from the Julian calendar (Old Style) to the Gregorian (New Style) calendar, 25 March was the legal start of the year (6 April in the new calendar). All dates in this thesis from English sources (unless otherwise indicated) are English Old Style (Julian calendar, except that the beginning of the new year is taken to be 1 January). This makes Donne's birth year 1572. The dating of manuscript material in this thesis has been determined by available textual sources and current documentary evidence. The spelling of names and citing of birth and death dates have been taken directly from the source or from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Biblical quotations are taken from the King James Version of *The Holy Bible*, translated from the version published in 1611.

Modern Humanities Research Association textual formatting and referencing was followed in the writing of this thesis. Photographs of musical settings are presented in Appendices, Volume II. Discoveries, supplementary materials, and charts that provide further supporting context are included in the Appendices and outlined in the Table of Contents.

The Appendices also include my own audio recordings of each musical setting of Donne's verse. These recorded performances are informed by my understanding of seventeenth-century musical notation. The songs are *a cappella* and the tempo is faster than they may have been sung with a lute. My performance of the hymns and anthems reflects the solemnity of the religious

services of which they would have formed a part. These vocal choices seek to do justice to the beauty and inventiveness of the musical settings and free Donne's lyric to be heard and enjoyed anew.

Note on Sources and Text

Poems, letters, and other prose

Donne's only autograph poem known to have survived is the verse epistle written to Lady Carey, housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Eng. poet. d. 197).¹ Three printed editions of Donne's collected poems, 1633, 1635 and 1669, were consulted through the Digital Facsimile Editions from *Digital Donne, The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (8 vols, in 11 parts).² The *Donne Variorum* is a newly edited critical text based on comprehensive analysis of all known manuscript and consequential print sources of Donne's poetry.³ As they became available, *Donne Variorum* volumes were used throughout this thesis to quote Donne's poetry. In addition to the *Donne Variorum* editions of the *Songs and Sonnets* (2017, 2020, 2021), I drew upon modern editions of Donne's poetry where relevant, edited by Robin Robbins (2010), John T. Shawcross (1967) and Herbert J. C. Grierson (1912).⁴ Edmund Gosse (1899) and Henry

¹ Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, Vol. I: 1450-1625 (London: Mansell Publishing, 1980), pp. 397-98.

² *Digital Donne: The Online Variorum* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) <https://digitaldonne.dh.tamu.edu>

³ *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (8 vols in 11 parts), eds. Gary A. Stringer (1981-2014) and Jeffrey S. Johnson (2014-2022) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), consists of Vol. 1 (*Digital Donne*) (2010), Vol. 2 *The Elegies* (2000), Vol. 3 *The Satyres* (2016), Vol. 4.1 *The Songs and Sonnets: Topical and General Commentary* (2017), Vol. 4.2 *The Songs and Sonnets* (2021), Vol. 4.3 *The Songs and Sonnets* (2022), Vol. 5 *The Verse Letters* (2019), Vol. 6 *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (1995), Vol. 7.1 *The Holy Sonnets* (2005), Vol. 7.2 *Divine Poems* (2021), and Vol. 8 *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems* (1995).

⁴ *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010); *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. by John T. Shawcross (New York: Doubleday, 1967); *The Poems of John Donne: Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts with Introductions & Commentary*, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1912).

Alford (1869) were also consulted.⁵ The musical settings and musical commentary provided in editions of Donne's poetry by Dame Helen Gardner and Herbert J. C. Grierson were very helpful.⁶

Thirty-eight of Donne's original prose letters are extant.⁷ For the purposes of this thesis, I consulted the facsimile of Donne's 1651 *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, edited by M. T. Hester, and I quoted from *1654 Prose Letters* digitised on the *Donne Variorum* website and from *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*.⁸ *A Collection of Letters made by Sr Tobie Mathews Kt* (1660) was also used and a number of unpublished letters later printed by Edmund Gosse in *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899).⁹

⁵ Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899); *The Works of John Donne*, ed. by Henry Alford, 6 vols, (London: J.W. Parker, 1839).

⁶ *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965); *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Grierson (1912).

⁷ Beal, *Index*, I, 243-44.

⁸ *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (1651), ed. by John Donne, Jr. Facsimile (Hildesheim and New York, 1974; ed. by M.T. Hester, New York, 1977); *Letters*, [Wing D 1865] first edition, second issue (TxAM copy). Title: *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (London, 1654; *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005).

⁹ *A Collection of Letters made by Sr Tobie Mathews. with a Character of the most Excellent Lady, Lucy Countess of Carlisle / by the Same Author. to which are Added Many Letters of His Own to several Persons of Honour / Published by J. Donne* (London, 1692); Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899). For an explication of the printed texts of Donne's correspondence, see *Keynes*, pp. 133-59.

Paradoxes and Problems, Biathanatos (c. 1608),¹⁰ *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610),¹¹ *Ignatius His Conclave* (1611),¹² *Essays in Divinity* (1614),¹³ and *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624),¹⁴ were quoted from scholarly editions of Donne's prose.¹⁵

Sermons

Donne's sermons were quoted from volumes of *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, where available¹⁶; otherwise, *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson was used (see Bibliography).

¹⁰ John Donne, *Biathanatos*, ed. by Ernest W. Sullivan, II (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984).

¹¹ John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

¹² John Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. by Timothy Healy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

¹³ John Donne, *Essays in Divinity*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

¹⁴ John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

¹⁵ *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. by Helen Peters, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); *Selected Prose*, eds. Evelyn Simpson et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967); *John Donne Dean of St. Paul's Complete and Selected Prose*, ed. by John Hayward (London: The Nonesuch Press, 1929); and *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions and Death's Duel with The Life of Dr. John Donne by Izaak Walton*, preface by Andrew Motion (New York: Random House, 1999).

¹⁶ *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, gen. eds Peter McCullough and David Colclough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013-). At the time of writing, four volumes had been published: Vol. I, *Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts, 1615-1619*, ed. by Peter McCullough (2015); Vol. III, *Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I*, ed. by David Colclough (2013); Vol. V, *Sermons Preached at Lincoln's Inn, 1620-1623*, ed. by Katrin Ettenhuber (2015); Vol. XII, *Sermons Preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, 1626*, ed. by Mary Ann Lund (2017).

Abbreviations

Ashmole	Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford
Bald	R. C. Bald, <i>John Donne: A Life</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970)
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale of France, Paris
Bodl	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCLO	Christ Church Library and Archives, University of Oxford
CELM	<i>Catalogue of Early Literary Manuscripts</i> (1450-1700), ed. by Peter Beal (created 2005-2013), the online version of the <i>Index of English Literary Manuscripts</i> (4 vols in 9 parts) ed. by Peter Beal (London: Mansell Publishing, 1980-1993); https://celm.ms.org.uk
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>Digital Donne</i>	<i>Digital Donne: The Online Variorum</i> (2005) (updated August 2023) http://donnevariorum.dh.tamu.edu/
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> https://proquest.com/eebo
FMC	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Gardner	<i>The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne</i> , ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965)
Gosse	Edmund Gosse, <i>The Life and Letters of John Donne</i> , 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899)
Grierson	<i>The Poems of John Donne: Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts with Introductions & Commentary</i> , ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1912)
Grove	<i>A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1889) by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes</i> , ed. by Sir George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1899); <i>Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online</i> https://oxfordmusiconline.com
Guildhall	Guildhall Library, London
Houghton	Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Huntington	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California
KCC	King's College, Cambridge
Keynes	Keynes, Geoffrey, <i>A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne</i> , 4 th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
<i>Letters</i>	John Donne, <i>Letters to Severall Persons of Honour</i> (1651), ed. by John Donne, Jr. Facsimile (Hildesheim and New York, 1974; ed. by M.T. Hester, New York, 1977)
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London
<i>Marriage Letters</i>	<i>John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library</i> , ed. with an Introduction by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005)
mm.	Metronome marking
NA	National Archives, Kew, Surrey (formerly the Public Record Office)
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004); <i>ODNB</i> online https://oxforddnb.com
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , ed. by J. A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); <i>OED</i> online https://oed.com
<i>OESJD</i>	<i>The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne</i> , gen. eds Peter McCullough and David Colclough, 16 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013-)
<i>Poems</i> (1633)	John Donne, <i>Poems, by J.D. with elegies on the authors death</i> (London, 1633)
<i>Poems</i> (1635)	John Donne, <i>Poems, by J.D. with elegies on the authors death</i> (London, 1635)
<i>Poems</i> (1669)	John Donne, <i>Poems, &c. by John Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's with Elegies on the Authors Death. To which is added Divers Copies under his own hand, never before printed</i> (London, 1669)
(REED N-E)	<i>Records of Early English Drama North-East</i>

Robert Alexander, 'Percy Family Accounts', *REED* Pre-publication Collections (2018), 1-34
<<http://community.dur.ac.uk/reed.ne/wp-content/uploads/Percies-Pre-publication.12.12-1.pdf>>

- RISM* *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (International Inventory of Musical Sources). This online publication made possible through a partnership between the Bavarian State Library (Munich), the State Library of Berlin and *RISM*. Sponsoring international professional associations: JAML (International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres and IMS (International Musicological Society).
<https://rism.online>
- Sermons* *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62)
- SHC Surrey History Centre, Woking, Surrey
- STC* *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, first compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, vol. 3, printers' & publishers' index, other indexes & appendices, cumulative addenda & corrigenda by Katharine F. Pantzer, with a chronological index compiled by Philip R. Rider, rev. edn (London: Bibliographical Society, 1991)
- TCC Trinity College, Cambridge
- TCD Trinity College, Dublin
- Tenbury Tenbury Wells, St Michael's College Library [in Bodl]
- Tobie Mathews* Sir Tobie Matthews, *A Collection of Letters made by Sr Tobie Mathews. with a Character of the most Excellent Lady, Lucy Countess of Carlisle / by the Same Author. to which are Added Many Letters of His Own to several Persons of Honour / Published by J. Donne* (London, 1692)
- TTU Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas
- UNC University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- UoE University of Edinburgh

<i>Variorum</i>	<i>The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne</i> (8 vols, in 11 parts), eds. Gary A. Stringer (1981-2014) and Jeffrey S. Johnson (2014-2022) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981-2023)
Walton, <i>Lives</i>	Izaak Walton, <i>The Lives of Dr John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert</i> , 4 th edn (1675)
Yale	Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, New Haven CT

Journals

<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>EMLS</i>	<i>Early Modern Literary Studies</i>
<i>GHJ</i>	<i>George Herbert Journal</i>
<i>JDJ</i>	<i>John Donne Journal: Studies in the Age of Donne</i>
<i>L&T</i>	<i>Literature and Theology</i>
<i>M&L</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900</i>

INTRODUCTION

Toward the end of R. C. Bald's *Life of John Donne*, still the standard biography half a century on from its publication, Bald quietly remarks, 'Not much is known about Donne's interest in music'.¹ This is an underwhelming assertion but one that accurately represents what has been the general consensus among Donne scholars to date. To reinforce his point, Bald states that there is little documentary evidence of Donne's interest in music. He makes the customary comparison with George Herbert, and notes the significant and well-documented place that music occupied in Herbert's life and in the lives of other poets and friends in Donne's social circle. By comparison, Bald finds only a handful of documented examples of Donne's engagement with music. These include a poem by Constantijn Huygens that alludes to being with Donne at a musical gathering in London, and Izaak Walton's account of Donne writing 'Hymne to God the Father'. Were it not for these few fleeting references, Bald concludes, we would have no idea at all about Donne's attitude to music.²

The widespread notion that music played only a minor role in Donne's life and work has been bolstered by the oft-stated critical view that Donne's poetry and prosody is not conventionally metrical or rhythmical. This has led critics to assume that Donne himself, therefore, lacked an interest in or feeling for music. John Carey purports that Donne's poems 'lack colour and music'.³ Gillian Hanscombe thinks that they are 'too complete for melody', . . . 'unsuitable for melodic treatment'.⁴ Winifred Maynard opines that they 'are astir with turbulence, and their

¹ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 442.

² *Ibid.*, Huygens, *De Vita Propria Sermones inter Liberos* (1898), p. 208 (ll. 170-6).

³ John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 9.

⁴ Gillian Hanscombe, 'John Donne and the Writing of Lyrics', *Studies in Music*, 6 (1972), 10-26 (pp. 14, 10).

shifts of stance or emotion or thought throw up complex and non-recurring rhythms'.⁵ These opinions are predicated on the 'widespread agreement that metaphysical poetry is unsuitable for music'.⁶ Ian Spink stated, 'Metaphysical verse tends to be unmusical'; the 'language of philosophy, theology, or science is not suited to music, and thus the elaboration of conceit is nothing more than misplaced ingenuity in a song, for music is a language of the emotions not of verbal ideas'.⁷ John Hollander felt that metaphysical poetry cannot be set to music because, 'Art song could not begin to treat such complexity musically', and Donne's poetry in particular, because his lyrics 'embody a constant process of dialectic between modalities'.⁸ Edward Doughtie observes, 'The ideas and images in most of Donne's poetry are complex and interlocked, and depend on what has preceded and what follows for their meaning. These poems are a delight to read, but with the added interest or distraction of music, their progress would be impossible to follow'.⁹ Brian Morris added that the 'paucity of evidence, suggests that Donne never conceived his poems in musical terms, and never delivered them as material for a marriage of the arts.'¹⁰

Not all scholarly readers of Donne have felt the same way, however. Even though Patrides averred that Donne's lines 'hesitate between prose and poetry', are 'vapid', 'torturous', 'broken'

⁵ Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 149.

⁶ Peter Walls, "'Music and Sweet Poetry'?" Verse for English Lute Song and Continuo Song', *M&L*, 65.3 (1984), 237-54 (p. 237).

⁷ Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 79.

⁸ John Hollander, 'Donne and the Limits of Lyric', in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 259-72 (p. 272).

⁹ Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 38.

¹⁰ Brian Morris, 'Not, Siren-like, to tempt: Donne and the Composers', in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 219-58 (p. 224 n. 1).

and ‘syncopated’, he acknowledged that “when the skill is commensurate to the sense,’ then Donne ‘persuades utterly’: Donne ‘taught generations of poets to look with their ears’.¹¹ Anthony Low observes that, ‘Generally, modern critics ignore the musical and sometimes even the vocal element in metaphysical poetry’.¹² Katherine R. Lawson concurs, stating that literary critics tend to engage with poetry ‘as poem rather than as musical performance’.¹³ Clayton D. Lein makes the positive case that ‘Donne, throughout his life was aware of musical forms (if only to subvert them), and he enjoyed associations with musicians’.¹⁴ Other modern scholars have explored different aspects of Donne’s relationship to music. Linda Phyllis Austern states that ‘music as metaphor, word as music, and music as heard sound’ are ‘blended seamlessly’ in Donne’s poetry and ‘dissolve into each other’.¹⁵ Helen Wilcox probes musical metaphor, imagery and counterpoint in Donne’s poetry and prose.¹⁶ Tessie Prakas illuminates Donne and musical reform.¹⁷ Jonathan Holmes refers to Donne as ‘a poet writing for performance, in this case musical performance’, using performative strategies ‘predicated on a complex

¹¹ John Donne, *The Complete English Poems of John Donne*, ed. by C. A. Patrides (London and Melbourne: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1985), pp. 19, 24.

¹² Anthony Low, *Love’s Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. 31.

¹³ Katherine R. Larson, *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ Clayton D. Lein, ‘Donne, Thomas Myriell, and the Musicians of St. Paul’s’, *JDJ*, 23 (2004), 215-47 (p. 237).

¹⁵ Linda Phyllis Austern, ‘Words on Music: The Case of Early Modern England’, *JDJ*, 25 (2006), 199-244 (p. 207).

¹⁶ Helen Wilcox, ‘Tuning at the door: Donne and music’, Centre for Early Modern Studies, *Reconsidering Donne*, Lincoln College, Oxford University, 24 March 2015.

¹⁷ Tessie Prakas, ‘This choir hath all’: Donne and Musical Reform’, Thirtieth Annual John Donne Society Conference, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 27 February 2015, 2:00-2:30 p.m.

understanding of Neo-Platonic mimesis'.¹⁸ Diane Kelsey McColley thinks that 'music culture has an important part in Donne's poetry', as the *Songs and Sonets* often respond to popular lute songs and madrigals and the divine poems to church music; and these musical awarenesses bear on Donne's renovations of language and the complex tonalities of his poems'.¹⁹ Most recently, Nigel Smith argues that Donne's poetry lends itself best to modern musical expressions rather than those of the seventeenth century.²⁰ Even Brian Morris concedes that, despite Donne not conceiving of his poems in musical terms, 'several of Donne's poems were set to music by his contemporaries'.²¹ However, Anna Lewton-Brain recognizes that the 'performed and aural dimensions of Donne's poetry' do their 'cognitive affective work not primarily as sounded words but as sung *songs*'.²²

Volumes I and II of this thesis will show that there were, in fact, far more than 'several' of Donne's poems set to music. 'Settings of his [Donne's] poems from the early years of the seventeenth century by composers such as Alfonso Ferrabosco (1609), William Corkine (1612), John Dowland (1612) and John Coprario (1610-1612?), posit his presence within various musical circles about London during the middle period of his life'.²³ 'Donne was writing his

¹⁸ Jonathan Holmes, "'There must be something heard": John Donne's aural universe', in *Refiguring Mimesis: Representation in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), pp. 183-207 (p. 183).

¹⁹ Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 2.

²⁰ Nigel Smith, 'Donne and Dylan', Keynote Address, Thirty-Second Annual John Donne Society Conference, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 17 February 2017.

²¹ Morris, p. 224.

²² Anna Nora Evelyn Lewton-Brain, 'Metaphysical Music: A Study of the Musical Qualities & Contexts of the Poetry of John Donne, George Herbert, & Richard Crashaw' (unpublished doctoral thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 2021), p. 9.

²³ Nigel Smith, 'Donne and Dylan'.

first group of songs and sonnets just at the time that Dowland's *First Book of Songs or Ayres* was published' (1597).²⁴ Peter Walls affirms that the first poems of Donne's to appear in print 'did so because they were set to music'.²⁵ Given that the extant musical settings of Donne's poetry are dispersed amongst repositories worldwide, it is no surprise that a comprehensive survey of those settings, together with photographs and audio recordings, has not previously been undertaken. Writing in 1965, Dame Helen Gardner offered a concise overview of the musical settings of Donne's poetry, her account heavily indebted to relevant scholarship by Vincent Duckles and Jean Jacquot.²⁶ In Gardner's account, seven of Donne's poems were set to music in the seventeenth century: 'The Mandrake' song ('Goe and catch a falling star'), 'The Message', 'Sweetest love, I do not goe', 'The Baite', 'The Expiration', 'Breake of Day', and 'The Apparition'.²⁷ Gardner also includes musical settings by John Hilton and Pelham Humphrey of Donne's hymn, 'Hymne to God the Father' and Thomas Ford's musical setting of the first two stanzas of Donne's poetic paraphrase of the *Lamentations*.²⁸ In 1973, Keynes listed the musical settings of Donne's poetry that have been found in manuscripts to date.²⁹

²⁴ Walls, p. 243.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

²⁶ John Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 238-47; V. Duckles, 'Bericht über den siebenten Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress,' Köln 1958 (Kassel, 1959), pp. 91-93, n. 1; J. Jacquot, ed., *Poèmes de Donne, Herbert et Crashaw mis en musique par leurs contemporains* (Paris, 1961).

²⁷ Gardner also includes 'Community' and 'Confined Love', though musical settings of these songs have yet to be discovered. Maynard states that these two poems probably had musical settings (p. 148). Their lyrics are referred to as 'songs' in manuscripts of Donne's poetry.

²⁸ Donne's hymn that begins 'Wilt thou forgiue that sinn' is titled 'To Christ' in some manuscripts, and 'Wilt thou forgive that sinne' 'A Hymne to God the Father', in other manuscripts, and in the earlier print editions of Donne's poetry. It is titled 'A Hymn to God the Father' in Pelham Humphrey's anthem. I have chosen to use the title 'A Hymne to God the Father' throughout, when referring to the poem, in accordance with denotation used in the musical settings.

²⁹ Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 163-4.

Nearly sixty years after Gardner's brief synopsis of existing scholarship on the musical setting of Donne's poetry, this thesis seeks to establish a fuller and firmer evidential footing for exploration of the subject. To that end, forty libraries and archives across the United Kingdom, Ireland, France, the Netherlands and the United States were visited in person or accessed online in an effort to document all surviving musical settings of Donne's poetry that were composed and published (in manuscript or print) in the seventeenth century.³⁰ During this process, other musical settings were found that could potentially be early settings of Donne's verse.³¹ Volume II (Appendices) includes all seventeenth-century musical settings of Donne's poetry that I have found, listed by composer's name, by song title, by date (if known), and by repository, with accompanying photographs and vocal recordings.

The first argument of this thesis, therefore, is that more seventeenth-century settings of Donne's poetry survive than previously thought. This finding prompts a wider consideration of the relationship between the musical aspects of Donne's verse and those musical settings, and more broadly, the extent and nature of Donne's interest in music in his professional and personal life. Wilfrid Mellers drew a clear parallel between Donne's verse and its musical settings, positing that the music that grew out of setting stylization 'may well be as powerful and personal, in terms of its own language, as the poetry of Donne is in literary terms'.³² Building on this idea, Bryan N. S. Gooch has reminded us that '[I]t is well to remember that Donne wrote some of his poems, as Gardner suggests, with specific melodies in mind (about which

³⁰ After the COVID-19 pandemic began, the few remaining photographs I could not take in person had to be purchased and/or acquired online. Recordings of songs with multiple parts (three-part, five-part) were obtained online, but all others I sing. See Appendices, Vol. II.

³¹ These settings are included in Dubia in the Appendices, Vol. II.

³² Wilfrid Mellers, 'Words and Music in Elizabethan England', in *The Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1955), p. 403.

speculation will prove diverting and possibly even fruitful) and was clearly sensitive to music as well as to verbal harmonies and rhythmic patterns, clusters and variations; like Hopkins, Donne had a superb ear'.³³ In support of these claims, the documentary evidence gathered and presented in this thesis suggests that Donne was musically trained, as some others have argued, had a 'pleasant', 'musical' voice, sang, played the lute and wrote hymns; and that his poetry and prose are replete with musical imagery and reference.³⁴ Possibly, Donne was also elevating his writing with music.

Paul Chandley states that in 'expressive [metaphysical] poetry', one is 'using the music to illuminate the text like the great manuscripts that have been illuminated [...] the art on the page with the text illuminates the words [...] the music elevates the poetry above everyday life and makes it something metaphysical, something mystical'.³⁵ 'Microcosmic symbolism' and the 'doctrine of universal correspondence' might explain:

Many microcosmic images in his [Donne's] love poetry are accompanied by Hermetic or Neoplatonic metaphysics of the union of the "two" into one, Ptolemaic cosmic structure, Hermetic tradition of androgynism. Unity in duality or *coincidentia oppositorum*. In Platonic and Neoplatonic tradition, the One is always pure and complete, whereas the Two is impure and incomplete'.³⁶

This 'Neoplatonic philosophy of love that the two become one' coalesce in the musical settings of Donne's poetry. They become another form of conceit, expanding and extending the poetic art form, the ultimate refinement of his words. This concept would follow the tradition of *Copia*

³³ Bryan N. S. Gooch, 'Music for Donne', *JDJ*, 15 (1996), 171-88 (p. 175).

³⁴ Paul L. Gaston, 'Britten's Donne and the Promise of Twentieth-Century Settings', in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 201-13, (p. 201).

³⁵ I am deeply indebted to Paul Chandley, Trinity Music School, whom I interviewed on 7 July 2019. A transcript of the recording of this interview is available.

³⁶ Earl Miner, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Imagery: Essays on Uses of Figurative Language from Donne to Farquhar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p 32.

(‘fullness of expression’)³⁷ and the Greek definition of *lyrikos* (adopted into English in the 1500s), referring to things ‘pertaining or adapted to the lyre’, ‘the elegant stringed instrument used to accompany intensely personal poetry that revealed the thoughts and feelings of the poet’.³⁸ ‘Initially, it was applied to poetic forms (such as elegies, odes or sonnets) that expressed strong emotion, to poets who wrote such works, or to things that were meant to be sung; over time, it was extended to anything musical or rhapsodic’.³⁹ Composer-poet, Thomas Campion, defines his own literary and musical exercises as ““superfluous blossoms of his deeper Studies”—his neo-classical Latin poetry’.⁴⁰ Musical exploration could be ‘superfluous blossoms’ of Donne’s ‘deeper Studies’—natural extensions of creativity—the conceits and expanded metaphors of an artistic mind. John Dowland contends, “Besides, no Art without Musicke can be perfect . . . Musicke doth gouern and sharpen the manners and fashions of men’.⁴¹ The musical settings of Donne’s poetry, literally and figuratively, incorporate the denotative and connotative definitions of ‘song’ and ‘lyric’ to perfect, ‘govern and sharpen the manners and fashions of men’.

Donne’s poetry, in its verbal, syntactic, and rhythmic complexity, allowed contemporary composers to expand beyond existing parameters into new and exciting modes. Seventeenth-century English composers ‘perceived clearly that they must set themselves to explore fresh

³⁷ Alexander M. Witherspoon and Frank J. Warnke, eds., *Seventeenth-Century Poetry and Prose*, 2nd edn. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), p. 5.

³⁸ --- ‘lyric’, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary* (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, 2021) <<http://www.merriam-webster.com>> [accessed 25 January 2021].

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Christopher R. Wilson, ‘Campion [Campian], Thomas’, *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴¹ Andreas Ornithoparcus, *His Micrologus, Or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing Digested into Four Bookes* (1609), p. 39.

paths and to discover new methods of self-expression'.⁴² Lawrence Stone observed that the 'eighty-odd years between 1558 and 1641 form a very satisfactory unit of time for historical purposes [...] It sees the most critical phase of fundamental changes in politics, society, thought, and religion'.⁴³ These years spanning Donne's lifetime also coincide with fundamental changes in music. 'During the sixteenth century there was, practically speaking, only one medium in which a composer could express his most serious thoughts, namely unaccompanied vocal music'.⁴⁴ It is hard to gauge the extent to which Donne's innovative poetic style contributed to changes in musical styles and tastes in the early to mid-seventeenth century, but this thesis demonstrates, more fully than in any previous study, the significant presence of Donne's lyric poetry in the musical culture of the period.

This thesis examines Donne's interest in music and his involvement in the playing of music. I have conducted this examination from both the perspective of a literary scholar and from the point of view of a classically trained vocalist who sings and plays Donne's songs. My method has been archival and historical: to discover and examine as many surviving seventeenth-century musical settings of Donne's poetry as possible, in manuscript and print, and to place these settings in the historical contexts of Donne's life and society, his poetic and professional careers, and in the wider musical culture of the period.⁴⁵ When musical settings of Donne's poetry and

⁴² Edmund H. Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 76.

⁴³ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 1.

⁴⁴ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 4.1, *The Songs and Sonets: Part I: General and Topical Commentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), p. 138. Following the editorial objectives of the *Donne Variorum*, I began with a 'sensitivity' to the distinction between 'print' and 'manuscript' culture and proceeded to conduct a 'thorough and open-minded study of all surviving artifacts', 'all of the raw material that underlie' Donne's text, as it relates to music. See Ted-Larry Pebworth, 'Manuscript Poems and Print Assumptions: Donne and His Modern Editors', *JDJ*, 3 (1984), 1-21, (p. 20).

his social and professional associations with musicians⁴⁶ are placed in chronological order, Donne's lifelong engagement with music clearly emerges.⁴⁷ In particular, Donne's engagement with music is most manifest in those of his lyric poems titled 'Songs' (or 'Songes'), as it was this group of poems that the composers sought to set to music. It is to these poems and their musical settings, therefore, and to the first two decades of the seventeenth century – when more musical settings of Donne's poems appear than at any time before or since – that this thesis pays particular attention in order to paint a fresh picture of Donne's interest in music and indeed of his musical sensitivity and creativity.

Annabel M. Patterson states, '[B]efore we evaluate Donne's conduct and his writings, we need to ask what his friends and contemporaries were doing and saying at about the same time, and what were their shared conditions of material and intellectual practice'.⁴⁸ Therefore, I conducted research, using primary and secondary sources, on the musical activities and interests of the individuals who peopled Donne's life, interspersed with musical references from Donne's poetry and prose.⁴⁹ The profusion of musical references in Donne's writing illustrates the role that musical metaphor, imagery and allusion played in his life and work. The incorporation of these textual examples in the context of his life and the lives of those around him illuminates the

⁴⁶ In *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), Walter L. Woodfill discusses the lives and careers of ordinary musicians who performed in churches, towns, at Court and in the domestic sphere. David C. Price furthers scholarship of English musical culture with particular emphasis on the private patronage that subsidized professional musicians in *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981).

⁴⁷ The thesis is chronologically structured. Vol. II, Appendix 1 includes a chronological outline of the musical settings of Donne's poetry within the context of Donne's life and the major events in the history of music.

⁴⁸ Annabel M. Patterson, 'All Donne', in *Soliciting Interpretation*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine E. Maus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 39, 42.

⁴⁹ Appendices, Vol. II include additional evidence of the musical interests of Donne's friends and associates.

shared musical interests of Donne and of those in his professional and social circles and sheds light on the dynamic relationship between seventeenth-century poetry and music.

Research into the musical settings of Donne's poetry and the composers of those settings led to a broader based exploration of seventeenth-century music and the changes in style it underwent in the early decades of the century. Acquiring a basic understanding of seventeenth-century music was crucial for me to be able to learn and sing the musical settings; but, most important, was the realization that musical settings of Donne's poetry clearly evinced wider stylistic changes in seventeenth-century music. I could not only *see* the change in the musical settings as I viewed the scores in manuscripts and print, but I could *hear* the change between early and late settings as I sang them. Recordings of each song are *a cappella*, as many of the musical settings 'were written with *a cappella* performance in mind', . . . 'yet leave room for choice in deciding how to perform them'.⁵⁰ Because Donne associated personally and professionally with a large number of musicians (sixteen of whom composed musical settings of his verse), and because thirty-three known musical settings of Donne's are extant (more, with the inclusion of analogues),⁵¹ the scope of this thesis could not allow for a comprehensive analysis of each setting or each poem titled 'Songe' (or 'Song'). However, a list of all those of Donne's poems that are titled 'Songe/Song' is included in the Appendices, along with a list of the relevant musical manuscripts and their repositories. Volume I's focus is primarily on the songs written during Donne's lifetime and on composers he knew at Court and within his social circle.

Countless leads were followed in the writing of this thesis and each discovery led to more evidence of Donne's relationship to music, ending with enough information for multiple theses.

⁵⁰ John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 137.

⁵¹ The use of analogue throughout Volume I and Volume II of this thesis refers to the musical settings of Donne's poetry that have lyrics that are similar to those of his poems but are not verbatim.

Research included manuscripts containing Donne's *Songes and Sonnets*, musical references, analogy and figurative language in Donne's writing, musicological analyses of the musical settings of Donne's poetry, musicians and composers and their relationship to Donne (and to his associates), innovations in seventeenth-century music, and Donne's musical interests and musical associations (the interconnectedness between family, friends, Court, the aristocracy, the church, and Europe). The maximum word limit for this thesis prevented the inclusion of all data (biographical, bibliographical and literary analytical) that would have presented the most complete picture.

It is only through a thorough analysis of Donne's writing and musical settings, within the context of his life and the lives of seventeenth-century composers and their music, that we can obtain an accurate portrayal of music's important role and impact on Donne's life, mind, and art. Donne's personal musical associations, musical references in his poetry and prose, and the considerable number of musical settings of his verse, in print and in manuscripts, are evidence of Donne's strong affinity for music. However, sufficient evidence has not yet been found to suggest that Donne was actively involved in musical composition or in setting his lyrics to music, or in commercially promoting those settings, or that Donne's writing directly influenced a particular composer's compositional style. Yet, 'there is an argument to be made for a "strategic Donne"'.⁵² Donne musical settings prompt a number of intriguing questions. Might Donne have collaborated with his composers? Might he have written some of his love lyrics ('Songes') with the music in mind? Might composers have written music to Donne's specifications? Could

⁵² Katherine Rundell, 'Donne and Print', in *John Donne in Context*, ed. by Michael Schoenfeldt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 30-38 (pp. 30-31). Rundell states that, by 1630, a frequent visitor to the churchyards at St. Paul's and St. Dunstan's would already have encountered Donne's verse in multiple print and manuscript texts, including the musical settings of 'The Expiration' and 'Breake of Daye'.

Donne's innovations in poetry even have influenced the compositional style of those musicians, and thus of seventeenth-century music more broadly?

Through the analysis of Donne's poems set to music, this thesis seeks to understand how these compositions relate to genre (literature and music), context and setting within early modern English life and culture. This analysis is undertaken with the intention of enhancing our understanding of Donne and music and not, as Edgard Varèse claimed, 'to decompose, to mutilate the spirit of the work'.⁵³ It is my contention that the evidence presented in this thesis shows that Donne was musical: he was the embodiment of the declaration of Jonathan Holmes, who so eloquently states, 'For throughout eternity, music was the direct imitation of the divine voice of the universe, played upon the organ of the individual soul and expressed through voice'.⁵⁴

Donne's 'Songes' (poetry), and the musical settings of his poetry set the reader off on a musical journey as well as a literary one, a journey virtually undocumented previously by scholars who have felt that Donne was unmusical, his lyricism disjointed, his poetry obtusely at odds with conventional rhythm and metre. Heretofore, emphasis on Donne's thought process focused more on argumentation and philosophy than on music. Exploring the presence of music within Donne's social and cultural context enriches our understanding of his life and work, widens the scope of his 'conduct and writings',⁵⁵ and reveals the breadth of his artistic talent. As Augustus Jessopp remarked, 'To tell what somebody else has told before is easy; my ambition has been to make some small additions to our previous knowledge, or at least to throw

⁵³ Edgard Varèse, 'Jerom s'en va-t'en guerre', *The Sacbut*, 4 (1923), (p. 147) in Jonathan W. Bernard, 'Pitch/Register in the Music of Edgard Varese', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 3 (1981), 1-25 (p. 1).

⁵⁴ Holmes, p. 198.

⁵⁵ Patterson, pp. 39, 42.

some little gleam of light upon what heretofore was obscure, misrepresented or misunderstood'.⁵⁶ It is my hope that the body of evidence contained in this thesis succeeds in illuminating Donne's lifelong involvement with music and in changing the way scholars think in the future about Donne's interest in music, and indeed his musicality.

The chapter structure of this thesis foregrounds the musical settings of Donne's poetry within the framework of a single seventeenth-century manuscript, the Clitherow Manuscript, that contains the largest number of Donne's poems that are known to have been set to music. The sequence of chapters is organised chronologically, proceeding from Donne's early life through his marriage, ministry and death. Each chapter explores Donne's musicality and the relationship between seventeenth-century poetry and music through his musical associations, the musical settings of his poetry and the musical references in his writing.

Chapter One, Lyrical Dualism: Donne's *Songes and Sonets* introduces the Clitherow Manuscript and its importance for viewing Donne's 'Songes' as songs to be sung as well as read. An analysis of *Songes and Sonets* as verbal and melodic lyrics concludes with an overview of seventeenth-century musical culture, trends and the musical settings of Donne's poetry. Chapter Two, Donne's Early Musical Associations, begins and ends with the oldest musical settings of Donne's poetry and traces his musicality from childhood to 1600, highlighting associations with his musical family (Heywood, Donne, Rastell, More), friends (Stanley, Herbert families) and early composers (Ferrabosco, Corkine). Donne's influence inspired musical settings (Weelkes) and analogues of his poetry (Farnaby, Farmer, Bateson, Playford). Chapter Three, Donne and the Musical Stanley, More, Wolley and Percy Families, resumes in 1600 with Donne's

⁵⁶ Augustus Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House: A Contribution to Elizabethan History*, 2nd ed. [London: Burns and Oates, 1879], p. ix.

employment with the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, his presence at Court, and his exposure to the musical Stanley (York House), More (Loseley), Wolley (Pyrford) and Percy (Alnwick Castle) families. The chapter includes Donne's marriage to Ann More (1601) and follows the couple to Pyrford through 1605, including musical references in Donne's writing. An analysis of Donne's Literary Musical Milieu in Chapter Four continues in 1606 with the Donne family's move to Mitcham and Donne seeking employment in London, lodging in the Strand (1607-1614). The relationships between Donne, his aristocratic friends, patrons and the composers of his musical settings (Dowland and Peerson) are highlighted, along with musical references from his works written during this time and analyses of the musical settings. Chapter Five, Donne 'Songes' and Composers: (Early Seventeenth Century), continues to examine the poems in the Clitherow manuscript, present musical references, and foreground composers of the musical settings of Donne's poetry (Coprario) whom he knew at Court, in the households of his friends, through his patrons and later through the church (1607-1614). Chapter Six, Donne 'Songes' and Composers (Mid-Seventeenth Century), resumes discussion of the association between Donne, the composers of the musical settings of his poetry (Henry and William Lawes, Wilson) and his social milieu from 1614 onward. Chapter Seven, Musicality Divine: Donne's Ministry, begins with Donne taking holy orders in 1615 and focusses on his relationships with church musicians, musically talented and artistic friends, the composers of the musical settings of his hymns (Hilton and Humphrey) and his musicality.

CHAPTER ONE

Lyrical Dualism: Donne's *Songes and Sonets*

This first chapter begins with the Clitherow Manuscript, providing the framework for this thesis within the timeline of John Donne's life. Heretofore, manuscripts containing John Donne's poetry were viewed primarily in the context of Donne's poetry and not of his music.¹ The Clitherow manuscript provides valuable evidence that Donne's poems titled 'Songes' or 'Songs' were, at the same time, both verbal lyrics to be read and melodic lyrics to be sung. The musical settings of these melodic and verbal lyrics expand our sense of Donne's contemporary reputation in elite social spaces on a wide variety of occasions, leading us to consider Donne's poems anew, in broader cultural context. It also prompts us to ask deeper questions about Donne's own engagement with music and the composers who were setting his poetry to music. Focusing on significant changes in early seventeenth-century musical culture and style, manifested in the musical settings of Donne's poetry, this chapter sheds light on the musical world inhabited by Donne and assesses the degree to which his innovations in poetic style and prosody were in dialogue with well-documented changes in musical culture in the period.

1.1 The Importance of the Clitherow Manuscript

Housed in the London Metropolitan Archives and preserved among the family papers of Sir Christopher Clitherow (1578-1642), the Clitherow MS (c. 1630s?)² contains all those poems

¹ See Manuscripts Listed by Traditional Classification in *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (8 vols, in 11 parts), eds. Gary A Stringer (1981-2014) and Jeffrey S. Johnson (2014-2022) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981-2023).

² Clitherow MS (ACC/1360/528), London Metropolitan Archives. See Appendices, Vol. II. This manuscript does not appear in *CELM* presumably because it was not known to Beal. According to the National Archives, the Clitherow Manuscript was discovered in 1975 'in the attics and over the stables of Hotham Hall'. The *Donne*

from Donne's *Songes and Sonets* that have been stated or believed to have been set to music (except for 'The Primrose', 'The Expiration' and 'Deerest/Sweetest loue, I doe not goe'). Mary Hobbs reminds us that 'comparatively few music manuscripts survive—they were hard-used and especially prone to destruction'.³ This is true of the Clitherow MS, tied together with string and leather, and clearly marked in capital letters: 'AT RISK'. The 'Songes' contained in the Clitherow MS (c. 1630s)⁴ are listed below.⁵

Songe:	('Stay o sweete and doe not rise')
Songe. i. ?x. or ?2.	('Send home my long stray'd eyes to mee')
[No title, horizontal line]	('Come liue with mee and be my loue')
The Apparition.	('When by thy scorn o muddress, I am dead')
Songe. 3.	('Love is starke madd, who ever sayes')
Loves Philosophie. 4.	('Stand still, and I will reade to thee')
A Valediction 5.	('As virtuous men passe mildly away')
6.	('I wonder by my troth what thou and I')
Songe. 7.	('Goe and catch a falling starr')
8.	('Now thou hast lov'd mee one whole day')
Loves Dyett D ^r Dunn.	('To what a cumbersome unwioldinesse')
The Will: D ^r . Dunn:	('Before I sigh my last gasp, let me breathe')

Variorum editors do not include the Clitherow Manuscript in the Manuscripts Listed by Tradition Classification; however, they do list it as LM₁, ACC 1360.528, London Metropolitan Archives, under Manuscript Sources.

³ London Metropolitan Archives, London, LM₁, MS ACC/1360/528 Clitherow.

⁴ Exact date unknown. The manuscript was among the Clitherow Family Papers (1610-1640). Permission to photograph this manuscript was kindly given by Janet Odey. Given the long history of the Donne and Clitherow families, with son, Christopher, a friend and contemporary of Donne's, these poems/songs might have been known to the family much earlier.

⁵ The titles of the 'Songes' listed above are written as shown in the Clitherow manuscript. (See photographs in Appendices, Vol. II.) The first line of each 'Songe' is given in parentheses following the title.

Dn: the flea. ('Marke but this flea, and marke in this')

Dee [?Thee] Sonnett. ('Tis True tis day what though it bee')

Prominent merchants in London, Henry Clitherow and John Donne, Sr. had ties through the Ironmongers' Company, and later through their sons, Christopher and John. Henry Clitherow (d. 1608) and his son, Christopher (1577/8-1641/2)⁶ mirror the ascent of the Donnes: the Clitherows from Ironmonger (Henry) to Lord Mayor (Christopher) and the Donnes from Ironmonger (John, Sr.) to Dean of St. Paul's (Jack). In 1574, John Donne, Sr. 'was made Warden of the Company of Ironmongers, a position that indicated wealth and brought added responsibility and prestige'.⁷ A likely association would have developed between Henry Clitherow and John Donne, Sr. through this company of merchants. John Donne, the poet, would have known Christopher Clitherow through the Virginia Company, as James VI & I considered Christopher 'suitable to fill the post of treasurer of the Virginia Company in May 1622',⁸ the same date that the Dean of St. Paul's was made 'honorary member'.⁹ David Lloyd states that Clitherow was 'a great stickler for the Church', and 'a great honourer of clergymen in the best of times, to whom some of his nearest relations were married in the worst'.¹⁰ His ties to

⁶ Andrew Thrush, 'Clitherow, Sir Christopher (1577/8–1641), merchant and politician', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) [accessed 10 Dec. 2019]. Like Jack Donne, Sir Christopher, merchant and politician, was educated at Oxford. He 'followed his father into the Ironmongers' Company in 1601. In the same year he was admitted to the newly formed East India Company [...] later joining the Spanish, Virginia, French and North-West Passage companies'.

⁷ John Stubbs, *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), p. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 541.

¹⁰ David Lloyd (1635-1692), *Memoires of the lives, actions, sufferings & deaths of those noble, reverend, and excellent personages, that suffered by death, sequestration, decimation, or otherwise, for the Protestant religion: and the great principle thereof, allegiance to their sovereigne, in our late intestine wars, from the year 1637, to the year 1660. and from thence continued to 1666. With the life and martyrdom of King Charles I.* By Da: Lloyd, A.M. sometime of Oriell-Colledge in Oxon. (London, 1668), p. 632.

Donne again surface when he was ‘named a commissioner to raise contributions for the repair of St. Paul’s Cathedral in 1633,’ following Donne’s death. A prominent member of London’s elite, Sir Christopher Clitherow served as Lord Mayor of London from 1635-6 and was knighted during his term of office (15 January 1636).¹¹

These aspects of the Clitherow family and manuscript are noteworthy not only because of their personal and professional ties to the Donnes, but because of their musical and theatrical ties,¹² and the inclusion of so many of Donne’s songs in their manuscript. Like other manuscripts, the Clitherow MS has been studied by many students of Donne; however, what has been heretofore de-emphasized are these poems as actual ‘songs’ and not merely poems. When searching for Donne poems, scholars have tended to overlook Donne’s poetry as song and pay little attention to them as music. In addition, previous accounts of Donne and music have provided only a limited context.

The exact date of the Clitherow manuscript is unknown. Scholars differ as to when Donne composed his poems, but dates range from the early 1590s to the early 1600s. Given the long-standing relationship of the Donne and Clitherow families, the songs could have been known and sung by the Clitherow family much earlier than the *c.* 1630s date ascribed to the manuscript. Since musical settings for six of the songs are extant, and musical settings exist for more analogues, because of the numbering of the stanzas, I posit that there are undiscovered musical settings for the remaining poems by Donne in the Clitherow manuscript (and in other

¹¹ Thrush.

¹² Heywood, Thomas, *Londini Sinus Salutis; Or, Londons Harbour of Health and Happinesse. Epressed [Sic] in Sundry Triumphs, Pageants, and Showes; at the Initiation of the Right Honorable Christopher Clethrowe, into the Maioralty of the Farre Renowned City London. all the Charges and Expences of this Present Ovation; being the Sole Undertaking of the Richt Worshipfull Company of the Ironmongers. the 29. of October. Anno Salutis. 1635. / Written by Thomas Heywood.* London, by Robert Raworth, 1635.

manuscripts as well). Gardner asserts that there is a musical setting for ‘Now thou hast lov’d mee one whole day’ (‘Womans Constancie’); Gardner, Grierson and Maynard argue that musical settings exist for ‘Marke but this flea, and marke in this’ (‘The Flea’).¹³ The omission from the Clitherow manuscript of ‘The Primerose’ (1612)¹⁴ ‘The Expiration’ (1609)¹⁵ and ‘Deerest/Sweetest loue, I doe not goe’(before 1650),¹⁶ which were undeniably thought of as ‘songs’ since musical settings survive, is curious and leads one to ponder why they were not included. Since the Martin Peerson and Alfonso Ferrabosco settings are not included, perhaps the Clitherow manuscript predates 1609. Since ‘Breake of Daye’¹⁷ and one of its analogues are included in the Clitherow MS [‘Tis True tis day what though it be’ (‘Breake of Daye’)] and ‘Stay o sweete and doe not rise’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’), other analogues of ‘Breake of Daye’ could predate Corkine’s ‘T’is true, t’is day’ (1612), Dowland’s ‘Sweet, stay awhile’ (1612), Gibbons’s ‘Ah deere hart’ (1612)¹⁸ and Thomas Bateson’s ‘Why dost thou fly’ (1612)¹⁹. I

¹³ Grierson also posits that there is a musical setting for ‘The Triple Foole’ (Grierson, I, 16): ‘A Song’ (‘I am 2 Fools I know’), Anon., (lyrics only), MS 966.5; on the strength of it being titled ‘Song’ in one or other textual witness; Maynard, p. 148.

¹⁴ ‘The Primerose’ (Upon this Primrose Hill’), by Martin Peerson, *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612), Mu. MS 168. See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁵ ‘The Expiration’ was published in Alfonso Ferrabosco’s *First Booke of Ayres* (1609). See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁶ ‘Deerest/Sweetest loue, I doe not goe’ is in MS Tenbury 1018 (before 1650) and in MS 10337 *Elizabeth Rogers hir Virginal Booke* (1656). The composer of each setting is anonymous. See Appendices, Vol II.

¹⁷ ‘Tis true, t’is day’ by William Corkine, *Second Booke of Ayres* (1612) (Print), (III). See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁸ ‘Ah, deere hart’ (Another version of ‘Sweet, stay awhile’, and analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) (Orlando Gibbons), in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612), (MS Mus. f. 24), Summary Catalogue nos. 16838-16842. See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁹ ‘Why dost thou fly’, by Thomas Bateson, in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612). See Appendices, Vol. II.

therefore posit that Thomas Bateson's 'O Flie not Loue' (1598)²⁰ and John Farmer's 'O Stay sweet Love' (1599)²¹, written prior to Gibbons's 'Ah, deere hart' (1612) and Bateson's 'Why dost thou fly' (1612), could be early analogues of 'Breake of Daye'.²² The timing of these early musical manuscripts corresponds with the earliest dates Donne could have written 'Breake of Daye'; the similarity of wording and theme, and the likelihood that Donne knew these composers, supports the hypothesis that these musical settings are analogues of Donne's poem.

The Clitherow manuscript is the only manuscript found by this writer to contain a titled, consecutively numbered grouping of all the songs by Donne that have musical settings extant (except for 'The Primerose', 'The Expiration' and 'Deerest/Sweetest loue, I doe not goe').²³ I believe this numbered grouping indicates that Donne's 'Songes' were songs meant to be sung. Although important for that reason alone, it is also significant because it contains several poems not listed in any other grouping/manuscript as 'songs', or formerly thought to be songs, either because they are not titled explicitly as 'songs' or there are no extant musical settings. However, many of these fourteen poems are in other manuscripts in various groupings, listed as songs and alone in separate musical settings. Other songs of Donne's not listed in the Clitherow manuscript appear later in musical settings as hymns and anthems, such as 'Hymne to God the Father' and 'The Lamentations of Jeremy'.²⁴

²⁰ 'O Flie not Loue' (1598) (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), by Thomas Bateson, *The first set of English MADRIGALES: to 3. 4. 5. And 6. voices* (1604). See Appendices, Vol. II.

²¹ 'O stay sweet Love' (1599) (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), by John Farmer, *Madrigals, Motets and Psalms* (1599). See Appendices, Vol. II.

²² My reasons for this hypothesis are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

²³ The musical settings for these songs are not included in the Clitherow manuscript; however, they can be found in other manuscripts and in print. See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁴ 'A Hymne to God the Father' ('Wilt thou forgive the simes {=sinnes}') and 'The Lamentations of Jeremy' ('How sitts this citty'). See Appendices, Vol. II.

Donne's definition of 'Songe', and his use of it as the title of so many of his poems, could be as complex as Donne himself. Myriad definitions of 'song', dating back to King Ælfred's translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* (The Consolation of Philosophy), show that 'song' can be multiplicitous in meaning and example. Song is defined as a 'mass noun: the act or art of singing; vocal music; that which is sung. Also occasionally: poetry'.²⁵ Larson describes song as 'a movement of individual breath', a 'sustained and playful duet with the air'.²⁶ Song is also defined as a 'combination of words and music sung with or without instrumental accompaniment; a composition, typically relatively short, consisting of lyrics, melody, and usually other elements of musical arrangement, (sometimes) *esp.* a poem set to music; (hence also) an instrumental piece or passage having structural or other characteristics suggestive of a song'.²⁷ Also, occasionally; a poem, *esp.* one in rhymed stanzas, resembling a song'.²⁸ (The analogue to 'Love's Usury' is believed to be a 'typical court song'.²⁹) Third and fourth definitions are a 'sound having a musical quality, or likened to singing in some way' and 'In various extended uses, *esp.* a lament; a loud utterance; a subject, theme, or refrain. Now somewhat *rare*'.³⁰ Donne's *Songs and Sonets* could be classified as all of these.

The most applicable definition of 'song' for a study of Donne and music is the definition of 'Song' and the compound word 'song-music' in composer Dowland's 1609 English translation

²⁵ 'song, n.1.', *OED* online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, September 2020) [accessed 4 October 2020].

²⁶ Larson, p. 31.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 218.

³⁰ 'song, n.1.', *OED* online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, September 2020) [accessed 4 October 2020].

of *Andreas Ornithoparchus his Micrologus*.³¹ Since Dowland was one of the first composers to set music to Donne's poetry, careful attention to the definition of 'Song' contained in his translation is important for it may explain more fully Donne's. Dowland's translation defining 'plaine Song' is in *The First Booke of Ornithoparchvs His Mvsicke, declaring the principals of plaine Song*, the Eleventh Chapter, Song and Transposition:

Wherefore a Song is a melody formed of a *Sound, Mood, & Tone*, by a liuely Voice. I say by a *Sound*, because of the writing of the Notes, which improperly we call a Song: By the *moode*, I vnderstand rising and falling, because of the prayers which are read in an Vnison. By the *Tone*, because of the chirping of birds, which is comprehended within no *Tone*. For within a *Syllogism* is *moode* and *figure*, that in a Song is the *Tone* and Scale. I say a liuely Voyce, because of Musicall Instruments. Or otherwise: A Song is the fitting of a liuely Voyce according to rising, and falling, Or (as *Gafforus* writeth in his *Theoricks lib. 5 cap. 6*) it is the deduction of many Voyces from the same beginning. And this description doth properly agree to this progression of syllables, because it is not a Song.³²

Neil Fraistat discusses the importance of placement, or 'contexture', when referring to the arrangement of a collection of poetry and to each poem's association with one another within that collection.³³ Manuscripts containing Donne's poetry, including manuscript miscellanies of poetry, exemplify Fraistat's theory: songs, most with musical settings, are clustered together as one group in many of these manuscripts. Examples of this are 'Songs w^h were made to certeyne/certaine A(a)ires/Ayres w^h were made before'³⁴ ['The Baite', 'The Message' and 'Song' ('Deerest/Sweetest Love, I doe not goe')], grouped together under this title in six

³¹ Andreas Ornithoparcus, *Micrologus, Or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing Digested into Foure Bookes. Not Onely Profitabel, but also Necessary for all that are Studious of Musicke. also the Dimension and Perfect Vse of the Monochord, According to Guido Aretinus. by Iohn Douland Lutenist, Lute-Player, and Bachelor of Musicke in both the Vniuersities* (London, 1609).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 26

³³ 'Introduction: The Place of the Book and the Book as Place', in *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 3.

³⁴ Melford Hall Egerton MS 3884; Dolau Cothi MS 6749 NLW; Denbigh MS 18647 BL; Puckering MS R.3.12; TC Cambridge; Trinity College, Dublin, MS 877; Harvard fMS Eng 966.3 Norton MS. See Appendices, Vol. II.

manuscripts³⁵ or the Luttrell MS Add. 8468 where there are twelve ‘Songes’/‘Songs’/‘Hymnes’ grouped together.³⁶ As is the case with similar manuscripts containing Donne ‘Songes’,³⁷ the songs in the Clitherow MS are placed in the middle of the manuscript. There is a very practical reason for this: when singing or accompanying oneself with a musical instrument (in this case, most often the lute), the placement of songs in the middle of the manuscript means that equal weight is distributed on either side of the book’s spine, thereby allowing the manuscript to stay open during the performance of the vocalist/instrumentalist. One does not have to be concerned with pages staying down or turning on their own as one is trying to sing or play from the text or score.

The Clitherow MS encapsulates many of the same elements of, and issues with, other manuscripts that include Donne songs. What sets Clitherow apart from others is that there are *fourteen* Donne poems that are grouped together and placed in the middle of the manuscript. Uniquely, the Clitherow songs are 1) consecutively numbered, 2) have the repeated title ‘Songe’ and 3) contain numbered or virguled stanzas. The first eight poems are numbered one through eight (1-8), four have the word ‘Songe’ written before the number, and many have numbered stanzas or virgules to guide the vocalist through the song.³⁸ The ‘numbering’ of poems and stanzas is unusual and evidently an indication of the order in which the stanzas were to be sung. Indeed, musical settings exist for the poems with numbered stanzas as well as the ones with virgules separating the stanzas. There is a well-defined separation, by numeral or slash, which

³⁵ Including Melford Hall Egerton MS 3884, I argue that nine MSS should be in Group II in the *Variorum*.

³⁶ Luttrell MS Add. 8468 (1620-1630), Cambridge University Library.

³⁷ Dolau Cothi MS 6749 NLW; Denbigh MS 18647 BL; Lansdowne MS 740/6 BL; Puckerin MS R.3.12 TC Cambridge, Skipwith MS, 25707, et. al.

³⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II.

would allow the vocalist to keep track of what stanza she was singing. The numbering of stanzas is possible evidence, therefore, that these poems were originally written with the intention of being set to music and sung. It throws into question the opinion of many scholars that Donne never wrote songs to be sung, but rather titled them as ‘Songes’ in the literary sense only, as verbal lyric poems.³⁹ If these poems in Donne’s ‘Songes and Sonnets’ were indeed written as songs to be sung (as melodic as well as verbal lyrics), and intended as such, then students and scholars of Donne’s life and work must stop and reconsider both Donne’s interest in music and his musicality.

‘Stay o sweete and doe not rise’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) and ‘Tis True tis day what though it be’ (‘Breake of Daye’) (stanzas numbered) begin and end the Clitherow sequence. ‘Stay o sweete and doe not rise’, ‘Send home my long stray'd eye to mee’ (‘The Message’), and ‘Come live with mee and be my love’ (‘The Baite’) are the first three songs grouped together as the first numbered song.⁴⁰ They correspond to ‘Songs w^h were made to certeyne/certaine A(a)ires/Ayres w^h were made before’ and groupings of songs in other manuscripts.⁴¹ Multiple musical settings are extant for all three poems, as well as for ‘When by thy scorn o murther, I am dead’ (‘The Apparition’) (second, but not numbered) and ‘Goe and catch a falling starr’ (‘Song’) (number 7). Although no musical settings have been found for ‘Love is starke madd, who sayst’ (‘The Broken Harte’) (number 3) and ‘Stand still and I will reade to thee’ (‘Loves Philosophie’) (number 4), I argue that they were also songs to be sung since they are placed with and numbered the same as the other songs, their stanzas have virgules, and they are

³⁹ The Middle English spelling of song includes ‘songe’, with an ‘e’, common among manuscripts of the early modern period.

⁴⁰ See photograph in Appendices, Vol. II for clarification.

⁴¹ See Appendices, Vol. II.

also placed with other songs in numerous manuscripts containing Donne's verse. I also assert that 'As virtuous men pass mildly away' ('A Valediction: forbidding mourning')⁴² (number 5), and 'I wonder by my troth' ('The Good Morrow')⁴³ (number 6), were songs meant to be sung because of the existence of 'Drowne not with teares my deerest Loue' (analogue to 'A Valediction'), by Alfonso Ferrabosco,⁴⁴ and four musical settings by William Lawes (1602-1645) entitled 'Good morrow' and 'Good morrow unto her' (analogues to 'The Good Morrow').⁴⁵

As previously stated, Gardner argues that 'Now thou hast lov'd mee one whole day' ('Womans Constancie') (number 8 in Clitherow) is a song, although she indicates there is no music for this and, so far, I have found none. Gardner, Grierson and Maynard also assert that 'Marke but this flea, and marke in this' ('The Flea'), is a song.⁴⁶ It is the thirteenth song in the Clitherow manuscript. Since 'The Flea' is placed with songs in multiple manuscripts (usually

⁴² John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 257. 'The lover's farewell was a popular genre in earlier times: see, e.g., *Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins (Oxford 1952), pp. 206-24. 'Mourning' is possibly an imitation of Sidney's 'A Farewell'; Edward Herbert's 'I must depart' (1608) may be an imitation of Sidney. A. Marotti (1995), pp. 152-3 notes that 'Mourning' was extensively adapted by Simon Butteris or Butteriz as 'Song the 21' in the mid-seventeenth-century Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 121 (Crum (1969) item A1486). 'Song the 21' begins, 'As dying saints who sweetly pass away'. Given the musicality of Edward Herbert, it is possible that he, too, could have set 'I must depart' to music.

⁴³ See Appendices, Vol. II. McColley states that Louise Schleiner (*The Living Lyre*, pp. 10-11) distinguishes between 'song, declamatory, and speech modes of lyric verse' and considers 'The Good Morrow' to be a 'pure example' of 'speech modes of lyric verse'. McColley makes the point that Donne 'breaks, at daybreak, into song: "And now good morrow to our waking soules"' (p. 101).

⁴⁴ 'Drowne not with teares my deerest Loue' (analogue to 'A Valediction') by Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger, *First Booke of Ayres* (1609), sigs. IXv-r. See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁴⁵ MS Mus. d. 238 (2 versions) (12v-13r) (34v) (1650s) and MS D.C. 1.69/MS D.C. 1.1. (2 versions) (15r) (32v-33r) (1649-1652). See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁴⁶ John Donne, *The Poems of John Donne: Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts with Introductions & Commentary*, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), I, 16. 'A Song' ('I am 2 Fools I know'), Anon., (lyrics only), MS 966.5; on the strength of it being titled 'Song' in one or other textual witness; Maynard, p. 148.

with ‘Goe and catch a falling starr’ and ‘Womans Constancie’), this would suggest that it was a song.⁴⁷ ‘Lady, the silly Flea’ is found in Giles Farnaby’s *Canzonets to Four Voices* (1598) and appears to be an analogue to ‘The Flea’. Unnumbered, ‘To what a cumbersome unwieldiness’ (‘Love’s Dyett’) and ‘Before I sigh my last gasp, let me breathe’ (‘The Will’) are placed with ‘Marke but this flea, and marke in this’ (‘The Flea’) before the final song, ‘Tis True tis day what though it be’ (‘Breake of Daye’). We know this to be a song given that multiple musical settings and analogues are extant.⁴⁸ Robin Robbins compares ‘A Valediction: Of Weeping’ [‘Valediction’] to the song ‘Drowne not with teares’ in Ferrabosco’s *First Booke of Ayres* (1609; Fellowes, p. 515) and links it with ‘The Will’, ‘The Funeral’, and ‘Epithalamion at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset’ because each ends with a fourteenner.⁴⁹ This is significant because fourteenners frequently appear as rhymed couplets and can be seen as hymn quatrains with common metre or as ballad stanzas.⁵⁰ Both ‘The Will’ (Love’s Legacie’) and ‘Epithalamion’ [Eclogue. 1613. December 26.] contain musical references. In ‘The Will’ [‘Loves Legacie’], Donne writes, ‘To him for whom the Passing-bell next tolles | I giue my Phisick bookes; My written Rolles’ (ll. 37-38).⁵¹ The poem also contains numbered stanzas in Clitherow. ‘Eclogue and Epithalamion on the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset, 1613, December 26’ begins with a narrator in the Eclogue setting the scene. *Allophanes* and *Idios* recite their parts, the chorus of

⁴⁷ See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁴⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II for analogues of ‘Breake of Daye’.

⁴⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 274. See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁵⁰ ---‘ballad’, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary* (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, 2021) [accessed 17 January 2024]. Coming from the word ‘ballare’ (to dance), ballads are ‘a narrative composition in rhythmic verse suitable for singing; an art song accompanying a traditional ballad; a simple song, or air; or a popular song, especially a slow romantic or sentimental song’.

⁵¹ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.3, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022), p. 149.

numbered stanzas orders the action, ending with *Idios* stating, ‘As I haue brought this Song, that I may doe | A perfect Sacrifice, Ile burne it too’. (ll. 226-227).⁵² Therefore, both poems could have been performed as songs.⁵³ ‘The Will’s placement in Clitherow, the structure and numbering of stanzas, and the status of the Epithalamion’s addressees,⁵⁴ make it possible that these poems were to be performed as songs.

No musical settings have ever been found of ‘Infinitati Sacrum, 16. Augusti. 1601., *Metempsychosis*, Poema Satyricon, First Songe’, *Divine Meditations*, ‘La Corona’ or ‘A Litany’. Indeed, there could be reasons related to literary genre why Donne might number the stanzas in any of these works that have nothing to do with music at all. Yet, verse numbering, as we see it in Clitherow, provokes questions of musical intent throughout Donne’s work. If Donne’s satyre *Metempsychosis* (1601) were written to be sung, each numbered verse/stanza could be performed by either one vocalist or many, with lines assigned to each throughout the performance. Similarly, the numbered verses in manuscript and print witnesses of ‘A Litany’ (1608?), as seen in the *Variorum* Concordance, could have been sung or read. Dating from the 13th century, The Greek word *litaneia* means ‘entreaty’, for it is a chant, a ‘prayer consisting of a series of invocations and supplications by the leader with alternative responses by the congregation’.⁵⁵ ‘Poema Satyricon’ ‘First Songe’ begins, ‘I sing the progresse of a Deathles Soule’ (l. 1),⁵⁶ ending

⁵² John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 8, *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and Miscellaneous Poems* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1995), p. 139.

⁵³ This entertainment was written for King James VI & I’s favourite, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, Earl of Somerset, and Carr’s bride Frances Howard, both of whom were known for their participation in the masques at Court.

⁵⁵ ---‘litany’, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary* (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, 2021) [accessed 16 February 2021].

⁵⁶ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 3, *The Satyres* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2016), p. 251.

with the *Agnus Dei*, ‘addressed to Christ as Savior’, the liturgical music accompanying prayer, glorifying the Lamb of God’.⁵⁷ In Denbigh MS 18647, *The Progress of the Soul: First Songe* is placed before ‘Hymne to God the Father’, the hymn set to music by John Hilton, possibly giving credence to ‘First Songe’ being written to be sung.

Donne’s *Divine Meditations* (A different version of ‘*Holy Sonnets*’) (1609-1610) has each sonnet numbered as well. It is possible that Donne’s *Holy Sonnets* were also meant to be sung, given their resemblance to King David’s Seven Penitential Psalms, and the tradition of psalm singing in the English church. Psalm comes from the Greek words *Psallein* (‘to pluck’) and *psalmos* (‘song sung to harp music’).⁵⁸ ‘The earliest English poetry, as we have seen, was sung or recited to the harp’.⁵⁹ Donne refers to psalms⁶⁰ often in his sermons, calling them the ‘Manna of the Church’.⁶¹ In his sermon on Psalm 63, Donne emphasizes the psalm being *sung*, not just read, when he states that the ‘Church should meet every day, to sing this Psalme’, . . . ‘S. *Chrysostome* testifies, That it was decreed, and ordained by the Primitive Fathers that no day should passe without the publique singing of this Psalm’.⁶² McColley feels that most of Donne’s *Divine Poems*, ‘however deeply felt, are idiosyncratic, unlike the deliberately universal motets of his recusant family’s tradition or the scriptural anthems of the English Church’, with the

⁵⁷ ---‘*Agnus Dei*’, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary* (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, 2021) [accessed 16 February 2021]. It is also ‘an image of a lamb often with a halo and a banner and cross used as a symbol of Christ’.

⁵⁸ ---‘psalm’, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary* (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, 2021) [accessed 15 February 2021].

⁵⁹ Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: The Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 39.

⁶⁰ Harley, p. 271. Donne would frequently have heard psalms sung, given that sermons in the chapel royal were usually preceded by the singing of a psalm.

⁶¹ John Donne, *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62), VII, 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*

exception being ‘Hymne to God the Father’, which she feels to be ‘unexceptional’ given Donne puns on his own name as he has done in other poems.⁶³ This view seems not to take into consideration the ‘religious and recreative’ nature of ‘Song-musicke’ as defined by Dowland, the philosophies which drive them (known to Donne and the composers of his musical settings) or the possibility that the Divine Poems were meant to be sung.

Like the *Divine Meditations*, the stanzas of ‘La Corona’ (1607-1608?), are also numbered in the Clitherow manuscript. Could Donne have intended the verses of ‘La Corona’ to be sung? There are certainly a number of other, corroborating reasons to think so. For example, in a prose letter to Magdalen Herbert,⁶⁴ written 1607 or 1608, Donne states that he commits ‘the enclosed *Holy Hymns and Sonnets* . . . to your judgement’.⁶⁵ Walton adds that these ‘Hymns are now lost to us’, leading us to believe that there were other hymns written by Donne of which we are unaware.⁶⁶ Robbins states that ‘Grierson (2. 228-9), is content to take “Hymns” in letter and sonnet as loosely referring to the sonnets of *Corona*: “The sonnets are hymns, i.e., songs of praise . . . ‘Hymns to his dear name adrest: is an exact description of the *La Corona* sonnets”’.⁶⁷ Although there is no documentary evidence that Donne sent Magdalen Herbert *La Corona* with

⁶³ McColley, p. 94.

⁶⁴ Lara M. Crowley, ‘Donne, Not Davison: Reconsidering the Authorship of “Psalm 137”’, *MP*, 105.4 (2008), 603–36, (pp. 490, 487). Crowley states that ‘La Corona’ is referred to in ‘To Mrs Magdalen Herbert: Of St. Mary Magdalen’ as ‘. . . these hymns to his dear name addressed’ (p. 490), suggesting the ‘Feast of the Name of Jesus on 7 August’ (l. 14) (p. 487).

⁶⁵ Izaak Walton. *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at his shop under S. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1658), p. 146. Walton gives the text of the letter accompanying these poems, where Donne states, ‘I commit the enclosed *Holy Hymns and Sonnets* (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgement—and to your protection, too, if you think them worthy of it—and I have appointed this enclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand’.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 488.

the expectation that the stanzas would be set, played and sung by her or her musical sons, George and Edward, it is not inconceivable. As will be seen in Chapter Two, George Herbert wrote hymns and songs, and Edward Herbert wrote pavans, preludes and a courante for his lute book. Later, Henry Fusner composed *La Corona - Seven Sonnets of John Donne* (1912) and Benjamin Britten set *The Holy Sonnets of John Donne*, op. 35 (1946).

Louis L. Martz feels that ‘woven into an endless wreath of “prayer and praise”, Donne’s seven sonnets are “meant to be read as one poem”’;⁶⁸ it also could have been sung. In *Corona* 1, Donne begins, ‘Deigne at my handes thys Crowne of Prayer and Prayse,’ (l. 1) . . . Tis time that hart and voice be lifted high, Saluation to all that will is nighe.’ (l. 13-14) and ends, ‘And if thy holy Spiritt my Muse did rayse | Deigne at my handes thys Crowne of Prayer and Prayse.’ (ll. 13-14).⁶⁹

Lady Mary Sidney Wroth’s fourteen-poem ‘Crown of Sonnets Dedicated to Love’ in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1621) is among the analogues of ‘La Corona’.⁷⁰ Well-known for singing, playing the lute, participating in musical performances and having her lyrics set to music by contemporary composers,⁷¹ Lady Mary might have taken her cue from Donne, going one better, by writing, setting and singing her own sonnets.⁷²

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 475. Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, rev. 2nd edn (Princeton: Yale University Press, 1962).

⁶⁹ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen. ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 7.2, *The Divine Poems* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), pp. 5, 7.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 475.

⁷¹ Katherine R. Larson, *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 3.

⁷² Margaret Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010; repr. New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 182-3. Hannay writes of Lady Wroth ‘circulating her poems by reading or singing them or having them sung by professional musicians’.

Analysis of Donne’s poetry indicates other structural elements and devices that are musical and literary. The use of a refrain, or chorus, is one example. Robbins states that the ‘refrain’ in the poem ‘Loves Deity’ [Deitye] (c. early 1590s) ‘suggests that this poem was expected to be sung’.⁷³ The last line of each stanza is indented and repeated: ‘I must loue her that loues not mee’ (l. 7); ‘Loue, till I loue her that loues mee’ (l. 14); ‘That I should loue, who loues not mee’ (l. 21); ‘If shee whom I loue should loue me’ (l. 28).⁷⁴ A refrain also appears in ‘Louers Infiniteness’ (c. 1590s), set by Dowland in 1612. ‘The song, “To aske for all thy loue”’ in Dowland’s *Pilgrimes Solace*, ‘is based on D’s last stanza’:⁷⁵ ‘Deare, I shall neuer haue thee All’ (l. 11); ‘Growe there, Dear, I shold haue yt all’ (l. 22); ‘Bee One, and One Another’s All’ (l. 33).⁷⁶ The refrain of ‘The Indifferent’ (c. 1590s) is another example: ‘I can loue any—soe shee bee not true’; ‘Growe your fix’d subiect, because you are true’?; ‘You shalbee true to them who’re false to you’.⁷⁷ ‘The Indifferent’ is titled ‘A Song’ in *The Academy of Complements* (1663).⁷⁸ Although no musical settings of ‘The Canonization’ are extant, its inclusion in so many manuscripts grouped with other songs that *have* been set might be explained by viewing

⁷³ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 211.

⁷⁴ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 127.

⁷⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 209. Robbins states, ‘The song “To ask for all thy love” in Dowland’s *Pilgrimes Solace* 3 (1612; Fellowes p. 491, reprinted by Gardner (*EES (Elegies and Songs and Sonnets)*, p. 242) is based on Donne’s last stanza. A slightly different version appears in *O’F* (O’Flaherty MS)’.

⁷⁶ Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.2, *The Songs and Sonnets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), p. 137.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁷⁸ John Gough (fl. 1640), *The Academy of Complements Wherein Ladies, Gentlewomen, Schollers, and Strangers may n Accomodate their Courtly Practice with Gentile Ceremonies, Complemental, Amorous, High Expressions and Forms of Speaking, Or Writing of Letters most in Fashion / a Work Perused, Exactly Perfected, Everywhere Corrected and Enlarged, and Enriched by the Author, with Additions of Many Witty Poems, and Pleasant Songs...*, London, 1663, pp. 231-232.

the last line of each stanza as the refrain in a song: ‘So you will lett mee loue’ (l. 9); ‘Though She and I doe loue’ (l. 18); ‘Misterious by thys loue’ (l. 27); ‘Vs Canonizd for love’ (l. 36); ‘A Patterne of Our love’ (l. 45).⁷⁹ Ferrabosco repeats ‘We aske none leaue to loue, nor will we owe | any so cheape a death as saying goe’ in his musical setting of Donne’s ‘The Expiration’ (1609).⁸⁰ The same repetition is used in the Anonymous setting of ‘The Expiration’ in MS Mus. Sch. F. 575⁸¹ and in ‘Breake of Daye’ by Corkine (1612). In the hymn, ‘Hymne to God the Father’, Donne refers to Ann More repeatedly in the refrain: ‘When thou hast done, thou hast not done, | For, I have more’ (ll. 5-6, 11-12); ‘And, having done that, Thou haste done, | I feare no more’ (ll. 17-18).⁸² Due to the metre of the hymn tune and the repeated line, with an accompanying melody particular to that line (refrain), this poem was also sung as well as read, set to music by Hilton. ‘A Hymne to Christ’ appears also to have a refrain.⁸³ In *Epithalamium*, ‘To-day put(s) on perfection and a Womans name’ is repeated at the end of stanzas 1-4 and ‘To night put(s) on perfection and a Womans name’ is repeated at the end of stanzas 5-8.⁸⁴ The use of refrains in these poems indicates that the poems may have been written with the intention of being sung.

The Appendices contains an extensive list of all manuscripts containing poems by Donne that are titles as ‘Songs’ or ‘Songs’, taken from *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*

⁷⁹ *Variorum*, 4.2, pp. 119-20.

⁸⁰ See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Variorum*, 7.2, p.183.

⁸³ John Shawcross, *Intentionality and the new Traditionalism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), p. 71. John T. Shawcross argues that the poem has been ‘misclassified, mistitled; it is more correctly a prayer’.

⁸⁴ *Variorum*, 8, pp. 88-89.

1450-1700.⁸⁵ Out of the manuscripts, the three containing the largest number of these songs by Donne are O’Flahertie (H6), Stowe I (B46) and Clitherow (ACC/1360/528). A comparison of the songs/hymns listed in these three manuscripts in the Appendices shows how the Clitherow manuscript adds to the number of poems previously considered to be songs, for many of the poems that are titled as songs in Clitherow are not so titled in the other two. This is critical for a study of Donne and music for this adds to the canon of poems previously considered to be songs. The Clitherow manuscript is important in determining which of Donne’s poems were intended to be sung (for some of which we have musical settings and for some we do not), and all the more so given that this manuscript is rarely, if ever, included in scholarly lists and accounts of manuscript collections and miscellanies containing Donne’s verse.

1.2 *Songes and Sonets* as Verbal and Melodic Lyrics

Diane Kelsey McColley cites three works that share the title of Donne’s *Songes and Sonets* (as this group of Donne’s poems is titled in the 1635 2nd edition of *Poems, by J. D.*). They are London publisher Richard Tottel’s “Tottel’s Miscellany” (*Songes and Sonnettes*) (1557)⁸⁶ [to which John Heywood, Donne’s musical grandfather contributed] and two collections of part-songs by composer William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (1588) and *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611).⁸⁷ In *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), composer

⁸⁵ Peter Beal, ‘John Donne’, in *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* <<http://celm-ms.org.uk>> [accessed 1 Sept. 2021]

⁸⁶ Pattison, pp. 33-34. Tottel’s collection of poems included Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and other poets of Henry VIII’s reign. Pattison states that Wyatt first introduced Italian styles to English poetry and ‘a certain preference for poetry that was sung’.

⁸⁷ McColley, p. 264, n. 11. Chronologically, the timing of William Byrd’s later music fits with the writing of Donne’s poems and with the debut of his musical settings. (p. 94)

Thomas Morley⁸⁸ describes the ‘light music’ of madrigals as the ‘best kind’ to set the songs and sonnets of ‘Petrarch and many poets of our time’.⁸⁹ Madrigals of Donne’s poetry include Orlando Gibbons’s ‘Ah, deere hart’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) (1612); Thomas Ford’s ‘The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius’ (‘How sitts this citty, late most populous’) (MSS 736-738); and analogues of ‘Breake of Daye’, ‘Why dost thou fly’, by Thomas Bateson, in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612) and John Farmer’s ‘Oh, stay, sweet love’ in *Madrigals* (1599). Bruce Pattison observes that the madrigal was a ‘very satisfactory compromise between the claims of music and poetry’.⁹⁰ McColley states, ‘Many of the *Songs and Sonets* are perplexed or vivified versions of song and madrigal themes. Sometimes these simpler texts and their settings illuminate allusions, prosody, tone, and the vexed question of the speaking voice’.⁹¹ McColley questions whether or not Donne’s ‘amorous verses’ are ‘personal lyrics from intimate experience’, ‘coterie imitations’ or ‘dramatic monologues from urbane observation’.⁹² She suggests they ‘may be, if not solved,

⁸⁸ Philip Brett, and Tessa Murray, ‘Morley, Thomas’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 21 March 2022]. Thomas Morley (b. Norwich, 1557 or 1558-London, early Oct. 1602) was one of the organists of St. Paul’s that was taught by Byrd. An ‘English composer, editor, theorist, publisher and organist’, Morley was ‘the most influential figure, as writer and editor as well as composer, in the Elizabethan vogue for the Italian madrigal’. [...] ‘In 1591, when Donne was at Thavies and Lincoln’s Inn, it was printed in the Elvetham entertainment that the Queen “gave a new name unto one of their Pavans, made long since by master Thomas Morley, then organist of Paules church”’. Morley was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on 24 July 1592 and was ‘much involved in printing and publishing’. He was rumoured to be a recusant and spy, so possibly Donne had knowledge of him through Catholic channels. ‘In a letter from the Low Countries dated 3 October 1591, recusant and double agent, Charles Paget, indicated that Morley, like Alfonso Ferrabosco, the elder, was “employed as a spy for the government”, although no evidence of this had ever been presented’. If true, this could be one reason Queen Elizabeth I would not allow Alfonso, the Younger, to be sent to his father in Italy.

⁸⁹ McColley, p. 102. Donne later ‘expressed an interest in liturgical music, composed “hymns”, versified psalms or scriptural songs, and wrote poems for the seasons of the liturgical year that the music of those seasons often illuminates’ (p. 1).

⁹⁰ Pattison, p. 98.

⁹¹ McColley, p. 94.

⁹² *Ibid.*

at least enlarged by the recognition that courts and houses throughout the realm resounded with the words of comparable first-person private declarations openly shared in sociable part-singing'.⁹³ McColley is correct: this section of the chapter will show that many musical settings of Donne's poetry were composed by Court musicians and played and sung by the aristocracy in homes throughout England, Europe and possibly the Americas.

Donne refers to, and utilizes, *Sound, Moode, Tone, Voyce and Musicall Instruments* in his poetry and prose. *The Third Booke of Ornithoparchvs His Mvsicke, Tovching the Ecclesiasticall Accent*, Dowland's translation defines 'Song-Musicke' [L. *Cantus*] as 'both plaine and mensural, becommeth the most religious, that they may both sing praises to God, and make themselues merry at fit times of recreation'.⁹⁴ Dowland's definition applies to the totality of Donne's writing—religious and recreative. The placement of the scores of each part on the printed page in Dowland's *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612) is the practical realization of the theory conveyed by Ornithoparchus, wherein the book was designed for each musician to sit across from one another, singing and playing together from the same book.⁹⁵

Donne may or may not have had any control over, or involvement with, the adaptation or usage of his poems. The 'Songes' of his *Songs and Sonets* could simply be examples of lyric poems 'singing Donne's pain',⁹⁶ written only to be read. However, in *The Poems of John Donne*, Grierson states, 'A song meant for the Elizabethans a poem intended to be sung, generally by the accompaniment of a lute. Donne had clearly no thought of his songs being an

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 70.

⁹⁵ See Appendices, Vol II.

⁹⁶ Donne, 'The Triple Fool', line 14.

exception to this rule'.⁹⁷ I would argue, therefore, based on the definitions provided above of 'Songe' and manuscript examples in the Appendices, that the lyrics of Donne's 'Songes' could have been intentionally written to be sung. Gardner states that the tune to 'The Baite' could have been 'running in Donne's head as he wrote his poem'.⁹⁸ It is also possible that Donne could have collaborated with the composers of his musical settings anonymously. There is precedent for Donne as 'Anonymous' in his 'dangerous' letter to Ann More in October 1601, bearing no date or address.⁹⁹

Donne scholars disagree on the proper definition of 'Songe'. Dayton Haskins shows that, in seventeenth-century manuscripts, 'the heading "Song" often shows up above individual poems by Donne, and scribal references to "Dunne's sonets" sometimes appear as well'.¹⁰⁰ Haskins explains that 'Songs and Sonets' echoes the title of the previously mentioned sixteenth-century anthology 'Tottel's Miscellany', concluding that the 1635 *Poems, by J.D.* may have been perceived by its readers as 'old-fashioned love poetry'.¹⁰¹ Haskins credits the compilers with 'recognizing that the poems do not represent an author's lyric self-expression', but 'belong to the older tradition of the commonplace book and the miscellany', since Tottel had established the miscellany as an 'aesthetically accomplished type of book' [...] 'poems as aesthetic performances to be read through here and there and in any order the reader wished'.¹⁰² Neil

⁹⁷ Grierson, I, p. 54.

⁹⁸ Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, p. 239.

⁹⁹ *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. with an Introduction by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Dayton Haskins, 'The Love Lyric [Songs and Sonets]', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 183.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

Keeble thinks the poems are anything but ‘courtly’ or ‘sweet’, believing ‘considerations of genre’ would provide a key to understanding Donne’s poetic achievement; Haskins views the poems as ‘inappropriate’ in their ‘traditional designation’.¹⁰³

Viewing ‘Songs and Sonets’ in terms of musical setting and performance as well as in terms of poems for reading puts them into a separate genre. It also possibly explains why they do not ‘fit’ into scholarship’s more ‘traditional’ paradigms and why Donne worked ‘against (as well as with) the generic conventions he inherited’.¹⁰⁴ Haskins states there was no ‘theoretical distinction between the melodic “lyrics” written by, say, Campion or Shakespeare when he included songs in his plays and the verbal “lyrics”, [...] by Donne and Waller’.¹⁰⁵ I assert that Donne’s lyrics are both melodic and verbal: they are written to be read (i.e. verbal lyrics) but they are also set to music and in that sense become melodic lyrics. Haskins states that *lyric* falls into a ‘broad general category’: ‘As lyric poems, the so-called Songs and Sonets do not answer to a classical precedent in the way that Donne’s Epigrams, Elegies, Satires, Verse Letters, Epicedes, Obsequies, and Epithalamions do. Moreover, they differ from the kinds of poems—Elegies, Epigrams, Satires, and Holy Sonnets—that Donne himself sometimes arranged in sequences’.¹⁰⁶ Love lyrics were chiefly arranged in sequences in the case of sonnet sequences (e.g. Sidney, Spenser, Drayton, Daniel, or Shakespeare), but Donne did not write love sonnets, only holy sonnets. There is no classical precedent because the Elizabethan and Jacobean love lyric was chiefly an import from Renaissance Italy and France, from Petrarch and Ronsard,

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

rather than a form with a longer, classical history. ‘D’s love lyrics are also very much occasional poems, written in response to particular situations rather than planned along thematic or narrative lines, like *Metempsychosis*. They belong to the miscellany tradition, with no particular intention that any individual poem would have been collected together with others into a group’.¹⁰⁷ The Grolier Club correctly describes the ‘Songs and Sonets’ as ‘a different sort of group’ [...] ‘Miscellaneous’.¹⁰⁸ Possibly, there is no precedent and there are no sequences, as Haskins suggests, because a part of the miscellaneity of the ‘Songs’ derives from their function as melodic lyrics, to be sung.

Adjective or noun, *lyric* was viewed by seventeenth-century writers and composers, in a musical sense, as interchangeable with *song*. The Table of Contents of Grierson’s *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems* lends credence to this theory, for numerous songs and hymns by various seventeenth-century writers are included. Comparing Grierson’s title with Donne’s produces an interesting parallel: *Lyrics and Poems // Songs and Sonnets*. It appears that Grierson, in the title of his own edited volume, seeks to encompass both the melodic and verbal functions of lyric poetry, just as the ‘Songs and Sonets’ title seeks to do in *Poems, by J. D.* (1635).

The definition of ‘sonnet’ is also much debated. Mary Hobbs states that in the Stoughton MS ‘Sonnet’ was a ‘term meaning song’, ‘which [...] clearly denotes the existence of a musical setting (a usage not noticed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*), rather than a poetical form’.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Henry King, *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle, circa 1636, A facsimile edition with Introduction and Indexes* by Mary Hobbs (Hants: Scolar Press, 1990), p. xviii.

John Hollander, among others,¹¹⁰ points out that while Donne's *Songs and Sonets* look nothing like sonnets, they do look 'very much like songs'.¹¹¹ Despite the difference of opinion regarding the proper definitions of song, lyric or sonnet, one thing is clear: 'Early seventeenth-century poets did not normally publish their poems, they circulated them in manuscripts. They were lent to friends and family, who often lent them to others, who copied all or some of the poems into their own verse miscellanies'.¹¹² Donne's poetry was no exception, as is evinced throughout Volumes I and II of this thesis.

Musical settings of Donne's poetry were preserved either by oral transmission or by MS copies prior to printing; but, by the seventeenth century, music began to circulate more widely.¹¹³ Music that was printed has a clearly defined date of publication. *A Pilgrimes Solace*, by John Dowland, published in 1612 or Alfonso Ferrabosco's *First Booke of Ayres* (1609) are two examples of this. One need only confirm the printer and the date. However, the dating of a musical manuscript is less clear; therefore, it is important to establish the inherent flaws in dating a musical composition of this period. In the following commentary, 'arising from my [his] own research(es) into Tudor music and source material', John Ross Milsom, Christ Church Library, Oxford, confirms the difficulties surrounding this procedure and any possible links between author and composer. He feels that it is exceptionally rare—almost unknown—for a source to specify how, where or when an early-modern composer gained access to a literary text that he

¹¹⁰ Cf. Holmes, Jonathan, "'There must be something heard": John Donne's aural universe', in *Refiguring Memesis: Representation in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), pp. 183-207 (p. 190 n. 27).

¹¹¹ John Hollander, *Vision and Resonance: Two Senses of Poetic Form* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 47.

¹¹² King, p. ix.

¹¹³ Stanley Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS', in *Grove* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 10 May 2021].

then set to music.¹¹⁴ (Even when we suspect that poet and composer knew one another, first-hand information about their relationship and collaboration rarely survives).¹¹⁵ It is also very rare for a music manuscript to bear dates of compilation and or expansion; copyists simply did not record the dates when they added pieces.¹¹⁶ Watermark evidence can sometimes be suggestive, but rarely at the level of pointing to a year or narrow span of years; and, of course, paper was not always new when it was used.¹¹⁷

Music manuscripts ‘have been studied for the music, for the versions presented, and for any evidence of performance practice’, with particular emphasis on ‘composers’ autographs’.¹¹⁸ ‘Many details of MSS, however, tell us more about the status of music and musicians, about taste in book-making and collecting, and about types and levels of culture in different strata of society’.¹¹⁹ Written by hand, the ‘appearance’ of the music manuscript, ‘the ways in which it was constructed and copied, and the ancillary information it carries (rather than the actual notes) are thus central to the history of music within society’.¹²⁰ They fall into three categories: ‘affluent collectors’ [...], ‘institutions’ [...], and ‘scholars and professionals’ [...], with the exception being that of the ‘performer’.¹²¹ The ‘prestigious nature of the owned MS

¹¹⁴ I am deeply indebted to John Ross Milsom for this information in his e-mail titled, ‘John Donne and Music’ on 30 January 2019. A transcript of this e-mail is available.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Boorman, et al.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

comes across with the occasional appearance of the name of a purchaser inscribed on the title-page of individual copies [...] with the apparent implication that the MS was individually prepared for the purchaser'.¹²² Therefore, music manuscripts were rare and highly prized.¹²³ Christopher Marsh believed 'there is something intimate and private about a manuscript music book' and Katie Nelson concurs: 'Music books were the fruits of the music lesson in early modern England'; 'imitating courtly conventions',¹²⁴ these songs were also used to 'convey messages that were too dangerous to be spoken.'¹²⁵ 'Private Musicke' contained 'an implication of intimacy, even a hint of snobbery, attractive as a mark of gentility to families conscious of their social rank'.¹²⁶ *Airs*¹²⁷ within the manuscripts were sung primarily with lute accompaniment and were the most popular genre in England during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The first known printed musical settings of Donne's poems, composed by Ferrabosco, Dowland, and Corkine were published between 1609 and 1612, and musical settings by Peerson and Gibbons circulated in manuscript during that time'.¹²⁸ Musical settings by Dowland,

¹²² John Ross Milsom.

¹²³ Katie Nelson, 'Love in the music room: Thomas Whythorne and the private affairs of Tudor music tutors', in *Early Music*, Vol. 40, 1 (February 2012), 15–26, p. 20.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 203, 215.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. xvi.

¹²⁷ An air, or ayre, was a solo song with lute accompaniment which flourished in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

¹²⁸ Between 1609 and 1612, Martin Peerson's 'The Primerose' and Orlando Gibbons's 'Ah, deere hart' (a version of 'Sweet, stay awhile', analogue to 'Breake of Daye') appeared in manuscript. 'The Primerose' is in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612), Mu. MS 168, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and 'Ah, deere hart' is in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612), MS Mus. f. 24, Summary Catalogue nos.

Anonymous, Coprario, Hilton, Wilson, the Lawes', Ford, and Humphrey are seen in manuscripts thereafter.¹²⁹ From 1620 onward, there is an outpouring of Donne musical settings. However, I have found no musical settings of Donne's poetry that are definitively dated between 1613 and 1619. What happened between 1613 and 1619 that seems to have interrupted the musical composition of Donne's poetry?

Clues into the events of Donne's life from 1613 to 1619 in Bald and Shawcross's timelines are revealing.¹³⁰ In 1613, whilst Donne continued to write and publish, he and his family were ill, with an infant son, Nicholas, dying in infancy, and, in 1614, Donne sat in the 'Addled' Parliament, buried a daughter, Mary, a son, Francis, and gave up on obtaining state employment.¹³¹ In 1615, Donne was ordained deacon and priest at St. Paul's Cathedral, appointed Royal Chaplain, preached and was entrusted with a cipher for diplomatic correspondence about religious developments abroad.¹³² Shawcross adds that Donne received (through King James VI & I) an honorary D.D. from Cambridge and Donne's daughter, Margaret, was born.¹³³ 1616 was busy with two new rectories, preaching, and the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth; 1617 brought about the biggest and most devastating change in Donne's

16838-16842, Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is also possible that Farmer, Farnaby, Ravenscroft, Dowland and Bateson wrote manuscript musical settings earlier than 1609. See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹²⁹ It is also possible that Farmer, Farnaby, Ravenscroft, Dowland and Bateson wrote manuscript musical settings earlier than 1609. See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹³⁰ See *Chronological Outline of Musical Settings of Donne's Poetry* in Appendices, Vol. II.

¹³¹ Bald, p. 549.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ John Donne, *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. by John T. Shawcross (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. xv.

life thus far, with the death of his wife, Ann More Donne, and their still-born, twelfth child.¹³⁴ In 1618, Donne was reeling from Ann's death and a busy schedule, with seven surviving children to raise. By 1619, he was preaching at Court, to the aristocracy and at Lincoln's Inn; he 'leaves as chaplain (12 May) with privy councillor James Hay, Viscount Doncaster's embassy to Germany', '[P]reaches at Heidelberg to the Prince and Princess Platine (16 June and 18 July)' and, 'at The Hague (19 Dec.)'.¹³⁵ Although these facts would not prevent composers from setting Donne's lyrics to music, it might explain why there was no known involvement on Donne's part. The six-year gap in my chronology of musical settings of Donne's poetry shows that the years 1613-1619 were difficult and traumatic, certainly not an atmosphere conducive to art songs.¹³⁶

By 1620, Donne was well-known and had made a name for himself at Lincoln's Inn, at Court and at St. Paul's, where, in 1621, he was elected and installed as Dean.¹³⁷ Now firmly established at St. Paul's, why no music appears in print, only in manuscripts, after 1621, might be best explained by Donne's desire to quell any involvement with his earlier love lyrics; his focus had turned to religious musical associations, especially after his ordination in 1615. By then, his associations with music and musicians were confined to the church and to the writing of hymns, which would have been deemed acceptable to the Court, to his parishioners and to God. However, despite Donne's best efforts at restricting the manuscript circulation of the poetry of his youth, composers over the next thirty years set his lyrics to music again and again, eager no

¹³⁴ Bald, pp. 539-40.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 540.

¹³⁶ See *Chronological Outline of Musical Settings of Donne's Poetry* in Appendices, Vol. II.

¹³⁷ Bald, p. 540.

doubt to benefit from the association of their music with the lyrics of such a well-known public figure.

It is possible that no music was printed after 1612 because Donne did not *want* any printed since he was contemplating entering the ministry. However, the quantity of musical settings before and after, amid Donne's personal and professional circumstances, warrant consideration of the extent of his involvement with the composers who set his poems to music. Whether Donne took an active role is unknown; nothing has been found to support composition or collaboration, and, to date, no musical settings of his poetry have been found to bear his name.

Donne musical settings were composed, printed and circulated in manuscript when the poet was in serious need of a stable income. He told his close friend Sir Henry Goodyer in 1614, 'I am brought to a necessity of printing my Poems [...] I apprehend some incongruities in the resolution; and I know what I shall suffer from many interpretations; but I am at an end . . . ' (ll. 51-58).¹³⁸ The royal, aristocratic, and artistic social strata of which Donne was a part places him in close proximity to the composers of his musical settings, their (and his) musical friends, and their associates.

Since Donne took lodgings in the Strand in London in 1607, while his family was still in Mitcham, and he kept his lodgings there until he moved his family to Drury House in 1612,¹³⁹ the years (1607-1614) become very important because both Donne and his composers were in London. The earliest Donne musical settings that can be accurately dated were printed between 1609 and 1612, years he was seeking employment.¹⁴⁰ Numerous musical settings in manuscripts

¹³⁸ John Donne, 'To Sir H. G.' ('I Writ to you yesterday'), 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne* (2005) (Updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 16 March 2022].

¹³⁹ Bald, pp. 538-39.

¹⁴⁰ This does not include the analogues by Farnaby and Farmer (1598).

precede and follow, and multiple poems (lyrics only) are designated as ‘Songes’/‘Songs’. When we consider Donne’s financial situation during these years, understand the working relationships between composers and printers, and examine his associations with the predominant musicians of the period, at Court and throughout the English aristocracy (and the power these composers wielded), Donne’s relationship with the composers who set his poems to music must be considered.

Gardner divides Donne’s lyrics into two periods, those composed before 1598¹⁴¹ and those composed in the period 1607-1614. John T. Shawcross is dismissive of Gardner’s division of Donne’s songs and sonnets stating, ‘Miss Gardner’s attempt . . . to separate these lyrics into two periods—one before 1598 and one from 1607-1614—is most unconvincing, except for a few late pieces as here indicated’.¹⁴² In her General Introduction, Gardner gives various reasons for why certain poems must be dated after 1600 for ‘reasons other than their theme, style, or metrical originality’.¹⁴³ She cites ‘The Sun Rising’, ‘The Anniversary’, and ‘The Canonization’, where ‘In all of these references a tone of contempt can be heard’.¹⁴⁴

A characteristic of the poems that Donne wrote on the union of lovers is that the old Ovidian distinction between *negotium* and *otium* is expressed with religious fervor. The values of love are set over against the values of the court and the world. The *contemptus mundi* that rings through these poems is surely connected with Donne’s situation from 1602-1605. Exiled from affairs he consoles himself by scorning the world.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ 1599 should be included if John Farmer’s ‘O stay sweet Love’ (1599, only a year later) is included as an analogue to ‘Break of Day’ and Giles Farnaby’s ‘Lady, the silly Flea’ (1598) is an analogue to ‘The Flea’.

¹⁴² Donne, *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, p. 417. ‘Notes to the Chronological Schedule’ in *The Complete Poetry of John Donne* by John T. Shawcross.

¹⁴³ Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, p. lix.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. lix-lx.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lx.

Gardner explains that this attitude of Donne's, this 'contempt for mere kings and princes is quite different from the flouting of conventional moral standards' found in the early elegies and *Songs and Sonnets*.¹⁴⁶ She also feels that it is quite different from the 'attitude towards worldly success and the court', seen in other poems such as 'A Litany'.¹⁴⁷ Her use of *otium* and *negotium* depicts Donne pursuing leisure activities during these years, with time for contemplation, intellectual/academic pursuits, and artistic endeavors. David Colclough states that during this time Donne wanted to 'carry out the work of writing and the pursuit of knowledge'.¹⁴⁸ Donne wrote four major prose works: *Biathanatos* (c. 1607), *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611), and *Essayes in Divinity* (1614). He was also writing diplomatic and legal opinions for patrons such as Sir Robert Cotton and helping clerics such as Thomas Morton in matters of religious controversy. 'At a time when he was writing the *Elegies*, Donne also wrote a certain number of lyrics, "songs which were made to certain ayres which were made before" and love-epigrams inspired by one of his favorite poets, Martial'.¹⁴⁹ "Songs which were made to certain airs which were made before",¹⁵⁰ was verse written with a melody in mind. This was known as *contrafacta* from the Medieval Latin *contrafacere* or "counterfeiting".¹⁵¹ Two poems 'experiment in longer and less regular stanzas ("The Triple

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ David Colclough, ed., *John Donne's Professional Lives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 2 n. 9. 'The six lyrics so described are "The Baite", "Community", "Confined Love," "Go and catch a fallinge star", "The Message", and "Sweetest love, I do not go"; see Gardner, "Musical Settings of Donne's Poems", esp. 238.' See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 2.

Fool” and “The Indifferent”).¹⁵² Gardner includes ‘The Apparition’ as among ‘one of Donne’s masterpieces’ and describes Donne’s ‘power of song’ in ‘Goe and catche a falling starre”, and ‘Sweetest Love, I doe not goe’.¹⁵³ ‘Ad Solem’, ‘The Apparition’, ‘Goe, and catche a falling Starre’, ‘Deerest/Sweetest Love, I doe not goe’, and ‘The Triple Foole’, all appear as musical settings or are titled ‘Song/Songes’ either in print, in manuscript or in both during 1607-1614 and after. Based on the dates of his musical settings, associations with Court composers likely occurred during this time. After Robert Cecil died in March 1614, Court certainly would have appeared more appealing for Donne, lending itself to a freer, more creative atmosphere. Gardner states Donne was reading cabbalistic authors and had ‘embarked on the ambitious project of a long poem’,¹⁵⁴ ‘The Progress of the Soul’:

The dedication and epistle and the fact that “The Progress of the Soul” is extant as a single work, occupying complete manuscripts, suggest that Donne had even contemplated publication of his “First Song”, or “Canto” [...] he began to write love poems again, at first dominated by these new ideas, but developing into highly original lyrics which combine dramatic feeling and the vigour of speech with the music of song.¹⁵⁵

For Gardner, Donne’s ‘music of song’ between 1607-1614 combined dramatic feeling, vigorous speech and musicality, all characteristics of declamation in seventeenth-century music. A thorough analysis of the musical settings of Donne’s poetry must explore the relationship of those settings to literary and musical genres, and to broader social and cultural contexts in early modern England and Europe. The changes in musical style and literary taste in the culture of the period are reflected in the different ways in which Donne’s poems were set to music. The

¹⁵² Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, p. lix.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. lxi.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lxi-lxii.

sizeable number of musical settings of Donne's poetry bespeak his influence. An understanding of the impact Donne's lyric poetry had on the musical culture of the early to mid-seventeenth century must begin with a background of the history of music in England.

1.3 Seventeenth-Century Musical Culture, Trends, and the Settings of Donne's Poetry

In *Words to Music—Papers on English Seventeenth-Century Song*, Professors Vincent Duckles and Franklin B. Zimmerman discuss the history of music in England, the result of a 'tide of musical and literary influence from south of the Alps . . .'.¹⁵⁶ 'Recitative music' arrived in England 'on the crest of the second wave of Italian influence.'¹⁵⁷ The 'successful synthesis of imported techniques, forms and styles with inherent gifts for melody and variation' produced sources 'overflowing with pavans and galliards, almans and courantes', and 'fancies on Italian models'.¹⁵⁸ A 'product of the so-called monodic revolution that took its start in the academies of Florence and the court of Mantua in the last decades of the sixteenth century,¹⁵⁹ it was characterized by two significant features, one of which concerned the declamatory treatment of the text and the other of which stressed the dramatic representation of feeling'.¹⁶⁰ 'The emphasis on declamation required, first of all, that the sense of the text should be communicated to the

¹⁵⁶ Vincent Duckles and Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Words to Music: Papers on English Seventeenth-Century Song Read at a Clark Library Seminar December 11, 1965 With an Introduction by Walter H. Rubsamen* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1967), p.5. Walter H. Rubsamen states that the 'accompanied solo songs' that sixteenth-century composers 'Farrant, Parsons, and Stogers provided for Tudor drama, [...] best exemplified in William Byrd's settings for voice and viols' laid the groundwork for English vocal style.

¹⁵⁷ Arthur J. Ness and C.A. Kolcznski, 'Sources of lute music', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 10 May 2022].

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Duckles and Zimmerman, p. 6.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

listener in a single salient voice line,¹⁶¹ undistorted by polyphonic texture, and that the melody should reflect the rhythmic patterns of elevated speech'.¹⁶² 'Its object was to convey, or *represent*, human speech under the influence of passion'.¹⁶³ These 'declamatory values' were not solely an 'Italian prerogative', as it 'stemmed as much from the humanistic experiments in versification that reached England by way of France and owed its impetus to the reforms of Ronsard and Baif'.¹⁶⁴

Though temporarily diverted by the English madrigal, the work of lutenist songs, composers Dowland, Daniel, Jones and Campion,¹⁶⁵ 'combined with a renewed strain of pure English lyric verse, produced one of the most perfect fusions of music and poetry that has ever been witnessed in English culture'.¹⁶⁶ Sir Philip Sidney [the Earl of Leicester's nephew], a disciple of Ronsard [a friend of the Earl of Leicester] and the Pléiade, coupled lyric and music.¹⁶⁷ Several of Sidney's poems have been set to music. Milton, as well, stated, 'Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse'.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ Chandley states, 'Harmony was simple, polyphony rare . . . it was monody'.

¹⁶² Duckles and Zimmerman, p. 6.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Pattison, p. 72. Pattison states that John Dowland had many acquaintances in Thomas Campion's circle and knew the poet himself. He states that 'Anthony Holborne's setting of some words by the Earl of Cumberland is included in *A Muscicall Banquet*, edited by Dowland's son, and this suggests that Dowland, like Campion and Holborne, may have had works performed at the earl's house. Campion addressed a very laudatory epigram to Dowland in his *Poemata*'.

¹⁶⁶ Duckles and Zimmerman, p. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Pattison, pp. 37, 63.

¹⁶⁸ John Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton both English and Latin, Compos'd at several Times. Printed by His True Copies. the Songs were Set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and One of His Maiesties Private Musick. Printed and Publish'd According to Order* (London, 1645), p. 22.

Baldassare Castiglione believed ‘the most agreeable of all is singing to the Lute, which gives such a Grace and Energy to the Words, that any one who has a Soul must be wonderfully affected’. Castiglione states, ‘. . . to sing by Book with a good manner is very fine; but to sing to an instrument much finer; for all the Sweetness of Musick consists in a Solo, [...]’.¹⁶⁹ The majority of the musical settings of Donne’s poetry were played and sung to the lute. ‘English solo lute music comprises some 1600 pieces contained in about 60 books, nearly all manuscript (a repertory nearly four times as great as that for virginals), while the sources of the lute ayre, on the other hand, are mostly prints. The earliest manuscripts, c1540–70, reflect the English proclivity for dances, grounds and song arrangements’.¹⁷⁰ Ayres ‘were printed with the vocal parts so disposed on the page that the pieces could be performed as solo songs with lute or as partsongs with the singers seated around a table [...] and include books by Dowland,¹⁷¹ Morley, Cavendish, Allison, Robert Jones (ii), Rosseter, Pilkington, Coprario, Danyel, Campion, Ferrabosco and others – for the most part composers who did not contribute substantially to the solo lute repertory’.¹⁷² These gatherings around a single book ‘allowed two to five performers in varying arrangements of voice, lute, and viol to see the music and respond to each other’.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Baldassare Castiglione. *The courtier: or, the complete gentleman and gentlewoman. Being, a treatise of the politest manner of educating persons of distinction of both Sexes, and the Qualifications requisite in People of all Ranks from the Prince to the private Gentleman. Interspersed with Curious Dissertations on the Accomplishments of Statuary, Painting, Poetry, Musick, Dancing, Dress, Love, Marriage, &c. Translated from the Italian original of Balthasar, Count Castiglione. In four books.* Printed for E. Curll in the Strand, [1729] [1728], p. 22.

¹⁷⁰ Ness and Kolcznski.

¹⁷¹ This can be seen in ‘Sweet, stay awhile’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) (1612) (II) and ‘Louers Infiniteness’ (‘To aske for all thy love’) by John Dowland, in *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612) (III) and in ‘The Expiration’ (‘So, so leave off this last lamenting kiss’) by Alphonso Ferrabosco, the Younger, in *First Booke of Ayres* (1609) (VII). (See Appendices, Vol. II.)

¹⁷² Ness and Kolcznski.

¹⁷³ Trudell, p. 68.

‘The only printed collections of solo lute music appeared at this time, the books of Barley (1596) and Robert Dowland (1603), son of John, alongside some 35 prints devoted to the lute ayre’.¹⁷⁴ With the appearance at court of Jacques Gautier in 1619 and the death of Dowland in 1626, indigenous English lute style declined before a gradual encroachment of French influences, well documented in Filmer’s *French Court-Aires, with their Ditties Englished* (1629), and in manuscripts such as Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s Lutebook and the Burwell Tutor.¹⁷⁵

Robert Dowland (1591-1641),¹⁷⁶ English lutenist and composer, published two anthologies of lute music and ayres in 1613, *A Musicall Banquet* and *A Varietie of Lute Lessons*;¹⁷⁷ he is important for the study of musical settings of Donne’s poetry because his famous introduction to *Nuove Musiche* (1601) ‘described a new song style’ that was known to the professional musicians (like Coprario, Ferrabosco and Campion), long before it appeared and “reached amateurs” in Playford’s *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* in 1655’.¹⁷⁸ ‘In Coperario’s *Funeral Tears* (1606) and *Songs of Mourning* (1613), and in some of Ferrabosco’s music for Ben Jonson’s masques, and occasionally in the work of Campion, one can observe tendencies that

¹⁷⁴ Ness and Kolcznski.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. ‘By 1676, as Mace recorded in his nostalgic *Musick’s Monument, or A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick*, the lute had been almost entirely ousted by the louder Italian chitarrone, an instrument more suited to thoroughbass realization, although several collections of Scottish tunes arranged for lute or mandore deserve mention’.

¹⁷⁶ Pattison, p. 73. ‘Dowland [John] had relations with the Sidney family, the fountain-head of the whole movement of the New Poetry in England. One of the poems in his *Pilgrimes Solace* (No. 1) is by William, Earl of Pembroke, Sidney’s brother-in-law. His son, Robert Dowland, dedicated *A Musicall Banquet* (1610) to Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle [...] Viscount Lisle’s standing godfather to Robert Dowland argues a regard for Robert’s father [John]’.

¹⁷⁷ He also played in one of George Chapman’s masques in 1626, a predecessor of the metaphysical poets.

¹⁷⁸ Duckles and Zimmerman.

lead in the direction of continuo song'.¹⁷⁹ This style evolved into the perfect conduit for metaphysical poets to express their lyric: 'the declamatory song'.

The musical features that come into evidence in these works are melodic lines that take their shape from the accent patterns of the text, a bass that functions as a framework upon which to build the harmonies, and inner voices that begin to lose their linear character and serve as chord-filling material, finally dropping out altogether to be restored at the discretion of the continuo player.¹⁸⁰

A significant factor in the evolution of seventeenth century music was the mode (or key).¹⁸¹ Hendries states, by the sixth century, 'a system of eight Modes or scales had been devised which has remained much the same ever since'.¹⁸² Hendrie argues there is an 'overwhelming case for ascribing such music to its Tones, rather than to the keys of the later major-minor system', for each of the modes as a range and character of its own and with the advent of polyphonic music, the tenor (frequently a plainsong) retained these characteristics, the Mode [or key] of the music being determined accordingly.¹⁸³ Mode set the mood and atmosphere. According to Frits Noske, 'In light of the notational practice of the first half of the seventeenth century two modes must be considered: the transposed Hypodorian (G minor) and the Lydian (F major), both with one flat (the authentic Dorian mode of D minor was usually notated without a key signature)'; there was agreement to a certain extent that the Hypodorian mode expressed sad feelings and the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Gerald Hendrie, 'The Keyboard Music of Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625)', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89 (1962), 1-15 (p. 12).

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 12. 'Greek influence was strong in the early Christian Church and it is not surprising the Greek scales should have been adapted for its use'.

¹⁸³ Ibid. Hendrie reminds us that 'in 1547 Glarean in his *Dodechachordon* defined four more'.

Lydian happiness.¹⁸⁴ Dorian was considered ‘warlike and manly’ and the Phrygian ‘spiritual and reflective’.¹⁸⁵ The musical settings of Donne’s poetry follow this modal ethos, emblematically and conceptually. ‘Although the Greek Modes themselves had faded into anachronism by the early modern period, the idea that certain forms of music could be of value or harm to man, simply by hearing them, was of critical importance. The key was balance; a sense of proportion; in other words, harmony’.¹⁸⁶

In the move from modality to tonality, musical rhythm became more uneven and disjointed. Though primarily melodic, modal vocal style did not possess functional harmony and chords did not resolve. This definition also describes Donne’s lyric: disharmonic and discordant, yet possessing a tonal centre toward which everything moves [like the ‘fix’d foote’ (l. 27)¹⁸⁷ in ‘Valediction, forbidding mourning’]. The disharmony of Donne’s verse can be ‘heard’ in the inharmoniousness of the music. The discordancy of ‘keepe of Enuyes stinging’ and ‘Devills foote’ in ‘Goe and catch a falling Starr’, found in the Clitherow MS and in MS 2013 by Anonymous, warn against being envious and deter us from hell.¹⁸⁸ Lucas Perry opines, ‘Conforming to neither modal analysis nor tonal analysis,’¹⁸⁹ seventeenth-century music was,

¹⁸⁴ Frits Noske, ‘Two Unpaired Hands Holding a Music Sheet: A Recently Discovered Portrait of Constantijn Huygens and Susanna Van Baerle’, in *Tijdschrift Van De Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 4.2 (1992), 131–140 (pp. 137-138).

¹⁸⁵ Hendrie, p. 12.

¹⁸⁶ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourse, Sites and Identities* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 14.

¹⁸⁷ *Variorum*, 4.2, p. 51.

¹⁸⁸ Recording in Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁸⁹ Lucas Perry, ‘From Modality to Tonality: The Reformation of Harmony and Structure in Seventeenth-Century Music’, Summer Research Grant in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Puget Sound, Professor Geoffrey Block, Advisor, (3 August 2011), 1-45 (p. 4) https://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/summer_research/78/.

therefore, ‘in flux’, ‘fast losing its connections with the spheres’.¹⁹⁰ Descartes ‘willfully turned his back on the place of music within the cosmos.’¹⁹¹ Frances Bacon ‘urged that the science of sound be investigated empirically’.¹⁹² Musical art and musical science were ‘acquiring their own identities’.¹⁹³ Music became ‘progressively sundered [split] between 1500 and 1700’, during Donne’s lifetime, ‘with the consequent emptying out of music’s metaphysical significance’.¹⁹⁴ It was not until the end of the century that ‘harmonic considerations gained precedence through the adoption of thoroughbass and a reformulation of harmonic rhythm’.¹⁹⁵ Musical settings of Donne’s poetry bridged the ‘dual chasms between art and science and between mind and body’.¹⁹⁶ ‘Music in flux’ reflected ‘poetry in flux’, for the *Songs and Sonets* were the epitome of innovativeness.

By comparing two of John Wilson’s (1595-1674) analogues of ‘Ad Solem’, ‘Wherfore Peepst thou enuious day’, one can hear the move from modal to tonal.¹⁹⁷ Given Wilson’s long life, his compositional style appears to evolve from the disjointed, stilted rhythm of Drexel MS 4175, dated from 1620-1630, to a smoother, more melodic line in manuscripts dated after 1640.¹⁹⁸ As

¹⁹⁰ Duckles and Zimmerman.

¹⁹¹ Perry, p. 4.

¹⁹² Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 34.

¹⁹³ Claude Palisca, ‘Scientific Empiricism in Musical Thought,’ in *Seventeenth Century Science and Arts*, ed. Hedley Howell Rhys (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 91-137 (p. 93).

¹⁹⁴ Simon Jackson, *George Herbert and Early Modern Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), p. 25.

¹⁹⁵ Perry, p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ Linda Phyllis Austern, ‘Words on Music: The Case of Early Modern England’ in *JDJ*, 25, 199-244, (p. 205).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II.

can be seen in the comparison of Wilson's early and late settings of 'Wherfore Peepst thou enuious day', Wilson's rhythmic alterations seem to reflect Donne's jagged rhythm, as Drexel MS 4175 feels more exaggerated, forced and contrived. However, this could be Wilson simply taking the opportunity to 'achieve variety';¹⁹⁹ Henderson, quoting Duckles, states, 'Composers allowed and expected considerable variation in performance and an autographed manuscript version can be considered no more authentic than a printed source in many instances'.²⁰⁰

Variations and differences in ornamentation heard in Wilson's manuscript settings are particular to the phrases 'we can kisse without thee', the run up to 'need no morrow', and 'nor our pleasures eying'.²⁰¹ There are six Wilson musical settings of 'The Sun Rising' (and analogues of this poem),²⁰² and one by Henry and William Lawes (or Anonymous), respectively.²⁰³ Composers utilized tone painting²⁰⁴ as a writer uses imagery, employing the musical technique of composing music to reflect the literal meaning of a single word or words, within the lyric, or the narrative that is being sung. Tim Clark states that this technique was one of many that Mannerist composers used to depict grace and style [*maniera*], a carryover from the

¹⁹⁹ Hubert Platt Henderson, *The Vocal Music of John Wilson*. A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Music, Chapel Hill 1961, p. 97.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 'Duckles, "John Gamble's Commonplace Book," *op. cit.*, p. 161'.

²⁰¹ These differences can be heard in the recordings and seen in the musical settings in the Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁰² Matthew Zarnowiecki, *Fair Copies: Reproducing the English Lyric from Tottle to Shakespeare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 4. The variations in the poems by Wilson are examples of how 'poems on paper (an in other media) extend through time, and proliferate in number, and are changed in the process'.

²⁰³ The musical setting by William Lawes is believed to be his, but it is not signed; therefore, it is not certain if the composition is his or if it was written by an anonymous composer.

²⁰⁴ Pattison, p. 101. "“Word-painting”, the wish to give emotional “meaning” to music, was a manifestation of that quickened interest in the psychology of the individual which is at the very center of the Renaissance. The drama is its characteristic expression. Opera is the seventeenth-century culmination of a dramatic tendency that runs through sixteenth-century music'.

courtly ideals of Castiglione.²⁰⁵ Mannerism was ‘rooted in Renaissance Humanism’, and is best characterized by ‘brevity, wit, grace, nobility and sweetness’.²⁰⁶ Mannerist music was intellectually sophisticated, with an ‘emphasis on ornament and artifice characteristic of mid sixteenth-century polyphony’.²⁰⁷

The significance of Italian composer Giulio Caccini (1551-1618) to Donne studies is crucial for an understanding of the music of his time, but most importantly because of the techniques employed by Caccini in the creation of the Baroque style, which was influenced by the ‘masculine rhymes’ (new and complex rhythms) of the Italian poet Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638).²⁰⁸ Caccini ‘occupies an important place in the history of music, for he was not only in the vanguard of the development of monody but preserved in it at the same time elements of improvisatory embellishment and vocal virtuosity, without which Baroque music is unthinkable’.²⁰⁹ Caccini, ‘principal spokesman’²¹⁰ for the ‘new vocal techniques, was well known in England through the printing of two of his airs, “Dovrò dunque morire” and “Amarilli mia bella”, in Robert Dowland’s *Musical Banquet* (1610)’ and through other examples of his work circulated in manuscript.²¹¹ He was a ‘singer, singing teacher, and instrumentalist [lute, harpsichord, harp, theorbo and chitarrone]’, a court musician, who performed and ‘trained young

²⁰⁵ Tim Carter, ‘Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque’, in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 1-26, (p. 9).

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁰⁸ Tim Carter et al., ‘Caccini family’, in *Grove* (Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 23 June 2019].

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Duckles and Zimmerman, p. 7.

singers for court service'.²¹² His name is 'inextricably linked with that of Peri in the creation of the first Florentine operas' and he developed 'new styles of [lyrical and dramatic] solo song' in Florence, claiming to be the 'inventor of *musica recitativa*'.²¹³ Caccini's solo madrigal *Amarilli* (1601 or before), first published in Antwerp, was possibly enjoyed by Donne's mother, Elizabeth, during her exile there, beginning in 1595.²¹⁴

The 'repetitive impulse' of monodies found outlet in 'strophic arias with successive modifications to the melody or different melodies in each strophe (like *Nuove musiche*) and vocal pieces, largely solos and duets, over an ostinato bass'.²¹⁵ This 'repetitive impulse' was a result of the Dutch organist J. P. Sweelinck's chorale-based and secular song-based variations, where he introduced English virginalists to the forms and figurations of organ music.²¹⁶

²¹² Carter, Hitchcock, Cusick, and Parisi.

²¹³ Ibid. *Le nuove musiche* [madrigals and arias] 'was to have appeared early in 1602 (the dedication to Lorenzo Salviati, ghosted by Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane*, is dated 1 February 1601 *stile fiorentino*), but the death of the printer, Giorgio Marescotti, delayed publication until July, by which Domenico Melli had brought out what because the first collection of monodies'.

²¹⁴ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 197 n. 14.

²¹⁵ Elaine Sisman, 'Variations', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 20 December 2021].

²¹⁶ Ibid. Sweelinck created a German organ 'school' of artists where he helped to develop 'a new genre of chorale variations in which the chorale melody, while always recognizable as a cantus firmus though occasionally slightly embellished, is embedded in an increasingly complex web of contrapuntal figurations in two, three, or four voices. (His variations on Psalm CXL appear in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, ii, no. 151). Sisman ponders whether the Chaconne and Passacaglia 'owe anything' to these 'vocal models' as an 'open question': 'The dance (chacona) was imported from Latin America in the late 16th century and appeared in Spanish guitar books of the early 17th century; the earliest set for keyboard is Frescobaldi's Partite sopra ciaccona (1627)'. Sisman explains, at the Florentine court, Frescobaldi's suites, capriccio's, canzona's and ricercar's later developed into 'pavans (Padouana), followed by Gagliarda, Corente and finally the Allemande and it Tripla, a simplified metrical recasting of the allemande'. 'Passacaglias originated in the early 17th century as a kind of "walking-around music" for guitar that served as introductions, interpolated episodes and conclusions to songs and dances; these passages were also known as *riprese* or *reitornelli*, repeated several or many times with improvised variations'. Ferrabosco's 'The Expiration', Anonymous's 'The Expiration', and Coprario's 'The Message' lend themselves well to dancing.

Donne would have been acquainted with Caccini's creation of this new Baroque style, for it and the poetic style of Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638) (the Italian Pindar) incorporated many of the same techniques Donne incorporated into his writing. Chiabrera and Marino were the greatest Italian lyric poets of their age. It is possible that Donne would have read Chiabrera's work or become acquainted with him and his poetry during his travels.²¹⁷ One might muse upon the notion that these three artists could have met in Florence or Savona.

Chiabrera, 'a devoted student of the Greeks', introduced 'new meters into Italian verse', increasing the scope of lyric poetry.²¹⁸ He said that he 'strove to follow Columbus in discovering a new world, a new world of poetry', as a 'reaction against the conventionalities of Petrarchism and the degenerated taste of the century'.²¹⁹ The similarities of what Caccini, Chiabrera and Donne tried to accomplish with their respective art forms are strikingly similar. 'Although he [Chiabrera] declared himself opposed to the use of rhyme, and even wrote some of his longer poems unrhymed, many of his poems show that he was a master of it'.²²⁰

'Limiting himself for the most part to "music for a solo voice, to a simple string instrument", Caccini shaped the vocal part so as to "almost speak in tones" ["favellare in armonia"]'.²²¹ He accomplished this through a 'declamatory setting of the words, partly through a very sensitive

²¹⁷ Bald, p. 538. Donne travelled to France and possibly Italy in 1605 (confirmed by the license given to Donne and Sir Walter Chute to travel) (16 Feb.), returning to England in April 1606.

²¹⁸ Joseph Dunn, 'Gabriello Chiabrera', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03652a.htm>> [accessed 27 June 2019].

²¹⁹ Ibid. 'On the whole, his poems are marked by splendid epithets, beautiful images, grace of form, richness of rhyme yet, in spite of all of that, they seem exaggerated and cold'.

²²⁰ Ibid. 'All that he wrote was done with exactness' [...] as he also left, in addition to 'five long heroic poems' [...] 'a dozen dramatic works in verse and eulogies and dialogues in prose'.

²²¹ Carter, Hitchcock, Cusick, and Parisi.

reflection of the poem's structure, and partly thought a very flexible approach to rhythm and tempo (one of the two aspects of his *Sprezzatura*)'.²²²

Nigel Fortune states, 'Sprezzatura' was a 'term used in early 17th-century Italy to denote concepts of expressiveness and rubato in the composition and performance of monodic music':²²³ 'The use of the word originated outside music with Castiglione: 'this virtue ... contrary to affectation which we now call *sprezzatura* ... [is] the true source of grace'.²²⁴

Castiglione's influence permeated all of the arts. It is well known that Cicero's *De Officiis* ('The Duties of a Gentleman') influenced *The Courtier* and Donne, having read both Cicero and Baldassare, was well versed in the 'code' of the Courtier, incorporating 'sprezzatura' into his life and into his writing. Fortune states that 'Caccini was the first to apply the word [*sprezzatura*] to music'.²²⁵ 'In the preface to *Euridice* (Florence, 1600) he wrote that he had "employed a certain *sprezzatura*, which I consider to have something noble about it, believing that by means of it I approach that much closer to the essence of speech". Shortly afterwards, in the preface to *Le nuove musiche*, he wrote of 'negligently' – that is, naturally – introducing dissonances to relieve the blandness of concord, and he directed that bars 15–17 of the madrigal *Deh, dove son fuggiti* be performed "without regular rhythm, as if speaking in tones, with the aforesaid negligence", an idea close to rubato. He finally returned to the question in the preface to his *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (Florence, 1614)'.²²⁶ Donne's prosody could also be described as

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Nigel Fortune, 'Sprezzatura', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 23 June 2019].

²²⁴ Ibid. Shearman defined it as 'courtly grace revealed in the effortless resolution of all difficulties [...] [a] kind of well-bred negligence born of complete self-possession'.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

‘introducing dissonances [...] without regular rhythm [...] as if speaking in tones [...] negligently/naturally.’ The idea of *discord*, ‘introducing dissonances’, appears as far back as Donne’s *Paradoxes*. In ‘That by Discord things increase’, Donne argues that without *discord*, there can be no ‘increase’, no harmony:

All the rich benefits we can frame to our selves in *Concord*, is but an *Even* conservation of things; in which *Evennesse* wee can expect no *change*, no *motion*; therefore no *increase* or *augmentation*, which a *member of motion* . . . *Discord* is never so barren that it affords no fruit; for the *fall* of one *estate* is at the worst the *increaser* of another, . . .²²⁷

In order to differentiate between music in or out of tune, sounds must be discordant. When tuning a lute, strings out of tune must be tightened, ‘augmented’, set in ‘motion’ to achieve the proper pitch. One only hears the ‘increase’ when the instrument is in tune. Similarly, a dissonant chord is only ‘resolved’, and consonance achieved, by the movement of fingers to the appropriate combination of tones or notes on a keyboard. To the listener, this movement is the difference between hearing a harmonious, stable tone or a contrary, oppugnant one. If resolution does not occur, the listener is left with a clashing tension, the juxtaposition of disparate tones. If, as Donne states, ‘. . . between *Cowardice* and *despaire*, *Valour* is gendred’;²²⁸ between consonance and dissonance, music is ‘gendered’. ‘. . . so the *Discord of Extreames* begets all vertues, but of the *like things* there is no issue without a miracle’.²²⁹ Therefore, Caccini and Donne ‘owe a devotion, yea a Sacrifice to Dischord’.²³⁰ This irregular rhythm in the settings of Donne’s poetry and the ‘sprezzatura’ of Caccini was evocative and suggestive.²³¹ ‘The music

²²⁷ Donne, *Selected Prose*, pp. 8-9.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ John Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. by Helen Peters, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 20.

²³¹ Carter, Hitchcock, Cusick, and Parisi.

that Caccini discussed is all for solo voice and continuo, and some Italian monodists and singers at least must have remembered his views when writing or performing recitatives, ariosos and other pieces “without regular rhythm” during the ensuing few decades; [...] Caccini’s ideas might also be applied in, for example, the freer types of keyboard music’.²³²

Like Donne, Caccini felt ‘his new style had more power to “move the affection of the soul” (“muovere l’affetto dell’animo”) than others—to achieve, that is, the highest aim of music according to the thought of the [Florentine] Camerata (and thereafter of the baroque era)’.²³³ ‘Another aim, however, was to “delight the senses”, and in late sixteenth-century vocal music this was often sought through various kinds of improvised ornamentations’.²³⁴ Was not Donne’s aim to ‘move the affection of the soul’, achieving the highest aim of poetry, as well as ‘delighting the senses’? When set to music, Donne’s poetry, like Herbert’s, conveys an ‘admixture of sensory experience’.²³⁵ Certainly, in many of his lyrics and his holy sonnets we can detect a desire to move the affections of the soul. However, in his satires, Ovidian elegies, and more cynical love lyrics, Donne seems more intent on making his readers think and argue with his poetic speakers than moving the affections of the soul. However, just as composers use the rhythms of the language to set music to verse, or use pitch to accent their words, Donne’s rhythm and metre, combined with the texture of diction and ‘pitch’ of tone, are an étude of Donne’s declamatory style. Like the ‘number and activity of voices in a musical fabric’,²³⁶ the

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Simon Jackson, *George Herbert and Early Modern Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), p. 15. Jackson describes George Herbert’s poetry as having a ‘synaesthetic conceit’; he argues that ‘we never encounter the world through one sense alone’.

²³⁶ Ron Byrnside, *Music: Sound and Sense*, 2nd edn (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown, 1985), p. 409.

relationship of words and music creates a power of emotion that is distinctive to Donne.²³⁷ The emotional power of music ‘stimulates the passions because it also simulates them’.²³⁸ For early moderns, the ‘universe was full of resonance’ and ‘music could save the world’.²³⁹

Yet, ‘music embodied a series of contradictions: consensus and faction; agreement and difference; conflict and harmony: concord and discord’.²⁴⁰ The difficulty and disharmony of Donne’s artistic style was adopted and adapted by other Donne composers who changed their compositional style to accommodate Donne’s lyric. In Corkine’s musical setting of Donne’s ‘Breake of Daye’ and both Dowland settings, the music is shown written to the first verse only. It is obvious that the composer adapted the music to the words and only intended for one verse to be sung because the other stanzas of the poem are not as easily articulated by the vocalist.²⁴¹ This supports the belief that the poem was almost always written first and the music adapted to the words. Sixteenth-century poets and critics such as Pierre Ronsard (1524-1585) ‘advanced the theory that words were of very little importance without music . . .’.²⁴² In *A Plaine and Easie*

²³⁷ Marsh, p. 37.

²³⁸ Ibid., pp. 36-39. Marsh explains the multiple ways that ‘rhythm, melody and harmony connect with our general experience of physical and mental life’. Various disciplines have studied how ‘different musical intervals, melodic sequence and harmonic combinations of notes have demonstrable physical effects on our bodies’ (p. 36-37). Marsh states that ‘nearly all of us are capable of complex automatic cognitive processing of musical stimuli’ (p. 37) [...] and the ‘power of music over humans can be related to the extraneous associations that individual listeners bring to a performance or a recording’. He cites John Case’s *Praise of Music* and René Descartes’s *Oeuvres* (quoted by Hollander in *Untuning of the Sky*, p. 179). These writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ‘anticipated these perceptions’ (p. 39).

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 43, 45.

²⁴⁰ Willis, p. 240.

²⁴¹ Willa McClung Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 15. ‘The fewer the words, the greater the composer’s liberty in interpreting them. A short stanza allowed the composer to use many repetitions, variations and elaborations of the same theme’.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 9. n. 63, ‘Ronsard, Francois, *Art Poétique*, translated by W. L. Renwick, *Edmund Spenser*, London, 1925, p. 110’. He gave the following advice to his disciples: “Make your verses masculine and feminine as far as you can, so as to be more proper to music and the harmony of instruments in favor of which it seems poetry was both; for poetry without instruments or without the grace of a single or several is in no wise agreeable” (p. 9).

Introduction to Practicall Musicke, London (1597), Thomas Morley instructed young musicians and composers to ‘possess yourself wholly with that vein wherein you compose’, saying, ‘You should feel that of which you write’. The notes should evolve from the words, glean meaning and feeling from each syllable. Campion, ‘stated in the preface to his *First Book of Ayrs*, that he had tried to “marry the words and the notes lovingly together”’.²⁴³ Ingrid Nelson rightly describes this process of setting words to music, or music to words, as ‘multimodal, “plural forms of lyric survival and transmission”’, continuing from Medieval England, through the early modern period, to the present day.²⁴⁴

Although Donne’s ‘verbal ideas’ were ‘recondite’, rhythmically ‘irregular’, and ‘complex’, above all, seventeenth-century composers ‘wanted to convey feelings’.²⁴⁵ ‘The musical settings of Donne’s poetry were an ‘evanescence of the text—a performative metamorphosis that early moderns understood to be a the core of *poesis*, or poetic making’.²⁴⁶ I agree with Trudell’s assessment that music and poetry ‘were not distinct art forms’, as early scholarship had

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 9 n. 64; ‘Campion, Thomas, see the Preface to the *First Book of Ayres*’. This union of words and music took music ‘into the area of direct expression and representation of meaning and emotion, akin to Stanislavskian acting in its understanding of mimesis’.

²⁴⁴ Ingrid Nelson, *Lyric Tactics: Poetry, Genre, and Practice in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2017), p. 10.

²⁴⁵ Gaston, p. 202.

²⁴⁶ Trudell, pp. 4, 6, 9, 25. ‘Vocal music was widely conceived as a metamorphic endeavor exceeding the boundaries of authorial control and even human life’ (p. 4); Erasmus had associated vocal music with obscene, Dionysiac qualities that writing alone did not obtain, particularly in England’ (p. 6); Musical, spoken and written habits of *poesis* coexisted, combined, and overlapped so multifariously as to undermine conceptions of the early modern literary field defined exclusively in terms of script’ (p. 9). Written or performed, poetry could communicate through a range of media, a concept Trudell called ‘intermediation’ (p. 25).

argued.²⁴⁷ ‘In short, music *was* poetry in early modern England, . . . forms of *poesy* not limited to writing and speech’.²⁴⁸

To fully enhance the aesthetic properties of Donne’s poetry, composers applied multiple musical devices to enhance the emotional power of his words. Four of the musical techniques Donne composers utilized to enhance his poetry were irregular rhythm, tone painting, chromaticism, and pivoting between sharp and flat. Elements of rhythm in poetry and music (beat, metre, tempo, durational values) were already comparable. In musical settings of Donne’s poetry, it is possible that the irregular musical rhythm is intended as a parody of Donne’s poetic style.

Musical devices are integral to Donne’s poetic style: ‘grace notes’ (sliding unaccented syllables), ‘staccato’ [‘accent’] (stressed and unstressed syllables), ‘emphatic delivery’ (declamation), and ‘irregular’ rhythm caused by dramatic pauses (caesuras).²⁴⁹ Singing settings of Donne’s poetry, I have found that the music reflects the difficulty of Donne’s poetry, the jaggedness of his rhythm, the ‘simultaneous, presence of contrary impulses’.²⁵⁰ As can be heard in my vocal recordings, Hollander’s ‘contrastive stress’ theory is proven when the lines are sung, for a skilled vocalist can easily ‘resolve’ any ‘ambiguity’.²⁵¹ As Grierson states, Donne’s poetry does possess an ‘arresting and haunting quality, passionate, thoughtful, with a deep melody of its

²⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-9 nn. 25 and 30. See Trudell’s synopses of the long history of scholarship in musicology and philosophies of music, together with performed song and musical imagery.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴⁹ Blissett, para. 10.

²⁵⁰ Hollander, p. 271.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 267.

own.²⁵² This is heard in the settings of the ever present Anonymous,²⁵³ Coprario, Dowland, the Lawes brothers and Humphrey. Ron Byrnside's definition of 'self-contained completeness'²⁵⁴ applies to Donne's verse, for it is born from the dynamics, the intensity and the timbre of his 'composition'. Donne's lyric reflects the Renaissance 'treatment of music as formal subject for poetry, and in the incidental use of allusions to musical explanations, mythologies, or even actualities, . . .'.²⁵⁵ 'Elegy 14. Loues Progresse' describes 'Syrens songs' (l. 55) heard 'Vppon the Ilands Fortunate' (l. 51),²⁵⁶ which 'led sailors to their deaths'.²⁵⁷ ['Wee anchor there, and think our selues at home: | For they seeme all: There Syrens songs, and there | Wise Delphique Oracles doe fill the eare.' (ll. 54-56).]²⁵⁸ In 'The Indifferent', 'Venus heard mee sigh this songe' (l. 19).²⁵⁹ Donne's obscure allusions provide playfulness and colour. Hearing music in all of God's creation, in 'Elegy 5. Oh let not me serve so', Donne hears the music of nature in the 'melodious murmuring' of a stream. ['When I behold a Streame which from the Spring | Doth with doutfull, melodious murmuring | Or in a speechles slumber calmely ride | Her wedded

²⁵² Grierson, I, lv.

²⁵³ In *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), Trudell discusses the number of female musician/composers whose work has been effaced or anonymized, like Alice Egerton (p. 178). 'Women and child poets and musicians tended to have more limited access to the means by which song was recorded and remembered, and they were more likely to be written out of its history' (p. 184).

²⁵⁴ Byrnside, p. 406.

²⁵⁵ John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961; Hamden, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1993), p. 17.

²⁵⁶ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 2, *The Elegies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 302.

²⁵⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 352.

²⁵⁸ *Variorum*, 2, p. 302.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.2, p. 103.

channels bosome, and then chide' (ll. 21-24).²⁶⁰] Through music, Donne's lyric comes to life and is mystically transformed into a metaphysical union of body (score) and soul (music), a transmutation of Donne himself. The origins of Donne's poetry as verbal and melodic lyrics, and their impact on seventeenth-century music, can be traced to his earliest beginnings, as outlined in Chapter Two, Donne's Early Musical Associations.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 2, p. 110.

CHAPTER TWO

Donne's Early Musical Associations

Following the timeline of Donne's life, within the framework of the Clitherow MS, Chapter Two: Donne's Early Musical Associations, shows how Donne's musical family and friends provided the foundation for his musicality and presents evidence of Donne's musical connections from 1572-1600. Donne's early exposure to music began at home, at Court, and in Europe, and continued throughout his education and career, facilitated by his aristocratic friends and family. The musicality of the Heywood, Donne, Rastell and More families, Donne's early travels with the Stanleys, the Derbyshire Ballad, and his friendship with the Herberts highlight the musicality of the families and composers' ties with them. Donne's associations with Court composers of his musical settings (Corkine and Ferrabosco) and their relationships and musical scores are explored and analysed. New music influenced by Donne's poetry (Weelkes) and two analogues (by Farmer and Bateson) are also introduced.

2.1 William Corkine and the Herberts: 'Breake of Daye', Analogues of 'Breake of Daye' and 'The Baite'

By 1610, 'T'is true, t'is day' composer, William Corkine, was in the service of Edward Herbert. It is highly likely that Herbert was responsible for introducing Donne to Corkine (fl. 1610-1617), just as he introduced Donne to Martin Peerson. Clayton D. Lein makes the connection between Donne and Corkine through Herbert, whom Lein calls 'a highly musical patron, under whom he [Corkine] seems to have served an apprenticeship'.¹ Lein speculates that 'Corkine met Donne in

¹ Clayton D. Lein, 'Donne, Thomas Myriell, and the Musicians of St. Paul's', *JDJ*, 23 (2004), 215-47, (p. 227, n.70). Gooch also states that the 'dedication of his [Corkine's] first collection (1610) to Sir Edward Herbert . . . and Sir William Hardy suggests that he served his apprenticeship under them' (p. 177).

Herbert's London quarters and became acquainted with Donne's poetry through his patron, with whom Donne was particularly close about that time'.² When Donne moved his family to Drury House in London in 1612,³ he would have remained in close proximity to Corkine and Herbert.

Unfortunately, little is known about the personal and professional life of Corkine; however, what is known closely links this musician and composer with Donne and with other composers/poets of this period.⁴ We know that Corkine was an English composer, gambist and lyra violist, who published two works, *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse-Violl* (1610), *With Pavins, Galliards, Almains, and Corantos for the Lyra Violl*, dedicated to Sir Edward Herbert, and, secondly, *The Second Booke of Ayres, Some, to Sing and Play to the Basse-Violl alone: Others, to be sung to the Lute and Basse-Violl* (1612).⁵ As can be seen from the title, in Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* there were some songs that could be sung to the lute and basse-violl and some that could be sung and played to the basse-violl alone.⁶ These works were published the same year as Dowland's *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612), which includes Donne's 'Sweet, stay awhile' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') and 'To aske for all thy Love' (based on the last stanza of 'Louers Infiniteness').⁷ The Clitherow MS begins and ends with a

² Ibid., p. 237 n. 71. [It is possible that he could have met Corkine earlier since Corkine was in the service of Edward Herbert by 1610.]

³ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 539.

⁴ Gardner places 'The Baite' as the fourth Song and 'Breake of Day' as the seventh Song in *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*.

⁵ Sir George Grove D.C.L., ed. *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1889) by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes*, vol I. (London: Macmillan, 1899), p. 402.

⁶ Diana Poulton and David Greer, 'Corkine, William', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 20 February 2019]. This 'seems to preclude the addition of a chordal continuo part'. Scholarship indicates that the songs in the first book were the more endearing, but the second book contains thirteen songs that do not have tablature accompaniment or alternative part-song versions; these are the settings marked to be sung to the Basse-Violl alone.

⁷ Listed in Grierson I, p. 449 in Appendix C. Poems attributed to Donne in MSS as 'Loves Exchange'.

variant of John Dowland's 'Sweet stay a while',⁸ Henry Lawes's 'Sweet staye awhile',⁹ 'Sweet stay a while',¹⁰ and 'T'is true, t'is day', by William Corkine. There exist four other anonymous musical settings of analogues to 'Breake of Daye':¹¹ 'Ly still my deare' ('Stay, O Sweet, and do not rise') (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), MS 10337;¹² 'Lye still my Deare' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), MS Don. c. 57;¹³ 'Song' 'Sweet staie.//: awhile' ('://:' is a reprise symbol in musical notation),¹⁴ Add MS 29481;¹⁵ and 'Sweete stayer://:, n. vi.' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), Drexel MS 4175 *Ann Twice, Her Booke*.¹⁶ In 1669, 'Sweet, stay awhile' was printed as the first stanza of 'Breake of Daye' (p. 35).¹⁷ Lyrics to the first verse of 'Lye still, my dear' and 'T'is true 'tis day, what if it be?' (both 'Breake of Daye') are located together with songs under 'Two, loath to depart.' in *Wits Interpreter OR Apollo and Orpheus: Several Love-Songs, Drollery, and Other Verfes* (1655) (pp. 118-119) and again under 'Two, loth to depart' (pp. 130-

⁸ 'Sweet stay a while' by John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612), sigs B2^v-C1^r.

⁹ 'Sweet staye awhile' by Henry Lawes, MS 53723 (mid-17th c.), (fol. 16v) and F-Pn Rés 2489, p. 269, (fol. 10v) (MS Conservatoire Rés 2489) (c. 1660).

¹⁰ 'Sweet stay a while' (1660) by Henry Lawes, 'Sweet stay a while why doe you Rise', F-Pn Rés. 2489 (MS Conservatoire Rés 2489) (1660), (fol. 10v).

¹¹ 'Tis true, t'is day' by William Corkine, *Second Booke of Ayres* (1612), (III).

¹² Anon., 'Ly still my deare' ('Stay, O Sweet, and do not rise') (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), MS 10337 (1656), (f. 20v), p. 18.

¹³ Anon., 'Lye still my Deare' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), MS Don. c. 57 (before 1650), (f. 29v).

¹⁴ Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 180.

¹⁵ Anon., 'Song' 'Sweet staie.//: awhile', Add MS 29481 (c. 1630), (f. 9).

¹⁶ Anon., 'Sweete stayer://:, n. vi.' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), Drexel MS 4175 *Ann Twice, Her Booke* (1620-1630). (Not present in manuscript as it exists but listed in Table of Contents at the back of the manuscript.)

¹⁷ John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 134 n 5; 'The poem resembles one beginning "Tis true, 'tis day", by John Donne, and is ascribed to him in some manuscript sources. A version is prefixed to "Tis true" in the edition of Donne's poems printed in 1669; but the couplets concluding Donne's stanzas are pentameters, not tetrameters as in the verses set by Gibbons and Dowland. Gibbons set one stanza of the poem; Dowland's song has two stanzas, and begins "Sweet, stay awhile, why will you rise?".

131).¹⁸ They are also seen together in *The Academy of Complements* (1650).¹⁹ ‘T’is true, t’is day’ and ‘The 2.1’ were printed together in *Second Booke of Ayres* 1612. 1612 was also the same year that Gibbons’s ‘Ah, deere hart’ (Another version of ‘Sweet, stay awhile, and analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’), and Thomas Bateson’s analogue ‘Why dost thou fly’²⁰ appeared in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612).

Corkine’s ‘continuo’ is ‘a bass part (as for a keyboard or stringed instrument) used especially in baroque ensemble music and consisting of a succession of bass notes with figures that indicate the required chords—called also *figured bass*, *thoroughbass*’.²¹ The Donne musical settings written in 1612 by composers Ferrabosco, Coprario, Dowland, and Gibbons were written using this element of musical style.²²

Some of Corkine’s songs, such as “Some can flatter” and “Sweet restraints these showers of kindness”, recall the “light airs” of Thomas Campion, with their simple textures and flowing groups of two notes per syllable’. Other songs, however, such as the setting of Donne’s “Tis true tis day”, foreshadow the new declamatory style in their wayward melodic contours and irregular rhythms.²³

¹⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁹ John Gough (fl. 1640), *The Academy of Complements Wherein Ladies, Gentlewomen, Schollers, and Strangers may Accommodate their Courtly Practice with Gentile Ceremonies, Complemental, Amorous, High Expressions and Forms of Speaking, Or Writing of Letters most in Fashion / a Work Perused, Exactly Perfected, Everywhere Corrected and Enlarged, and Enriched by the Author, with Additions of Many Witty Poems, and Pleasant Songs...*, London, 1663, pp. 194-195; (1650) (Grierson, II, cxlviii). See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁰ ‘Why dost thou fly’ (‘Sweet, stay awhile’, analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) by Thomas Bateson (Bateson/Gibbons), (MS Mus. f. 24), Summary Catalogue nos. 16838-16842, is also in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 parts Apt for Viols and Voyces* (1612). See Appendices, Vol. II.

²¹ *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam, 1981), p. 243.

²² Diane Poulton and David Greer, ‘Corkine, William’, *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 20 February 2019].

²³ *Ibid.*

It is notable that Corkine's style of composition was considered 'experimental' and 'improvisational', implementing the same elements of composition created by Caccini and executed by Ferrabosco, Dowland, Coprario, and Gibbons. This new 'declamatory style', 'in their wayward melodic contours and irregular rhythms',²⁴ complemented, enhanced and perhaps even parodied Donne's 'rough' verses. Although McColley feels Donne's 'declamatory style, however passionate, is usually too cerebral to fit the affective resources of monody',²⁵ Gooch relates that its character is a 'lively, segmental declamation' in 'Breake of Daye'; Corkine catches perfectly the spirit of the text, employing obvious decoration for "rise" (*anabasis*) (mm. 4-6) and "downe" (*catabasis*), medial repletion (*epizeuxis*) for "What will you rise" (mm. 5-6) and a final refrain ("In spight of Light should keepe vs still together"), though in this case the repetition is textual rather than melodic or harmonic'.²⁶ 'Repetition, which is common in lute airs, invites *ex tempore* ornamentation, since the singer has the opportunity to perform the phrase differently each time'.²⁷ Morris observes Corkine was an 'obedient pupil' of Morley's techniques of word-painting in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), making the 'musicke ascend' when speaking of heaven and 'descend' when speaking of hell.²⁸ The rhyme

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 94.

²⁶ Bryan N. S. Gooch, 'Music for Donne', *JDJ*, 15 (1996), 171-88 (p. 177).

²⁷ Trudell, p. 71 n. 136. 'On *ex tempore* or improvisatory musical embellishment during the period, see Duckles, "Florid Embellishment"; and Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke*, 85-108. Note that Campion's music also draws attention to the perspective of the singer through its use of the declamatory style then in vogue. As Lindley notes of the music for "Come Away", "a down-beat chord on the lute followed by a two-quaver and minim rhythm in the vocal line" reinforces the imperative at the outset, followed by a similar gesture at "Come, quickly, come"; see Lindley, *Thomas Campion*, 82'.

²⁸ Brian Morris, 'Not, Siren-like, to tempt: Donne and the Composers', in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 219-58 (p. 230).

of ‘spight’ and ‘Light’ ‘are duly honored’, the ‘rising quaver²⁹ figure [...] set to the word “well” in the second stanza , and in the third to the second syllable of “disease”’.³⁰ The new ‘declamatory style’ was the perfect conduit for Donne’s poetry and propelled his art into another medium.

‘A receipt dated 2 February 1612 shows that he [Corkine] performed with John Dowland and Richard Goosey at a Candlemas entertainment at the Middle Temple’,³¹ thereby proving that Corkine was acquainted with Dowland. Donne visited Goodyer at Polesworth and Herbert³² at Montgomery Castle in April 1613,³³ a year after Corkine³⁴ had published Donne’s poems.³⁵ It was on his way from his first destination to his second that Donne composed ‘Good Friday: Made as I was Riding Westward that Day’, c. 2 April 1613. Newcastle (H₄₉) (Harley MS 4955) ‘expands this title as ‘Riding to Sir Edward Herbert in Wales’; Donne presumably showed this poem to his host at Montgomery. Donne’s friendship with Herbert appears to have been one that

²⁹ An eighth note is a quaver, held for one eighth the duration of the semibreve; and a semiquaver is a sixteenth note, held for one half the duration of a quaver. The semibreve is a whole note, held four beats (*tactus*) or counts.

³⁰ Morris, p. 231.

³¹ Poulton and Greer.

³² Julia Craig-McFeely, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630, Edward Herbert, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island, The Lute Book of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, [n.d.]) <<http://www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/App1c.pdf>> [accessed 28 January 2020].

³³ John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 539.

³⁴ Poulton and Greer. According to Poulton and Greer, ‘In 1617, Corkine was given permission to go and work at the Polish court’. Possibly, there was a connection between Corkine’s associations in Germany and Poland that would correspond with Donne’s and Herbert or their travel and acquaintances on the continent (Poulton and Greer). According to Bald, Donne accompanied the Drury family to Frankfurt, Germany (April 1612), Heidelberg, Spa (July), Maastrich, Louvain, Brussels (August), and back to England (Sept. 1612), the year that Corkine’s music was printed (p. 539). Two years after Corkine went to Poland, Donne was again at Court in Germany and Belgium, presumably being entertained by European court musicians there.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

also included a certain amount of poetic rivalry,³⁶ for Ben Jonson reported to Willam Drummond of Hawthornden that Donne wrote his ‘Elegy on Prince Henry’ in 1612 “‘to match Sir Ed: Herbert in obscurenesse””.³⁷ In ‘Elegie On the vntimely Death of the incomparable Prince, Henry’,³⁸ Donne presents himself as a ‘singing angel’: ‘So, much as You Two mutual Heavens were here, I were an Angel singing what You were’ (ll. 97-98).³⁹ ‘Being Heavens to each other, they might raise him to their place as one of the heavenly host praising them. With this vicarious wish D. characteristically turns the end of a poem about another on himself [...] hinting at a court career’.⁴⁰ Donne is willing to sing the praises of Prince Henry, James VI & I, and God in multiple heavens, but at this point in his life, he conspicuously hopes for the ‘heavenly’ court of James VI & I.

2.2 Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Bateson and John Farmer

Although Corkine’s musical setting of Donne’s ‘Breake of Daye’ has heretofore been the only known setting, the poem may have been set to music earlier than Corkine’s 1612 score. Thomas

³⁶ David A. Pailin, ‘Herbert, Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island (1582?–1648), diplomat and philosopher’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 08 January 2009) [accessed 18 February 2019]. Pailin observes, ‘An edition of Herbert’s poems in English and in Latin (but not including the three that appeared in 1645) was published by Sir Henry Herbert, his brother, in 1665. While the poems show the influence of John Donne and Giambattista Marino, the later ones in particular show qualities that suggest that Herbert may be considered to be an unwarrantably neglected poet’.

³⁷ Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, p. 256.

³⁸ Bald, p. 539. The elegy was published in the 3rd edition of *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* (Keynes, no 72).

³⁹ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 6, *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 162.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 97-98.

Bateson's 'O Flie not Loue' (1598),⁴¹ John Farmer's 'O Stay sweet Love' (1599)⁴² (written prior to 'Breake of Day') and Bateson's 'Why dost thou fly' (1612) (like Gibbons's 'Ah, deere hart') could be analogues of 'Breake of Day'. Two other early songs, Thomas Weelkes's⁴³ 'O care thou wilt dispatch me' (III) (1598) and 'Thule the period of Cosmographie' (VII) (1598), were also influenced by Donne's poetry.⁴⁴ Published in London by Thomas Este, *Madrigals of 5. And*

⁴¹ David Brown, 'Bateson, Thomas', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 1 March 2022]. 'O Flie not Loue (1598) (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), by Thomas Bateson, *The first set of English MADRIGALES: to 3. 4. 5. And 6. voices* (1604). (See Appendices, Vol. II.) Thomas Bateson's (b. ?1570-75) (d. Dublin, March 1630) 'O Flie not Loue' was published in 1598 by Thomas Este in Venice. Bateson's 'Why dost thou fly' is included with Orlando Gibbon's 'A deere hart' ('Sweet, stay awhile') In *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612). 'Why dost thou fly' ('Sweet, stay awhile', analogue to 'Breake of Daye') by Thomas Bateson (Bateson/Gibbons), (MS Mus. f. 24), Summary Catalogue nos. 16838-16842, is also in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 parts Apt for Viols and Voyces* (1612). (See Appendices, Vol. II). 'In his madrigals Bateson shows himself to be an accomplished, if not a faultless, craftsman', whose 'style is rooted in that of Morley', but 'closer to Wilbye'. Donne might have known Bateson through Gibbons, as he was an English composer 'appointed organist of Chester Cathedral' (1599) and 'organist and vicar-choral' of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (1609). In 1612 (some sources give 1615), he received the BMus degree from Trinity College, Dublin and was admitted MA in 1622. Only one anthem survives of his church music and only one piece, 'If floods of teares' (1618) is a viol-accompanied song recalling the pre-madrigalian English tradition.

⁴² David Brown, 'Farmer, John (i)', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 31 August 2021]. English composer John Farmer's (b. c 1570; fl. 1591-1601) 'O stay sweet Love' (1599), (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), in *Madrigals, Motets and Psalms* (1599) (See Appendices), 'followed the line of the light madrigal naturalized into English music by Thomas Morley, though there are already hints of an added seriousness which relates them to the new trends appearing in the work of Weelkes and Wilbye'. Farmer was appointed Organist and Master of the Children at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (1595) and became vicar-choral there (1596), prior to Thomas Bateson's tenure (1609), and was threatened with dismissal for unauthorized absence [in London with Weelkes and Donne?]. He stayed in Dublin until 1599, when he went to live at Broad Street, London, where he, along with Weelkes, contributed to the *Triumphs of Oriana* (1601). Under the patronage of the Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere, Farmer's first-rate *Oriana* madrigal, *Faire nymphs I heard one telling* (in 1601), confirms his position as one of the better minor English madrigalists.

⁴³ David Brown, 'Weelkes, Thomas', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 Jan. 2001) [accessed 26 March 2022]. English composer, Thomas Weelkes (b. ?Elsted, Sussex, bap. ?Oct. 25, 1576; d. London, bur. Dec. 1, 1623), was 'one of the most gifted of the madrigalists, and a major composer of English church music'. His madrigals 'appeared in two volumes (1598, 1600), of which the second (works for five and six voices) is one of the most important volumes in the English madrigal tradition'; he also contributed a 'splendid madrigal' to the *The Triumphs of Oriana* and two pieces are included in Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions*. He received his B. Music degree from New College, Oxford in 1602. Weelkes became organist at Winchester College in 1598 and later moved to Chichester Cathedral (while Donne's friend, Dr Henry King, was bishop). He was eventually dismissed due to his drinking problem, for he was spending an inordinate amount of time in London. Published in London by Thomas Este, *Madrigals of 5. And 6. Parts: apt for the viols and voices* (1600), by 'the Colledge at Winchester, organist', contains 'O care thou wilt dispatch mee' and 'Thule the period of cosmographie', showing Weelke's 'imagination is fired by a text of contrasting images or feelings' spurred by Donne's poetry. (See Appendices, Vol. II.)

⁴⁴ All are listed as Dubia in the Appendices, Vol. II.

6. *Parts* (1600), by ‘the Coledge at Winchester, organist’, contains ‘O care thou wilt dispatch mee’ and ‘Thule the period of cosmographie’, showing Weelke’s ‘imagination is fired by a text of contrasting images or feelings’ spurred by Donne’s poetry.⁴⁵

The former [madrigal] is a kind of tragic ballet ⁴⁶ where the juxtaposition of sharply contrasting musical material matches the daring combination of opposing imagery in the poems of Weelkes’ contemporary, John Donne; the latter madrigal sets a text whose catalogue of wonders reported from the newly discovered parts of the world prompts a kaleidoscopic succession of musical images which are contrasted with the even greater miracle of the poet himself “whose heart with fear doth freeze, with love doth fry”.⁴⁷

Brown argues that Weelkes’ style was formed when music was in transition in the first part of the century; Weelkes built on what he learned from Byrd, Morley and Gibbons to create his own style, perfectly adapted to Donne’s poetry, where counterpoint and contrapuntal techniques are artfully inventive. ‘For imaginative brilliance, sonorous counterpoint applied to majestic utterance, and capacity of broad musical thinking, Weelkes is unsurpassed by any of his English contemporaries’.⁴⁸

2.3 Early Travels, the Stanleys and ‘The Derbyshire Ballad’

⁴⁵ Brown, ‘Weelkes, Thomas’.

⁴⁶ Richard Hudson, ‘Balletto: Instrumental’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 26 March 2022]. The ballet/balletto was a genre of light vocal composition like the madrigal, dancelike, originating in Italy. ‘The Italian instrumental balletto appeared from about 1561 to 1599 (mainly for lute) and from 1616 to 1700 (for chamber ensemble). Ballets are strophic (stanzaic), having each of the two repeated parts ending in a refrain (‘fa-la-la’). The allemanda ‘bears a close relationship to the balletto’.

⁴⁷ Brown, ‘Weelkes, Thomas’.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Donne's multiple musical associations with his composers, and his exposure to "all manner of the Arts"⁴⁹ in England, in France⁵⁰ and in Italy, are key to the idea that Donne was associated in various ways with the music of the period. If Donne travelled abroad from 1585-1587 (Flynn), 1589-1591 (Bald), or the 1590s (Walton), all of these dates would place Donne in Italy⁵¹ and in England at Court during the time when the music of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Elder (1543-1588), the Italian musician 'who settled in England in the middle of the 16th century, ranked among the first in the Elizabethan era',⁵² would have been played.⁵³ Dennis Flynn argues that Donne, unable to return to Oxford after Michaelmas 1584 because he would have been forced to take the Oath of Supremacy, left with Jasper Heywood [his uncle and Jesuit priest] and later traveled the Continent with William Stanley',⁵⁴ likely receiving Continental exposure to music.⁵⁵ Donne's

⁴⁹ Izaak Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at his shop under S. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1658), p. 107.

⁵⁰ Bald, p. 538. Donne travelled to France and possibly Italy in 1605 (confirmed by the license given to Donne and Sir Walter Chute to travel) (16 Feb.), returning to England in April 1606.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 538. Since Donne also travelled to France and possibly Italy later, in 1605 (confirmed by the license given to Donne and Sir Walter Chute to travel) (16 Feb.), returning to England in April 1606, it is probable that, in Italy, Wotton, Donne and Stanley may have heard the motets, madrigals and virginal compositions of the Elder Ferrabosco. This may be particularly true of Sir Henry Wotton since he had lived in Venice, Florence and Rome.

⁵² Sir George Grove D.C.L., ed., *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1889) by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes*, Vol. I. (London: Macmillan, 1899), p. 512. The senior Ferrabosco's 'first book of madrigals was printed at Venice in 1542 and some of his motets at the same place in 1544. Morley (*Introduction to Practical Music*, 1597) speaks of a "virtuous contention" between Ferrabosco and friend W. [William] Byrd in making each to the number of 40 parts upon the plainsong of Miserere, "without malice, envie or backbiting", "each making other Censor of that which they had done" [...] Many of Ferrabosco's madrigals were printed in the two books of "Musica Transalpina", 1588 and 1597, and several of his other compositions are extant in MS'.

⁵³ Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: The Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 61. 'Humanist coteries had from their beginning included musicians and amateurs very interested in music, and a good deal of time was spent by the Italian academies in discussing the place of music in a gentleman's education'.

⁵⁴ The patronage, literary contributions, theatrical involvement and musical accomplishments of the illustrious Stanley family are detailed in J. J. Bagley, in *The Earls of Derby 1485-1985* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985).

⁵⁵ Lara M. Crowley, 'Donne, Not Davison: Reconsidering the Authorship of "Psalm 137"', *MP*, 105.4 (2008), 603-36, (p. 629). John Stubbs states, in *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), that being

travels with the Earl of Derby's son engendered the same types of musical acquaintances and associations, chronicled in the ballad, 'Sir William Stanley's Garland' or 'The Derbyshire Ballad: or, Sir William Stanley's travels' (c. 1800).⁵⁶ This is significant because it establishes a connection with Donne's exposure to music in Europe at an impressionable age.⁵⁷ Later, in 'To Mr Rowland Woodward' ('Like one who' in her third widowed doth profes') (1597?), Donne alludes to the 'arts . . . early sowne':

How Love song Weedes, and Satirique thornes are growne
Wher seedes of better arts weare early sowne.⁵⁸ (ll. 5-6)

Catholic, Donne was 'forced to leave Oxford without taking a degree' because he 'could not stay on without taking the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen and the Reformed Church, which his family would not allow' (p. 21).

⁵⁶ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 170. The documentary evidence places Donne at the Court of Henry III at thirteen, where he was likely exposed to Court music and musicians, when Flynn asserts that Donne travelled to Paris with Henry Stanley, Fourth Earl of Derby [father of Ferdinando and William], as one of his 'waiting gentlemen'. Flynn states that Jasper Heywood 'placed his nephew in the Earl Ambassador's retinue in the winter of 1584-1585,' and was deported to France in 1585. 'Since Donne did not return to England with the Earl in March 1585, the most plausible explanation of his turning up later in Derby's household is that at some point he joined the Earl's son, William, on the continent and returned to England in Stanley's company' in 1587, as 'Donne was again serving among Henry Derby's waiting gentlemen in May 1587'. Under his employ, Donne likely would have been present at musical and theatrical entertainments at the Earl's homes; Leo Daugherty, 'Stanley, William, sixth earl of Derby (bap. 1561, d. 1642), nobleman', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 14 November 2018) [accessed 11 February 2019]. Francis Pilkington verifies William Stanley's musical ability when he 'dedicates his *First Book of Songs or Aires* (1605) to Derby and included in his *Second Set of Madrigals* (1624) a pavane [a slow, stately dance; the pavane is the music for a pavan] for the orpharion [a large lute] written by the earl—the only extant work definitely attributed to him'. Therefore, 'The Derbyshire Ballad' and Pilkington's *Second Set of Madrigals* (1624) show that Donne's travelling companion in Europe was not only fond of musicians but wrote his own music; The ballad places Stanley at various Courts on his travels, states that he travelled for three years with his personal, paid musician, and relays that, upon his return, he was entertained by the Earl and by Queen Elizabeth. It is unknown whether Donne was present at any of these festivities, met the musicians, or if music was included in the 'juf(s)t Months three' feast his father arranged, or in the 'entertainment' Queen Elizabeth provided; however, what is known about their entertainments would prove that it is likely.

⁵⁷ John Raithel, 'The Other W.S., William Stanley, Sixth Earl of Derby', in *The Oxfordian: the annual journal of the Shakespeare Oxford Society* (Auburndale, MA: 2009), p. 31, in *Shakespeare Oxford Society* [accessed 18 February 2019]. Richard Lloyd, his tutor, was a playwright, publishing *The Nine Worthies* 'two years after setting off for France with Stanley' [and Donne?]

⁵⁸ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 5, *The Verse Letters* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), p. 95. Not yet 'Betrothed to no one art', Donne makes reference to his early training in the 'arts' at Oxford. Bald observes that Donne matriculated at Oxford between the ages of eleven and fifteen. He quotes Andrew Clark's *Register of the University of Oxford* and clarifies Walton's early error (*John Donne: A Life*, pp. 42-46). Donne could also be referring to the 'arts' that 'were early sown' at home by his family and aristocratic friends.

According to ‘The Derbyshire Ballad: or, Sir William Stanley’s travels’,⁵⁹ the first three destinations Stanley⁶⁰ visited were France, Spain and Italy,⁶¹ where Flynn places Donne on his first travels (age 13-15) (1585-1587).⁶² Bald conjectures that Donne was older (age 17-19) (?1589-1591) when he first began to travel⁶³ and Walton posits that these travels occurred in the 1590s, when Donne was in his late teens and early twenties.⁶⁴ Stubbs concurs with Bald and Walton; however, Flynn feels that Walton is mistaken in his account dating these travels to the

⁵⁹ ‘The Derbyshire Ballad: or, Sir William Stanley’s travels’ (London?, 1560?), in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* [accessed 8 February 2019]. Since William’s travels began in 1582, William returned home before leaving again with his father in 1585 on his embassy to France, where young Donne would be serving.

⁶⁰ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 167. Donne and Stanley were considered ‘unlicensed’ (illegal), and on their own, ‘given the tense relations between England and Spain or the Papacy’; they were no longer under the watchful eye of Stanley’s ‘preceptor or chaperone’.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171 n. 45. ‘Walsingham’s appointed surveillant’ of William, Richard Lloyd, ‘returned to England to resume his post as secretary to the Earl of Leicester for his upcoming expedition to the Netherlands’⁴⁵. While we can reasonably conjecture that Stanley and Donne did travel together, perhaps to Spain and Italy, it is impossible without additional documentation even to attempt distinguishing fact from fiction in the folklore about these travels’ (p. 171). Yet, Flynn thinks, ‘Since we now have evidence that Donne went to the continent with the Derby embassy, served at Antwerp, and returned to Derby’s service two years later, it seems quite possible that his well-advertised but until now undatable travels to Spain and Italy took place between the spring of 1585 and the spring of 1587, and that he travelled in the company of William Stanley’ (p. 171).

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 166, 171, 226 n. 41. Flynn thinks that the ballad and *A Brief Account of the Travels of the Celebrated Sir William Stanley* (1801), by John Seacome, situates Donne and Stanley in France, Spain, and Italy in 1585 (p. 170); the documentary evidence shows that Donne returned home with Stanley (p. 166) before the spring of 1587 (p. 171); Flynn quotes ‘A Checkrowle of my L. the Earle of Derbies Householde Servants the xiiith daie of Maye Anno 1587’, in Raines, *Derby Household Books*, where ‘Donne is listed as “Mr. Jhon Downes” along with seven other gentlemen waiters, six of whom appeared earlier as gentleman waiters with “Mr John Donne’s” on the list of Derby’s suite for the 1595 embassy’⁴¹ (p. 226 n. 41).

⁶³ Bald, p. 51.

⁶⁴ Izaak Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 26. ‘About a year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of *Essex* going first the *Cales*, and after the Island voyages, the first *Anno* 1596. The second 1597. He took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments [...] But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in *Italy*, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observation of those Countreys, their Laws and manner of Government, and returned perfect in their Languages [...] The time that he spent in *Spain* was at his first going into *Italy* designed for travelling to the *Holy Land*, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of Company, or of a safe Convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of Money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration’.

1590s by reminding us that ‘ships led by Essex returned directly to England without putting in at any Spanish or other harbor’.⁶⁵

Bald affirms, ‘It would have been natural for a young Elizabethan to visit Italy’, the epicenter of Renaissance music, ‘after passing through France or the Low Countries and Switzerland’.⁶⁶ Venice in the seventeenth century ‘provided one of the richest and most varied environments for music-making of the past millennium’; it could ‘bask in the glory of its political prestige’, so it attracted the leading composers of the day.⁶⁷ Perhaps Donne once again heard the music of Italian composers during his travels to Italy and Spain after being in ‘Cales’ with the Earl of Essex. Donne’s friend, Henry Wotton, likely heard them as well, for he spent many years in Italy.⁶⁸

Paris during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was awash with Italian troupes of comedians, dancing, and the almost continuous sounding of music. Donne and his musical friends would have enjoyed the spectacle. ‘The musical history of Renaissance Paris aptly reflects the principal institutions that dominated cultural and political life there [...] the cathedral

⁶⁵ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 171. Also, Flynn cites Donne’s employment with Sir Thomas Egerton, which began ‘within a year of his return from the Islands voyage and continued four years until 1602’. Therefore, ‘Walton seems not to have known of Donne’s earlier flight from persecution’, [...] ‘confused the date of Donne’s travels’, [...] ‘or confused the order of Donne’s visits to Spain and Italy’.

⁶⁶ Bald, p. 52. See also Izaak Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at his shop under S. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1658), p. 27.

⁶⁷ Giulio Ongaro, Eleanor Selfridge-Field, and Luca Zoppelli, ‘Venice’ in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 28 March 2021].

⁶⁸ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, pp. 27 and 107.

of Notre Dame and the Ste Chapelle du Palais (parish church of the nearby royal residence in Paris) continued to be important centres of musical production'.⁶⁹

The Low Countries and Germany were also bastions of musical delight. The unique style of polyphony in the Netherlands fostered a climate favourable to performance, as they incorporated Italian, German, and French techniques. Michael Davidson states, 'Amsterdam was an important commercial centre, with a strong music publishing industry which handled much Italian music'.⁷⁰ David Schulenberg confirms that German composers combined Italian techniques and French style, in recitative, and in sacred music, with instruments.⁷¹ German organ builders inspired a new generation of composers that carried over into the Baroque era. Adolf Layer adds, 'Augsburg was an important center of instrument building during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'.⁷² Germany was developing foreign genres into the Lutheran liturgy and

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Cook et al., 'Paris', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 28 March 2021]. He all-night performance of the *Balet comique do la Roynne* played to an audience of 9000 in 1581. Musical forces 'consisted of outdoor instrumentalists: drummers and pipers attached to the military guard plus trumpeter and shawm [woodwind instrument] players (including some Italian instrumentalists) who played during large social dances and public processions': 'The Ste Chapelle du Palais, not far from the royal Parisian residence, also had its own professional choir . . . In addition to their ensembles of public and private musicians, French monarchs seem to have had several church choirs in their direct service [...] with specialist choirs—one for liturgical plainchant and another for musique, or polyphonic compositions'. 'Throughout Paris there were important centres of aristocratic musical patronage', musical and literary salons of patrons. 'Indeed, throughout the 16th century members of the Lorraine-Guise family collaborated with each other and with the royal households as patrons of music and musicians'. Printed books and manuals by musicians abounded and the city was awash with theatrical performances and pageants: 'With so much performing in evidence, it should not be surprising that instrument making flourished in the city; some 70 builders are known by name from the period 1540-1610. Inventories reveal that a single builder might have as many as 600 instruments of all kinds, either finished or in construction, including some that were imported, mainly from Italy'.

⁷⁰ Michael Davidson, 'Netherlands, The', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 01 December 1992) [accessed 4 April 2022].

⁷¹ David Schulenberg, '8. German Baroque', in Kreitner, Kenneth, et al., 'Ornaments', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 10 July 2022].

⁷² Adolf Layer, 'Augsburg: Printing and instrument making', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 4 April 2022]. 'About 1600 the Bildermann family and others worked on the development of early mechanical instruments, while many lute, violin, organ and piano manufacturers were also active there, most notably J. A. Stein in the late 18th century, whose pianos were highly regarded by Mozart'.

the Protestant church's hymns and anthems, as Martin Luther 'saw theology and music as inextricably woven together'; German dance music evolved into suites (from a form of monody that had evolved from religious and secular solo songs) and cantatas evolved from religious vocal concertos.⁷³ These beginnings laid the foundation for Germany and Austria's most famous composers in music, opera, and poetry during the Baroque era.

Music in Spain in the 1500s was mainly concerned with vocal rather than instrumental, but vihuelists⁷⁴ developed more extensive instrumental ornamentation.⁷⁵ Louis Jambou states, 'By 1626, vocal ornaments were recorded with ornamented passages; but, the 'preponderance of attention paid to instrumental ornamentation partly obliterates a vocal practice of which little is known'.⁷⁶ Louise K. Stein avers that procedures fit their preferred string or keyboard instruments and the preferred instruments in seventeenth-century Spain were harps and guitars.⁷⁷ 'Great formal flexibility, bold contrasts, clear harmonic organization, sensitive text expression, and careful attention to text declamation are notable characteristics of Spanish music in this period, whether in large-scale sacred pieces for one or more choirs, romances for two or three

⁷³ John Kmetz et al., 'Germany, Federal Republic of', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 10 July 2022].

⁷⁴ A vihuelist is someone who plays the vihuela (guitar).

⁷⁵ Louis Jambou, '2. Spain, 1500-1800', in Kreitner, Kenneth, et al., 'Ornaments', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 10 July 2022].

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Louise K. Stein, '3. Late 16th century to mid-18th.', in Stevenson, Robert, et al., 'Spain', *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 10 July 2022]. 'Spanish composers had perfected the art of writing sets of variations in both instrumental and vocal music of the 16th century, and their inventiveness enlivened multi-strophic romances, villancicos based on traditional harmonic patterns, simple polyphonic settings of courtly poetry based on well-known tunes, and improvised continuo accompaniments for all kinds of music in the 17th century'.

voices solo settings of romances, or clever theatrical songs with continuo'.⁷⁸ The musical settings of Donne's poetry clearly reflect these characteristics.

The music of Spain might have been familiar to Donne because of his military service. After Donne's sailing expeditions to Cadiz, Farro, Corunna, Ferrol (1596) and the 'Islands' expedition to the Azores (1597), the courtier was back at Court vying for preferment.⁷⁹ Castiglione's *The Courtier* had been translated into English in 1561 and the retinue tried to live up to its precepts to 'get ahead in the world'.⁸⁰ In *The Courtier*, Castiglione exclaims, 'O incredible Sweetness of Musick!'. . . Musick is not only an Ornament to every Courtier, but an Advantage'.⁸¹ Composer Thomas Morley agrees, 'relating a story about a sad young man whose social career was temporarily blighted because he could not join his hostess in an after-dinner madrigal'.⁸² Willa McClung Evans adds, 'A young blood who knew no music might as well "make some desperate way"'.⁸³ But, not young Donne, for he dutifully plays his part. Donne knew that 'Diversions, as

⁷⁸ Ibid. 'The association between imitative contrapuntal polyphony and sacred texts was maintained even into the 18th century', especially for settings for the Mass'.⁷⁸

⁷⁹ William F. Blissett, 'The Strangest pageant, fashion'd like a court': John Donne and Ben Jonson to 1600—Parallel Lives' in *EMLS*, Special 9 (May 2001) 8. 1-51 (para. 12 of 51).

⁸⁰ Blissett, para. 19. Blissett asserts that the courtiers of Elizabeth's Court must possess the following qualities: 'The soldier has an eye for tactics, a tongue for command, a sword for battle; the scholar an eye for the text, a tongue for eloquence, a pen-sword for controversy; the courtier an eye for magnificence and spectacle, a tongue for conversation and counsel, a sword for the defence of his honour and his prince's'.

⁸¹ Castiglione, Baldassare. *The courtier: or, the complete gentleman and gentlewoman. Being, a treatise of the politest manner of educating persons of distinction of both Sexes, and the Qualifications requisite in People of all Ranks from the Prince to the private Gentleman. Interspersed with Curious Dissertations on the Accomplishments of Statuary, Painting, Poetry, Musick, Dancing, Dress, Love, Marriage, &c. Translated from the Italian original of Balthasar, Count Castiglione. In four books.* Printed for E. Curll in the Strand, [1729] [1728], p. 84.

⁸² Willa McClung Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 1 n. 4.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 3 n. 23.

Musick and Dancing’,⁸⁴ . . . are ‘befitting a Nobleman’⁸⁵ . . . ‘most excellently skilled in Poetry and Musick’.⁸⁶ In a verse letter to Wotton, To Mr. Henry Wotton 20 Iuly. 1598. At Court. (‘Here is no more newes then Vertu:’I may as well’), Donne refers to court entertainments: ‘Playes’ at Court and Court as ‘playes’.⁸⁷ A year earlier, in ‘The Calm’ (1597), Donne had mentioned ‘Like courts removing or like ended plays’ (l. 14).⁸⁸ In Donne’s eyes, the Elizabethan court did not live up to the image of the ‘Court of Heaven’, a ‘great, good place’.⁸⁹ When Wotton ‘seems to have left Essex’s service [...] and retired to the country’,⁹⁰ correspondence from Donne documents Donne’s presence at Court entertainments.

2.4 Ancestral Music: Donne’s Musical Family and Friends

After entering the service of the Lord Keeper (?November, or in 1598),⁹¹ a letter from Donne, almost certainly from the Christmas season of 1599-1600, describes the Court entertainments at Greenwich.; there were plays during the holidays; and the Queen was active and eager for

⁸⁴ Castiglione, p. 9.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁷ *Variorum*, 5, p. 57. In *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 78, 80, 85, 73, Robbins states that Donne paints a less desirable portrait of plays at Court, when he ‘indulges in the courtier’s custom of vilifying the Court’ through his use of simile and alliteration (ll. 19-21):

Believe me, sir, in my youth’s giddiest days,
When to be like the Court was a play’s praise,
Plays were not so like Courts as Courts’re like plays. (p. 80)

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

⁸⁹ Blissett, para. 13.

⁹⁰ Bald, p. 107.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 537.

amusement'.⁹² Donne wrote that Court was 'not great but full of iollyty and revells & playes and as merry as if it were not sick'.⁹³ The Queen came 'almost every night'⁹⁴ 'to see the ladies dawnce the old and new country dawnces with the taber and pipe'.⁹⁵ Donne would have heard the music of this pair of instruments played by a single player, with a pipe held in one hand (played with the thumb and two fingers), and a small drum (tabor) [hanging from the neck] and being beaten with a stick by the other.⁹⁶ Donne witnessed 'The Admiral's Men playing Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and *The Shoemaker's Holiday*', and 'the Chamberlain's Men', who performed other plays, possibly Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, 'for Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano', 'who was visiting the Court from Italy, and the festivities were gayer than usual'.⁹⁷ Such entertainments enjoyed during Donne's employment at York House had begun much earlier with the Stanley family—and his own.

Music played an important role in the Donne, Heywood, Rastell and More families.⁹⁸ There are numerous accounts of music and musicians among John Donne's relatives. Elizabeth Donne was taught music at Court by her father, John Heywood (b c 1497; d after 1577), 'who from early

⁹² Ibid., p. 107 n. 2.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 108.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 107.

⁹⁵ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 112 n. 14.

⁹⁶ In 'To Sir H. R.' ('I a whole year be'), 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne: The Online Variorum* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 27 January 2024], Donne states, 'I have ever seen in London and our Court, as some colours, and habits, and continuances, and motions, and phrases, and accents, and songs, so friends in fashion and in season: and I have seen them as sondainly abandoned altogether, though I see no change in them, know no more why they were left, then why they were chosen' (ll. 31-9).

⁹⁷ Bald, pp. 107-8 n. 1. See also J. L. Hotson, *The First Night of "Twelfth Night"* (London: Hart-Davis, 1954).

⁹⁸ Crowley, p. 629. Crowley states that the 'safety and survival' of Donne and his family 'would have required silence regarding Catholic devotion, especially early in his career, mirroring the situation in Psalm 137—the ability (and absence of desire) of the oppressed devout openly to sing God's praises'.

in the reign of Henry VIII enjoyed intermittent celebrity as a musician, comic entertainer and poet serving the Courts of all the Tudor princes [Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth]'.⁹⁹ 'Epigrammatist and writer of interludes',¹⁰⁰ Heywood 'for years taught music to the children of members of the Court and had produced entertainments in which the children, his own and others, performed.'¹⁰¹ Both queens became very musical: 'Princess Mary played the virginal' and Queen Elizabeth 'exercised herself dailie in plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs and making of ballads'.¹⁰² 'Heywood first appears in the Royal Treasurer's account for Michaelmas 1519, when he receives a quarterly payment on his annual salary of £20. A year later, he is described as a "synger", and by 1525 he is listed as a "player of the virginals" (harpsichord)'.¹⁰³ Having transferred to the household of Queen Mary, he 'seems to have had a close relationship with her until her death in 1558' becoming 'steward (or *sewer*) of the royal chamber sometime around 1527', maintaining that title through the reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁰ Bald, p. 22.

¹⁰¹ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 28. These children would come to play an important role in Donne's life: Henry Percy (future 8th Earl of Northumberland), Henry Stanley (Lord Strange knighted at King Edward VI's coronation), Sir Anthony Cooke, Ambrose Dudley (Earl of Warwick's son), and Mildred Cooke ('learned daughter' and Greek scholar of King Edward's VI's tutor/'reader' who later married Sir William Cecil).

¹⁰² R. de la Bère, *John Heywood Entertainer* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1937), p. 24.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 32 n 36. For a good summary of the documents relating to Heywood's royal service, see Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians* (Aldershot, 1998), I:568-71. Possibly 'educated at Oxford', 'a chorister at the Chapel Royal or a gentleman of the Chapel, Heywood may have been a member of the choir of twenty five gentlemen who accompanied the Court in the summer of 1520 to Guisnes for the Field of the Cloth of Gold' (pp. 23-24). Heywood wrote of himself, '*Longe* have I been a singing man' (p. 23).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

As a poet, playwright, and musician, Heywood had ‘admirable skill’ in ‘instrumental and vocal music’ and composed it.¹⁰⁵ Flynn states that ‘it is not clear that he had ever composed music, though some of his lyrics have survived’.¹⁰⁶ Ross W. Duffin cites the only complete musical setting of a Heywood poem, surviving in a ‘clumsy lutesong version’, *What harte can thyinke or tonge express*,¹⁰⁷ in British Library Add. MS 4900.¹⁰⁸ Becoming secretary to Heywood in 1548, Thomas Whythorne describes him in his autobiography as being ‘very well skilled in Music, and playing on the virginals, but also such an English poet as the like for his wit and invention, with the quantity that he wrote, was not as then in England, nor before his time since Chaucer’s time’. . . ‘I learned to play on the virginals, the lute, and to make English verses. While I was with him, he made diverse ditties to be sung unto musical instruments; also, he caused to be printed a book made upon our English proverbs.’¹⁰⁹ And also at the request of Doctor Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, he made a certain enterlude or play, the which was divided upon the parts of Man’.¹¹⁰ Heywood, a ‘typical man of his age: a social success, a singer, a player, a wit, a dramatist’,¹¹¹ was in intimate association with Thomas

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 23, 21, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Dennis Flynn, ‘Heywood, Ellis (1529–1578), author and Jesuit’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 19 February 2019].

¹⁰⁷ John M. Ward, ‘Heywood, John’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) (accessed 9 January 2022). ‘The six stanzas of the poem are in Add. 15233’.

¹⁰⁸ Ross W. Duffin, *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 35. The six stanzas of the poem are in Add. 15233 (Ward).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 31-32. Duffin states that from his *A Dialogue conteyning the number in effect of all the proverbs in the English tongue* (London: Berthelet, 1546), John Heywood’s literary contributions include many we say today (modernized): ‘Haste makes waste’, ‘Out of sight, out of mind,’ ‘Look before you leap’, etc.

¹¹⁰ Ward, p. 34 n. 37. See *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: 1961), 13-14.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 18, 45. Reminiscent of Chaucer’s humor, Heywood’s plays ‘were the theme of Peacham, Fuller, Camden, and Jonson’ and ‘help us a little to understand the sudden blaze of Shakespeare’s genius’ (p. 18). He must be accorded a high place in the annals of the English stage’ (p. 45).

More,¹¹² both epigrammatists and musicians. More ‘lernt the viol at Oxford, and used to “sitt and singe in the quire” even when Lord Chancellor’.¹¹³ ‘It is not unlikely that More and More’s circle brought Heywood also into touch with the leading musicians and playwrights of the day; so that he came to be esteemed the authority at royal plays and pageants’.¹¹⁴ Heywood had ‘social sense’: the ‘ability to move easily in all circles, professional, courtly, or scholarly’,¹¹⁵ a quality his grandson inherited.

Evidence of Heywood’s children being educated with court children supports the belief that Donne benefitted from his grandfather’s musical instruction through his mother. ‘In the reign of Edward VI, [...] Heywood’s children were all still of school age: the oldest at university, the youngest (Donne’s mother, Elizabeth) just beginning her education [...] Heywood’s children were thus raised not in exile but in the company of English courtiers and nobility. Jasper Heywood, before he went to Oxford, had studied with a group of noble students that included Princess Elizabeth²¹.¹¹⁶ ‘In early 1552, he [Heywood] was among those rewarded for a play performed by children under Mr. Sebastian [Westcott] the master of the Children of St. Paul’s. This association was repeated at Nonesuch in August 1559, when Queen Elizabeth witnessed “a play of the Chylderyn of Powlles and ther master Se[bastian], Master Phelypes, and master Haywood” showing “Heywood’s involvement in theatre at court into the reign of Elizabeth”’.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹³ J. S. Bennett, ‘A Tallis Patron?’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21 (1988), 41-4 (p. 42 n. 13). *Dictionary of National Biography* s. v. More (q. v.), and Harpsfield, 64.

¹¹⁴ Duffin, p. 31.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

¹¹⁶ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 28 n 21. This information is found in a letter without address or signature, dated 6 March 1584. (ARSI Anglia 30/I/292v), p. 202.

¹¹⁷ Duffin, p. 34 n. 40. For these payment records, see Ashbee and Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1:568-70.

It must be noted that Heywood left England¹¹⁸ for Belgium (because of the Act of Uniformity) before Donne was born and remained there until his death. It is possible that he influenced his grandson's musical education if they were together at any point in Europe before he died; however, Elizabeth Donne was the most likely source of any early musical training Donne received. Since her father was a Court musician, she was educated at Court, and she was responsible for Donne's formative education, it is logical that Elizabeth instructed him in music or instructed a tutor to do so. Given the literary and musical talent of his grandfather, and the musical training of his mother, it would be highly unlikely that their musical expertise would *not* have been passed down to Donne.

Elizabeth Donne's brother, Ellis Heywood (1529–1578), an 'author and Jesuit, was born in London, third of five children of John Heywood (b 1496/7, d. in or after 1578), and his wife, Joan (d. before 1574), daughter of John Rastell and Elizabeth More, Sir Thomas More's sister'.¹¹⁹ 'Educated early at court, where his father (a protégé of More) was a playwright and music tutor, Ellis later attended Oxford';¹²⁰ after graduation, he then spent time on the Continent (France, Bavaria and Belgium), leaving England 'towards the end of Edward VI's reign'.¹²¹ Serving as 'prebendary of Eccleshall in Lichfield Cathedral in 1554'¹²² and secretary to Reginald, Cardinal Pole in Italy, Ellis lived in Florence at the zenith of the Italian Musical

¹¹⁸ Crowley, p. 628 n. 87.

¹¹⁹ Flynn, 'Heywood, Ellis (1529–1578), author and Jesuit'.

¹²⁰ Ibid. Flynn states that, in 1548, Ellis was elected fellow of All Souls College and graduated BCL on 18 July 1552.

¹²¹ Bald, p. 25.

¹²² Flynn, 'Heywood, Ellis (1529–1578), author and Jesuit'.

Renaissance and would have had the opportunity to hear the music of the day and been cognizant of its musicians.¹²³

Flynn states that the ‘humanist member of Donne’s family who eventually exerted the most personal influence of any male relative’ was Jasper Heywood (1535–1598).¹²⁴ Ellis and Elizabeth’s brother, ‘poet and Jesuit, was born in London, fourth of the five Heywood children’.¹²⁵ ‘Born and bred at the court of Henry VIII, Heywood had personal acquaintance not only with Queen Elizabeth but with other aristocrats in England and abroad’.¹²⁶ Jasper ‘as a boy served for a time as a page to the Princess Elizabeth’.¹²⁷ Like his brother and father, he went to Oxford in 1547 and gained recognition as a ‘quaint poet’, according to antiquarian Anthony Wood [*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1.663].¹²⁸ As a missionary, ‘Unquestionably Jasper Heywood got in touch with the members of his family in England; he may even have taken refuge from time to time under his sister’s roof. The children must have seen and spoken to him, and no doubt he made a deep impression on them . . .’,¹²⁹ which Donne confirms: ‘. . . Persons who by nature had a power and superiority over my will, and others who by their learning and good life, seem’d to me justly to claime and interest for the guiding, and rectifying of mine understanding in these

¹²³ Ibid. Flynn states that Ellis travelled to Dillingen to join Jasper and the Society of Jesus in Bavaria, in 1566, and was later transferred to Antwerp; narrowly escaping death, Ellis and John Heywood were deported from Antwerp and fled to Louvain in May 1578, where Ellis spent the rest of his life with his musical father.

¹²⁴ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 41.

¹²⁵ Dennis Flynn, ‘Heywood, Jasper (1535–1598), poet and Jesuit’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004) [accessed 16 January 2023].

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Bald, p. 25.

¹²⁸ Flynn, ‘Heywood, Jasper (1535-1598), poet and Jesuit’.

¹²⁹ Bald, pp. 39-40.

matters’, ‘certain impressions of the Romane¹³⁰ religion’.¹³¹ For Donne, the ‘desolation of the Catholic peerage became part of his formative experience and deeply influenced him throughout his life’.¹³² Although eventually breaking with his family’s Catholicism,¹³³ Donne shared much in common with his uncle in their love of poetry, drama and theology. We can only speculate that they shared a love of music as well since Jasper acquired a musical education from his father at Court.

‘There is no question that the Heywoods received more lenient treatment from the Queen and her ministers than many of their fellow Catholics; no doubt Elizabeth retained kindly memories of the old man’s wit and gaiety in the days when he had supplied entertainment for the court and remembered affectionately Jasper’s services when, as a boy, he had been her page.’¹³⁴ Knowing it was their musical history which informed her pardon, Donne may have viewed music as a powerful tool to be used when it was necessary to delight and impress—or, in his family’s case, ‘sooth the savage beast’ and save his hide.¹³⁵ ‘With Catholic ancestors who died in exile, living relatives forced to remain abroad, relatives in and out of prison for their beliefs, and fears for his

¹³⁰ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 102. ‘Donne would have had fairly frequent contact with his uncle, since London became the natural center of Heywood’s missionary activities [...]’.

¹³¹ *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), p. 13. In ‘A Preface to the Priestes, and Jesuits, and to their Disciples in this Kingdome’.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹³³ Flynn, ‘Heywood, Jasper (1535-1598), poet and Jesuit’.

¹³⁴ Bald, p 42.

¹³⁵ In ‘Forms of Joy and Art: Donne, David, and the Power of Music’, in *JDJ*, 25 (2006), 3-36, Anne Prescott discusses David soothing Saul with music and makes the parallel that ‘it would be strange if the thought had never crossed his [Donne’s] mind’ (p. 34).

own safety and advancement if he retained his Catholicism, Donne was well acquainted with many forms of exile'.¹³⁶

Another example of how music and entertainment played a large role in Donne's family history is the connection between John Heywood, the Mores, and the Rastell families. Heywood's father-in-law, John Rastell,¹³⁷ was known for his pageants, courtly entertainments, and theatre.¹³⁸ Duffin thinks there is a 'good chance that some of Heywood's plays also received public performance' since [...] 'John Rastell, built the first public theater in England around 1524 at Finnsbury Fields, near the future site of the Fortune Theatre', although there is no official record of Heywood's plays there.¹³⁹ Surely this theatrical family history would have been passed down to Donne, for Rastell had published his grandfather's plays and printed music. Perhaps the Rastell and Heywoods' love of the theatre influenced Donne's; his 'performance' in all facets of life kept his audience attentive and focused. Like his ancestors, possibly Donne also entertained through his musical settings, for the Elizabethan London of Donne 'was vibrant with lute and viol, part-song and madrigal'¹⁴⁰ McClung Evans affirms, 'There was music at dinner,

¹³⁶ Crowley, p. 629.

¹³⁷ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, pg. 197 n 14. 'John Rastell (or Rastall) was both a man of his time and a pioneer. He was of his time in pursuing so many activities and interests, as a lawyer, printer, designer, theatre entrepreneur and Reformer; but he was also a man of vision, first or almost first in several fields: printing plays, printing music, building the first known playhouse and setting sail for the New World. Across the wide range of activities there is evidence of a desire to reach out, educate and change an audience not hitherto reached by existing literary and dramatic practice, a desire fostered by his connections with the humanist ideals of the More circle'.

¹³⁸ G. B. Harrison, *England in Shakespeare's Day* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2005), p. 62. 'Until the overspreading of Puritanism the English were famous for their love of music and song'.

¹³⁹ Duffin, p. 35.

¹⁴⁰ Willa McClung Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), pp. 1-2. 'Strains of part-songs, rounds, catches and ballads sounded along the streets of London' (p. 2).

music at supper, music at work, and music at play'.¹⁴¹ According to Pattison, the 'mass of the people knew no other sort of poetry than song'.¹⁴² The musical settings of Donne's poetry would have been an entertaining addition to both genres. Larson states, 'Men and women across social classes flocked to the theatres to enjoy an array of singing characters and song-filled interludes and entertainments'.¹⁴³ 'Churches large and small echoed with the plodding tones of congregational psalm singing'.¹⁴⁴ Music was so much a part of Elizabethan life that 'Henry Peacham demanded that every man who would be called a gentleman¹⁴⁵ should learn to "sing his part sure and at first sight, withal"'.¹⁴⁶ 'Motets,¹⁴⁷ canzonets¹⁴⁸ and madrigals¹⁴⁹ floated along the corridors of Whitehall. Ladies-in-waiting and grooms-of-the-chamber displayed their talents

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 1 n. 2. 'Ibid., Volume I, p. 98'.

¹⁴² Pattison, p. 19.

¹⁴³ Katherine R. Larson, *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Larson, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ Willa McClung Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 1 n. 5. '2 *Henry IV*, II, 2'. 'Falstaff had, on occasion, lost his voice "hallelujahing and singing of anthems"'.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 1 n. 3. '*The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622, Chapter XI, Reprinted with an Introduction by G. S. Gordon, Clarendon Press, 1906, p. 100'. 'The spirit of song was indeed riotous when all the world was singing psalms to hornpipes. Quite naturally, the poets responded to the demands for songs by writing verses for music [...] Whatever the poet's tastes, whatever his habits and talents, the musical forces of the age could hardly fail to affect him'.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 17. 'A motet was also much like a madrigal, the chief difference being that a motet was religious rather than secular in theme, and that the music was more solemn and dignified in character'.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 16. 'A canzonet might be called a little madrigal, for the canzonet was much like a madrigal except that it was shorter and the musical setting simpler'.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 16, 32. Evans states, 'The madrigal was the form of polyphonic music which was perhaps more than any other, the typical Tudor part-song' [...] 'We usually think of a madrigal as a short poem, of approximately six lines, arranged to a musical setting for six, eight, or ten voices, contrapuntally harmonized' [...] 'The words suggest a definite mood, of a secular nature--words which lent themselves to repetitions, changes of rhythm and other devices practiced by Elizabethan composers' (p. 16). Often madrigalists would, 'like that of their Italian predecessors', introduce 'at the end of each section, of a florid rhythmical passage vocalized to the syllables Fa-la-la. Occasionally some other syllable was substituted' (p. 32).

in the court masque'.¹⁵⁰ 'Songs were equally central to the elaborate masques performed [...] at aristocratic estates'.¹⁵¹ [Chatsworth is an excellent example, for it houses librettos of *The Maske of Flowers* (1613) and *Britannia Trivmphans* (1637).] Descending from the Mores and Rastells, Donne was certainly exposed to Court music and various facets of Court life through his Catholic relatives, friends and upbringing.¹⁵²

Baldassare Castiglione, in *The Courtier*, states, '*If I forget not, both Aristotle and Plato, commanded that everyone of liberal Education¹⁵³ should be taught Musick from their Infancy*'.¹⁵⁴ Donne had been educated at home by a private tutor until he entered Oxford'.¹⁵⁵ Quoting *Pseudo-Martyr*, Bald states that Donne 'came to the University with "a good command both of the French and Latine Tongue". That his tutor was a good Catholic, perhaps even a seminary priest, may be accepted without question'.¹⁵⁶ Anthony Fletcher states that both parents, but especially mothers, were responsible for their children's religious training and education in proper socially normative behavior.¹⁵⁷ 'He concludes that the distribution of popular reading materials, sermons, songs, and conduct books all helped children learn how to be men and

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵¹ Larson, p. 3.

¹⁵² Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 172.

¹⁵³ G. B. Harrison, p. 62. In Campagnac's edition of *Elementary* (1582) (p. 65), Richard Mulcaster 'laid down as the five subjects, necessary to an Elementary education, reading, writing, drawing, music and grammar'.

¹⁵⁴ Castiglione, p. 83.

¹⁵⁵ Bald, pp. 38-9.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 39. ¹*Pseudo-Martyr*, 'A preface to the Priestes, and Jesuits', sig. B₂ v.

¹⁵⁷ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 101.

women'.¹⁵⁸ Walton comments, 'The boy's early tutors were instructed by his mother "to instill into him particular Principles of the *Roman Church*"'.¹⁵⁹ Although we automatically assume theological principles, might it also include the musical aspects of a Catholic upbringing?

While at Oxford, having the 'reputation of being a centre for Catholics,' 'Hart Hall had no chapel'.¹⁶⁰ Whereas Bald states that at Cambridge,¹⁶¹ 'Daily attendance at college chapel was enforced, and there were even fines for failure to attend the University sermons'; however, 'medieval hostels [...] or lodgings with some college tutor, could have satisfied Donne's wish to remain aloof from the religious observances of the Church of England'.¹⁶² Donne's friends¹⁶³ from Oxford,¹⁶⁴ Cambridge and the Inns of Courts were very musical and contributed to

¹⁵⁸ Vanessa Jean Wilkie, "'Such Daughters and Such a Mother': The Countess of Derby and her Three Daughters', 1560-1647 (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California Riverside, 2009), p. 56.

¹⁵⁹ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁰ Bald, p. 43.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46 n. 4-48, 47-48. 'J. B. Millinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles the First*, 1884, pp. 392 n., and 428-9'. (Dennis Flynn does not believe that Donne ever attended Cambridge, claiming no proof.)

¹⁶² Pamela J. Willets, 'Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell', in *Music & Letters* 49.1 (1968), 36-42 (p. 38 n. 5). Like at Oxford, Bald states that it is probable that 'certain of Donne's friendships' [...] 'were first formed at Cambridge' (p. 48), which Pamela J. Willets thinks included St. Paul musician, Thomas Myriell.

¹⁶³ Bald, pp. 43, 47, 74. Donne's life-long friendship with Sir Henry Wotton began at Oxford and '[o]ther friends of later years who were Oxford contemporaries were Hugh Holland (at Balliol) and Richard Martin (of Broadgates Hall)', Thomas Coryate and John Owen' (p. 43). Bald states that Donne formed friendships at Cambridge with Sir Henry Goodyer, Beaupré Bell, Everard Guilpin and John Pory (p. 47), who followed Cambridge fellows Thomas Nashe, Robert Greene, Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Campion; like Donne, all enjoyed music, poetry and drama. The shared musicality of Donne's Cambridge friends and their love of poetry continued at Lincoln's Inn. Bell, Guilpin, along with Christopher and Samuel Brooke, Rowland and Thomas Woodward, and 'a certain Mr. I (or J.) L. (who has not been identified)', were the 'coterie of ingenious young men' at Cambridge 'assiduously cultivating the Muse and warmly applauding each other's efforts' with their Lincoln's Inn verse letters (p. 74). Unfortunately, all information found on the musicality of Donne's friends, their associations with music and composers, and the musical references from Donne's letters and poetry addressed to them could not be included in this thesis due to length.

¹⁶⁴ Pattison, p. 74. Richard Martin, whom Donne knew from Oxford, had a 'reputation as a poet and composer'. 'He was one of the "chief doers and undertakers" in a masque before the King in February 1612-1613, when John and Robert Dowland played lutes. Further evidence of his association with the Dowlands is a musical setting by him of a poem by the Earl of Essex, which was published in Robert Dowland's *Musicall Banquet*'.

entertainments in London, at Court and abroad. ‘Elizabethan gentlemen of means were expected to patronize the arts, and gained prestige by doing so’.¹⁶⁵ Many were listed as contributors, along with Donne, to Thomas Coryat’s *Crudities* (which included music), as they were among those who frequented the Mitre and Mermaid Taverns in London.

After Oxford and Cambridge(?), in 1591,¹⁶⁶ Donne enters Thavies Inn as a law student, possibly in May, is admitted to Lincoln’s Inn 6 May of 1592¹⁶⁷ and keeps Autumn vacation.¹⁶⁸ The following year, 6 February 1593, Donne is made Master of Revels¹⁶⁹ at Lincoln’s Inn and did not keep Easter vacation.¹⁷⁰ Robbins states that to be elected as joint Master of the Revels, ‘his interest in such things must have been conspicuous, so he is likely to have attended those of the sister-inn, Gray’s, at which Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors*’, was performed 28 Dec.¹⁷¹ There is ‘a hint of an echo’ of this play in ‘The Anagram’ (ll. 41-2).¹⁷² ‘The Anagram’ also contains one of Donne’s many knowledgeable poetic references to music, in this case to ‘the gamvt’ or musical scale:

When by the gamvt some Musitians make

¹⁶⁵ Bennett, ‘A Tallis Patron?’, p. 42.

¹⁶⁶ John Stubbs, *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), p. 24. Stubbs states, ‘It is not all surprising that Donne’s presence should not have been documented: this was precisely his family’s hope and intention’.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25; Stubbs suggests that this was ‘possibly after a year or more of foreign travel’.

¹⁶⁸ Bald, pp. 46, 537.

¹⁶⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 618. Robbins speculates that Donne did not serve as joint Master of the Revels, ‘his first, since they had been cancelled in 1592 and 1593 because of the plague’, possibly because of the ‘pressure of composition’, since Edmund Spenser had just written *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1594). Donne declines the office of Steward of Christmas in 1594, possibly because he was busy writing ‘Epithalamium Made at Lincoln’s Inn’, a parody of Spenser’s recently written *Epithalamion*, which is the climax of Spenser’s *Amoretti*.

¹⁷⁰ Bald, p. 537.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

A perfect Song, others will vndertake,
By the same gamvt chang'd, to equall itt. (ll. 19-21).¹⁷³

Donne's friendship with William Stanley continued at the Inns of Court, as Stanley 'had meanwhile joined Lincoln's Inn (matriculating on 13 August 1594)',¹⁷⁴ where he possibly participated with Donne in revels. Fortescue, a member of Lincoln's Inn, explains that 'There is both in the Inns of Court and the Inns of Chancery a sort of academy or gymnasium, where they learn singing and all kinds of music, and such other accomplishments and diversions (which are called revels) as are suitable to their quality and usually practiced at court. Out of term the greater part apply themselves to the study of the law'.¹⁷⁵ In 'Love's Exchange', Donne describes life at the Inns of Court: 'At Court your fellowes euery Day | Give th'Art of Riming, Huntsmanship and Play,' (l. 4).¹⁷⁶ Poet and satirist Everard Guilpin,¹⁷⁷ whom Donne knew from Cambridge and Gray's Inn, in his *Epigram 52*, speaks of Inns of Court revelers as called by night 'To paint the torch-light summer of the hall',¹⁷⁸ for 'Music was cultivated at the Inns of

¹⁷³ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 2, *The Elegies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 217.

¹⁷⁴ Leo Daugherty, 'Stanley, William, sixth earl of Derby (bap. 1561, d. 1642), nobleman', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 14 November 2018) [accessed 11 February 2019].

¹⁷⁵ Walter Thornbury, 'Lincoln's Inn', in *Old and New London: Volume 3* (London, 1878), 51-58, *British History Online* [accessed 16 January 2023] (p. 51).

¹⁷⁶ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.3, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022), p. 37.

¹⁷⁷ Philip Hobsbaum, 'Guilpin, Everard (b. c. 1572), poet and satirist', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004) [accessed 4 February 2021]. Donne's Cambridge and Gray's Inn fellow, Guilpin (c. 1572-?), was a poet and satirist whose musicality lies in modelling himself on the Roman poets Martial (who influenced the music of the 17th century), Juvenal and Persius, his love of masques and the theatre. Guilpin was entered at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1588, at Gray's Inn in 1591, and later became bishop. *Skialetheia, or A shadowe of Truth* (1598) was 'called in by Archbishop Whitgift and burnt, along with Marston's Scourge and other books deemed to be subversive'.

¹⁷⁸ Everard Guilpin, *Skialetheia. Or, A shadowe of Truth, in certaine Epigrams and Satyres*, (London, 1598), n.p.

Court'.¹⁷⁹ As a student of Lincoln's Inn, participating in the revels, Donne would have been exposed to music and possibly taught music; and, as Master of the Revels, he would have overseen the entertainment.¹⁸⁰ If Donne is the friend about whom Guilpin speaks in *Satyra tertia*, Guilpin reveals that Donne danced in a Christmas masque ('a player to a Christmas prince')¹⁸¹ and had become involved in many things (after receiving his inheritance) that might have appeared out of character. Although it is assumed that this reference is to the 'Christmas "shew" of 1597/1598 at Lincoln's Inn', this cannot be proven.¹⁸² Guilpin muses at the 'fantasticke change' and fashions this friend as an idolatrous lover, 'reueler ridiculous', among the 'Phantasmas butterflies, but yet witlesse *Mercuries*'¹⁸³ flying too close to the sun, melting their friendship with his self-indulgent behavior. Was Donne 'sowing wild oats', flouting his fortune from his father, a dilettante 'foole' who 'Enterd himselfe into the dauncing schoole'?¹⁸⁴ Donne now had the means and the talent to experiment and experience all that life and privilege had to offer; he spent quite a bit of time on the Continent and money on his travels because Walton describes Donne as one, 'whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his

¹⁷⁹ J. S. Bennett, p. 42 n. 15.

¹⁸⁰ 'Inns of Court: Drama, Entertainment, and Music', in *Records of Early English Drama (REED) London Online, Canadian Writing Research Collaboratory (CWRC)* <<http://www.cwrc.ca/reed>> [accessed 14 January 2024]. John Dowland and William Corkine were paid musicians at Middle Temple the same year that their musical settings of Donne's poetry were printed (1612). In the Middle Temple archives, the 'first item of interest is a receipt, dated 2 February 1612/13: "Receaved by mee Iohn Dowland for my selfe and my fellowes Musitians, vpon candellmas Daye, 1612 for the consorte performed before the Iudges and Reverent benchers, of the honorable Society, of the Midle Temple...". The receipt is for the sum of £5, which is indicative of the status of John Dowland in English musical life at this time, a status he is at pains to emphasize by signing himself "Iohn dowlande, Lutenist to the Kinges maiestie" (an appointment he had only recently received). The document was also signed by William Corkine.

¹⁸¹ R. E. Bennett, 'John Donne and Everard Gilpin', *Review of English Studies*, 15.57 (1939), 66–72 (p. 70).

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 71 n. 1. 'See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), I. 223, note 1'.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Speculation as to whether Donne was the friend who hurt Guilpin by his 'superior bearing' remains.

estate in to a narrow compass'. . . 'Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable Travels, Books, and dear-bought Experience'.¹⁸⁵ Yet, Bennett's description of Donne and how he involved himself with myriad aesthetes and art forms is more in keeping with our expectations:

We imagine him in the late 1590s to have been respected and perhaps a little feared by other young poets. He, far more than most of them, remained dignified and aloof, sure of himself, always friendly, but perhaps a little condescending towards those who published and who embroiled themselves in literary quarrels.¹⁸⁶

In 1594 (his last documented presence), Donne 'keeps Easter and Autumn vacations at Lincoln's Inn; is chosen Steward of Christmas (26 November) but declines the office'.¹⁸⁷ Robbins states, 'Since his future employer, Sir Thomas Egerton,¹⁸⁸ newly appointed Master of the Rolls, was a senior member of the Inn, he would probably have been present at the Christmas Revels, giving Donne a chance to come to his notice, apart from acquaintance with his fellow-student, Egerton's eldest son, Thomas, the younger'.¹⁸⁹ This 'serious career-opportunity' is shown by the list of performers at the revels at another Inn, some years prior to Donne's appointment as Master of the Revels and Steward of Christmas. Among the actors at the January 1588 Gray's Inn Revels, recorded by the Queen's chief minister, Lord Burghley, was Thomas Campion (Gray's Inn, 17 January 1587).¹⁹⁰ 'On such occasions the honoured guest was usually

¹⁸⁵ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 30.

¹⁸⁶ R. E. Bennett, p. 72.

¹⁸⁷ Bald, p. 537. Donne declines the office of Steward of Christmas in 1594, possibly because he was busy writing 'Epithalamium Made at Lincoln's Inn', a parody of Spenser's recently written *Epithalamion*, which is the climax of Spenser's *Amoretti*.

¹⁸⁸ Sir Thomas Egerton, 1st Viscount Brackley, PC, known as Lord Ellesmere, was James VI & I's Lord Chancellor.

¹⁸⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 618.

¹⁹⁰ Percival Vivian, *Campion's Works* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 31. 'Sometime after the play, the *Misfortunes of Arthur* was presented.' See also Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 618.

Queen Elizabeth, who, dearly as she loved such revels, was best pleased when they were paid for by others; and on one occasion expressed herself “much beholden” to Gray’s Inn, “for that it did always study for some sports to present to her”.¹⁹¹

Having first been placed in the ‘Earl Ambassador’s retinue at eighteen in the winter of 1584-1585,’¹⁹² ‘at an Earl’s Court, a Court second in size and splendor only to the Queen’s’,¹⁹³ Donne was ‘someone with access to the highest levels of English society’.¹⁹⁴ Constantijn Huygens, ‘seems to have known his [Donne’s] involvement with the Court was of longer duration and deeper significance than has been thought’ [...], for he wrote in 1630 ‘that Donne had been “educated early at Court in the service of the great”’.¹⁹⁵ Flynn agrees: ‘Donne seems not wholly to have confined himself to the routine of law studies [Inns of Court] but from time to time to have presented himself at court. The Satyres show that he was familiar with Westminster and Whitehall’.¹⁹⁶ It is as if Donne, as early as 1591, is ‘silently presenting himself to an audience with whom he shares appropriate connections to the court’.¹⁹⁷ Later travels with the Drurys and Doncaster’s Embassy to Germany place him again at foreign courts and meetings with ‘continental European nobles, diplomats, and other government officials throughout Europe’.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. xxviii-xxvix n. 1. ‘Nichol’s *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 319’.

¹⁹² Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 170.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 196 n. 8

¹⁹⁶ Bald, p. 53.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁹⁸ Dennis Flynn, ‘Donne’s Travels and Earliest Publications’, in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 506-22 (p. 510).

Donne's experience as courtier would have exposed him to the finest music and musicians of his era.

Along with William Stanley, Sixth Earl of Derby (bap. 1561-1642),¹⁹⁹ Donne is believed to have been associated with Henry, Fourth Earl of Derby (Lord Strange) (1531-1593),²⁰⁰ and Ferdinando, Fifth Earl of Derby (Lord Strange) (1559-1594), direct descendants of Henry VII.²⁰¹ 'Throughout the sixteenth century leading members of the Stanley family figured prominently among that select band of noblemen and noble women who financed struggling poets and playwrights and protected companies of players'.²⁰² 'Companies of players frequently visited Lathom or Knowsley²⁰³ to entertain Henry and his family'.²⁰⁴ However, the 'best known of Stanley patrons'²⁰⁵ and friend of Donne was Earl Ferdinando,²⁰⁶ who 'especially enjoyed music,

¹⁹⁹ J.J. Bagley, *The Earls of Derby 1485-1985* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985), p. 77.

²⁰⁰ Bagley, p. 72. As Lord Strange and 4th Earl of Derby, Henry Stanley 'was a patron of a company of travelling players', first known as 'Strange's Men' in the 1560s and later 'Derby's Men', playing at Court beginning in 1580.

²⁰¹ Wilkie, p. 56. 'Their Tutor bloodlines connected them to the Cliffords, the Greys and the Dudleys. Their Stanley lines connected them with the Howards and Hastings'. Donne was also lifelong friends with the ladies in the Stanley family.

²⁰² Bagley, p. 71.

²⁰³ Ashleigh Griffin, 'Enquiry into John Donne' (E-mail to Mary Elaine S. Nelson, 26 September 2019); Unfortunately, according to Dr. Stephen Lloyd, Curator of the Derby Collection, there are no musical manuscripts or any archival material related to John Donne at Knowsley Hall.

²⁰⁴ Bagley, p. 72-74. 'From May 1587 to August 1590, for example, the Household Books, which are only incidentally concerned with entertainment, record visits of the Queen's players, the Earl of Leicester's players, the Earl of Essex's players, Sir Thomas Hesketh's players, and three unnamed troupes. 'Each company arranged a month-long festival of plays at Lathom. On that occasion, Leicester's company was the chief attraction but no doubt those experienced players were reinforced by groups of actors, dancer, and musicians from such local households as Sir Thomas Hesketh's at Rufford or Tomas Walmesley's at Dunkenhalgh' (p. 72).

²⁰⁵ Louis A. Knafla, 'Spencer [married names Stanley Egerton], Alice, countess of Derby (1559-1637), noblewoman', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3 January 2008) [accessed 8 June 2020]. Alice and Ferdinando were 'celebrated' from 1584-94 by Cambridge men Robert Greene, Thomas Nashe, and Edmund Spenser as 'great sponsors of music, poetry, and literature'.

²⁰⁶ Bagley, pp. 63-64.

dancing, poetry and play acting . . .'.²⁰⁷ It was either to the earl or to William Stanley that Donne wrote 'songs'.

Some scholars have felt that 'To L. of D.' ['To E. of D. with six Holy sonnets'] was written to Ferdinando or, possibly, the Earl of Dorset. Robbins notes that since Donne's friend, Rowland Woodward, copied the poem in the Westmoreland manuscript with the title 'To L. of D.', he could be referring to Ferdinando: 'Both poet and patron, Ferdinando was celebrated as 'Amyntas' by Spenser in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, and his taste for erotic verse is presumed from Thomas Nashe's dedicating his "wanton elegy" "Choice of Valentine's" to "Lord S."'.²⁰⁸ *Colin Clout* was a 'family affair', casting Countess Alice Spencer Stanley (later Egerton) as 'Amaryllis'²⁰⁹ and including her sisters, Anne ('Charillis') and Elizabeth²¹⁰ (Phyllis). Alice was 'a great heiress, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe'²¹¹ and the Spencer/Stanley women were musically well trained. 'A beautiful, well-educated and cultured woman, Alice entered the queen's household and became prominent'.²¹² Knafla states that Alice 'performed frequently in masques before the court, and was a masquer in Ben Jonson's *Blackness*,²¹³

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 63.

²⁰⁸ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 42-43.

²⁰⁹ Spenser also dedicated his 1591 poem, 'The Teares of the Muses', to Alice.

²¹⁰ Lady Elizabeth was known as an intelligent and artistic beauty. A scholar in her own right, she translated Petrarch's works. Edmund Spenser's sixteenth dedicatory sonnet to *The Faerie Queene* (1590) is addressed to 'the most vertuous, and beautifull Lady, the Lady Carew', his relative. In *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* (1595) he describes her 'Faire spreading forth her leaves with fresh delight', perhaps implying that she is a writer (*Colin Clout*, ll. 536-71).

²¹¹ Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899), p. 111.

²¹² Mary Ann O'Donnell, 'Egerton [née Stanley], Frances, countess of Bridgewater (1583–1636), noblewoman', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 24 May 2007) [accessed 13 September 2020]. 'A beautiful, well-educated and cultured woman, Alice entered the queen's household and became prominent'.

²¹³ Wilkie, p. 183. 'Alice most likely performed in the *Masque of Beauty* (1605)'.

performed in the winter of 1605'.²¹⁴ 'With her marriage to Ferdinando, Alice Spencer left a rising gentry family and situated herself among the sixteenth century's most prominent aristocracy. Alice's marriage provided her access to an enormously powerful kinship network, a status she continued to enjoy as the wife of Sir Thomas Egerton, Donne's employer, after Ferdinando died'.²¹⁵ Possibly, Donne felt safe with the Stanleys because of the large number of Catholics who resided in Lancashire.

Donne could have become acquainted with Ferdinando and met Alice Spencer Stanley and her three young daughters for the first time, earlier than Bald and Robbins assume. Wilkie cites numerous examples where Alice and Lord Strange 'breeze in and out of the Stanley family Household Books on a regular basis and are joined by others, such as Lord and Lady Monteagle', Alice's sister, Anne.²¹⁶ Donne was very familiar with the Stanley women; years later he refers to them in 'To Sir H. G.' ('Agreeably to my fortune, and thoughts,): 'I thought to kisse my L. Spencers hands, at one house, and have passed three' (ll. 12-14).²¹⁷ Flynn theorizes that 'these friendships antedate Donne's employment [with Egerton] and were merely a part of the whole complex of associations and friendships with the gentry of Lancashire and Cheshire, that resulted

²¹⁴ Knafla, 'Spencer'. 'She became particularly fond of Ferdinando's London residence in Holborn, and of the family seat in Lancashire at Knowsley, known as the northern court, which had a staff of 143 by 1590. She encouraged the visitation of acting companies in the 1580s, when the Queen's Men, Earl of Leicester's Men, and Earl of Essex's Men appeared there many times [...]'.

²¹⁵ Wilkie, p. 56-58. 'The wealthy Stanley family controlled the county of Lancashire' (p. 56). 'The Stanleys were also the "Lords of the Isle of Man." The crown had given the Stanleys the Isle in 1406 and they maintained autonomous control of the island until 1736' (p. 56). 'Ferdinando's religious affiliations were ambiguous at best [...] Ferdinando's personal and religious beliefs are debatable' (pp. 57-58). Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) discusses the Catholic roots of Donne's family, particularly such relatives as Sir Thomas More, John and Jasper Heywood, along with Catholic friends and families, like the Howards, Percys, and Stanleys, with whom Donne associated.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²¹⁷ John Donne, 'To Sir H. G.' ('Agreeably to my fortune, and thoughts,)', 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 14 March 2022]. The three sisters are Alice, Countess of Derby, Anne, Baroness Mounteagle and Elizabeth Spencer, Baroness Hunsdon.

from Donne's service with Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby, a decade before he took a position with the Lord Keeper'.²¹⁸ Flynn considers this to be the explanation for Donne's statement about living in the same house with the Countess of Huntingdon: "I had little preparation to her knowledge in the house where I served at first".²¹⁹ Donne also speaks of their friendship in a letter 'To Sir H. G.' ('Receive this your Letter of the 10'): 'I am glad the often remembrance of it, gives me often occasions of thankfulness to her, for retaining me in her memory, and of professing my self in my end, and ways, her most humble servant' (ll. 45-50).²²⁰

Instead of Ferdinando,²²¹ Leo Daugherty thinks that William Stanley is 'almost certainly the addressee of the epistolary sonnet that Donne titled 'To E. of D. with Six Holy Sonnets', now thought to date from about 1594, when both were at Lincoln's Inn'.²²² Stanley was a gifted

²¹⁸ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 177.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172. n. 46. 'Donne to Sir G.P., 18 October 1622 (emphasis added) (John Donne, *Letters to Sevearall Persons of Honour (1651)*, ed. M. Thomas Hester [Delmar: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1977], 184-185). See also Donne's earlier reference to "that Tribe, and that house where I have lived" (Donne to Sir Henry Goodyere, n. d. [ibid., 104]).

²²⁰ John Donne, 'To Sir H. G.' ('Receive this your Letter of the 10'), 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) (n. 41) [accessed 16 March 2022].

²²¹ Wilkie, pp. 57-58. Following the Earl of Leicester's death, they 'recruited' actors from his 'disbanded company' and 'merged with the Admiral's Men'. These 'illustrious actors' included Edward Alleyn, Richard Burbage, Thomas Pope, Augustine Phillips, William Kemp and George Bryan. Edward Alleyn 'transformed "Strange's Men" [like with Henry, later known as 'Derby's Men' when Ferdinando succeeded to the earldom] into one of the most accomplished troupes of tragic and comic actors of their day'. In 1589, 1590, and 1591, they were 'frequently summoned to entertain at court with their stage performances and "other feats of activitie"'. Upon Ferdinando's death, the company became known as the Countess of Derby's [Alice] Men and later merged with 'The Chamberlain's Men'. After merging with 'The Chamberlain's Men', under the title of their new patron, Lord Chamberlain, Baron Hunsdon, with Shakespeare as chief playwright, they 'distinguished themselves at the Theatre playhouse and from 1599 onwards at the newly-built Globe'. However, they may never have 'transferred their patronage', because in 1594, they were still touring the East Anglia as 'Derby's Men', under the patronage of William, Sixth Earl. They played 'chiefly in such midland centres a Leicester and Coventry, at private houses including Gawthorpe Hall, [...] at court and the Curtain Theatre, London'.

²²² Daugherty.

composer, writer and playwright;²²³ he ‘found great pleasure in the theatre’.²²⁴ James VI & I visited William Stanley at Latham in 1617, as Stanley’s home was described as ‘a literary and music centre’,²²⁵ where he enjoyed the fine arts of reading, writing, watching plays and listening to music.²²⁶ Robbins, dating the poem (1592-1595?), reminds readers that scholars from Grierson (1912, 2. 227) to Flynn (*JDJ* 7 (1988) 35-46) have ‘noted that presenting himself [Donne] as a beginner in poetry seeking improvement, and his sexual metaphors for writing are less in keeping with D’s mature and serious Holy Sonnets, than with the secular verse of D. and fellow youthful wits in the early 1590s’.²²⁷ Robbins corroborates Flynn and Daugherty’s assertion that William Stanley is ‘E. of D.’: ‘D.’s sexual metaphor of Derby’s “fatherly yet lusty rhyme”, like “the sun’s hot masculine flame” begetting “these songs” is thus appropriate to the libertine register favoured by the Lincoln’s Inn coterie to which D., Rowland Woodward, his brother [Thomas] and Derby belonged’.²²⁸ ‘The earliest text, probably, is found in MSS associated with Donne’s friends’, Rowland Woodward (Westmoreland MS in Woodward’s own

²²³ Ibid., p. 76. ‘Two extant letters dated June 1599 speak of him “busy penning comedies for the common players”, and in a later undated letter Lady Derby asked Robert Cecil to look with favour on Derby’s men, “for that my Lord taking delite in them, it will keep him from more prodigall courses”. Earl William is known to have been “at great pains and charge” reviving the tradition of boy companies staging plays near St Paul’s, London—he wrote plays for them too—and it seems very likely that he approved and encouraged, if he did not plan, the building of the playhouse in Prescot, the market town just beyond the limits of his Knowsley estate’.

²²⁴ Ibid. ‘Although primarily known in the twentieth century as a Shakespearian ‘rival claimant’ (the claim is groundless), Derby is important to literature in his own right. He patronized his own troupe of players, Derby’s Men, who mainly toured the provinces but also played in London during the same years he himself was busily (and scandalously) writing comedies for the public theatres (c.1599–1601); he may have written for them, though no plays attributed to him have survived’.

²²⁵ Bagley, p. 76.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 71.

²²⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 42.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 43.

hand), Edward Conway and Goodyer (Conway MS, some poems in Conway's own hand).²²⁹

However, the dedication could refer to either, as Donne defers to the poetic standing and prowess of 'Stanley' by referring to his 'Rime' as 'songs':²³⁰

See sir, how as the Suns hott masculin flame
Begets strange creatures on Niles durty slime
In me your fatherly yet lusty rime
(For these songs are their fruite) have wrought the same. (ll. 1-4)²³¹

Robbins argues that 'these songs' refer to lyrics found in the Lutrell and O'Flahertie manuscripts' "'Sonnets and Songs'" and then assimilated to the title of Tottel and Grimald's 1557 miscellany of Wyatt's and Surrey's poems, *Songs and Sonnets*, in 1635'.²³² Robbins cites the Douli Cothi manuscript's six lyrics, 'Songs that were made to certain airs that were made before' ('The Message', 'The Baite', 'Community', 'Confined Love', 'Sweetest love, I do not go' and 'Go and catch a falling star'), believing that 'perhaps, this group of poems that was given to Lord Derby'.²³³ This would correspond with songs found in the Clitherow MS of the same period. Robbins surmises that Donne's 'seventh' could have been 'The Expiration' or 'Breake of Daye' (among numerous others).²³⁴ Maynard states that 'Confined Love' and 'Communitie' were written to tunes, although no musical settings are known. She states, "The versification of 'Confined Love' suggests that only the three short concluding lines of the stanzas sprang from a tune, the rest being independent; whilst in 'Communitie' the attempt to write to a tune may have

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

²³¹ *Variorum*, 5, p. 132.

²³² Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 43.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

left its mark in the uncertain rhythmic handling of the third line in the first two stanzas, before Donne threw off its constraint'. Maynard thinks this is evidence that suggests an 'absence of aptitude in Donne for writing words to or for music'.²³⁵ The date of 'To my Lord of Derby', posited by the 're-use of the opening analogy in *Satyre 4 18-19* suggest that this poem may have been written as late as that poem, 1597'.²³⁶ In 1597, young Donne was sailing 'on the "Islands" expedition (July)' and 'again (15 August) to the Azores (September); ships return to England (October)', and he enters into the 'service of the Lord keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, at York House (?November or in 1598)'.²³⁷ Although we may never know to which Stanley Donne's poem was written, the surviving evidence nonetheless reveals 'songs', a life-long friendship and a love of travel, music and the arts.

2.5 Alfonso Ferrabosco: 'The Expiration'

The possibility of having already become familiar with the music of the elder Ferrabosco in Europe with the Stanleys, and later with Sir Walter Chute (1605),²³⁸ would have made the acquaintance of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger (1575(?)-1628), with Donne and his fellow courtiers, a near certainty, as Ferrabosco was at Court his entire life. As a youth of seventeen years old, Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger was court musician to Queen Elizabeth I and later

²³⁵ Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 148.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Bald, p. 537.

²³⁸ Ibid, p. 538. Donne travelled to France and possibly Italy in 1605 (confirmed by the license given to Donne and Sir Walter Chute to travel) (16 Feb.), returning to England in April 1606.

served under James VI & I and Charles I.²³⁹ He was also friends with Ben Jonson. ‘Born at Greenwich about 1580’,²⁴⁰ he was close in age to Jonson (b. 1572) and Donne (b. 1572) and thought to be Catholic. ‘He was arguably the most accomplished, innovative and influential composer of chamber music for viol, and of songs for court masques of his generation in England’, equal in his own craft to Donne in his.²⁴¹ Alfonso is described as an ‘instrumentalist, singer and composer [‘Strumentista, cantante e compositore’] [...] who, according to the payment records, was first in the service of Queen Elizabeth I from 1592 until 1601, playing the lute at her funeral in 1603’.²⁴² How Ferrabosco, the Younger, came to the court of Queen Elizabeth I shows just how much the queen valued Ferrabosco’s musical abilities; yet, it also shows the lowly place musicians held at court and in Elizabethan society.²⁴³

Ferrabosco was the ‘eldest and illegitimate son of Alfonso Ferrabosco . . . His mother was probably Susanna Symons, whom his father later married’.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Trudell, p. 174 n. 89. ‘Under Charles I, Royal Music was subdivided into several overlapping groups including “Musicians for Lute and Voices”, “Musicians for the Violins”, the “King’s Musicke” (responsible for masques, plays and other entertainments), and the “Private Musick” (responsible for music performed in the privy chamber), all of which came under the authority of the “Master of Musicke” [Nicholas Lanier]. See Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 160-97; Wainwright, “The King’s Musick”’.

²⁴⁰ *Grove*, p. 512.

²⁴¹ John V. Cockshoot and Christopher D.S. Field, ‘Ferrabosco family’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 01 January 2001) [accessed 5 February 2019].

²⁴² Alberto Basso, dir., *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale Della Musica E Dei Musicisti*, Volume Secondo (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1985), p. 737. ‘Come dimostrano i registri del pagamenti, dall’ottobre 1592 al giugno 1601 fu al servizio di Elisabetta e nel 1603 partecipò in qualità di liutista alla sue cerimonie funnebrì’. ‘When James I acceded to the throne, Ferrabosco joined the ‘King’s Musicians for the Viols’, a position he would keep for the rest of his life [‘Con il successore al trono, Giacomo I, A, entra a far che mantenne per tutta la vita’]’.

²⁴³ John Duffy, ‘IV The Songs: “Like Hermit Poore” and “So, so, leave off”’, in *The Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger (1575)-1628* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 51-70. (p. 51). Burney states that Alfonso had ‘the Poets and the Dilettanti all on his side’.

²⁴⁴ Christopher D.S. Field, ‘Ferrabosco, Alfonso (ii)’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 23 January 2023].

When his parents left England soon after their wedding they left him and his infant sister in the guardianship of Gomer van Awsterwyke (or Gommar van Oostrewijk),²⁴⁵ a member of the queen's flute consort. In 1582 Alfonso [father] asked for his children to be brought to Italy, but the queen ordered their guardian not to let them go.²⁴⁶

'From Christmas 1604²⁴⁷ he [Ferrabosco] received a second court salary of £50 as an extraordinary groom of the Privy Chamber, as he was teaching music to the young Prince Henry; he also bought viols for the prince's use'.²⁴⁸ In 1604, Ferrabosco 'began collaborating with Ben Jonson and the designer Inigo Jones on a masque for the Stuart court, *The Masque of Blackness*'.²⁴⁹ It was 'given on 6 January 1605 with Queen Anne as the principal masquer. His [Ferrabosco's] music for the following year's *Twelfth Night* masque, *Hymenaei*, elicited warm praise from Jonson, and Alfonso seems to have been engaged to write songs for Jonson's play *Volpone*, acted at the Globe in 1606'.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Ibid. The children 'remained in his charge until he died in 1592. Shortly after Awsterwyke's death, Elizabeth granted the young Alfonso an annuity of £26 13s 4d as "musician for the viols", and he continued to receive this until 1601, but it appears that he took little part in court music during those years'. 'Sometime before 30 April 1602 he petitioned Sir Robert Cecil for a reasonable stipend and something to pay his debts, and as a result was appointed to a court place with retrospective effect from 24 June 1601, at a salary of £50'.

²⁴⁶ Chandley. 'This tells us a lot about what kind of rights the musicians had—they had none—they were just passed around like chattel. Families would be split up [like the Ferraboscis], and anything done, at the whim of the Court and the aristocracy'.

²⁴⁷ *Grove*, p. 512. *Grove's* account delays it by one year stating that Ferrabosco, the Younger 'was one of the extraordinary grooms of the privy chamber of James I, and the instructor in music of Prince Henry, for his services in which respect he was rewarded in 1605 with an annuity of £50'.

²⁴⁸ Field, 'Ferrabosco, Alfonso (ii)'.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

‘In 1609, he [Ferrabosco] published a folio volume of “Ayes,”²⁵¹ dedicated to Prince Henry, and prefaced, by commendatory verses by Ben Jonson, Dr. Campion and N. Tomkins.²⁵² This work contains many of the songs in Ben Jonson’s plays and masques’,²⁵³ including Campion’s work. The examples of Ferrabosco’s settings of 1609 show Donne’s influence. The first printed setting²⁵⁴ of Donne’s poetry, ‘The Expiration’ (‘So, so leave off this last lamenting Kisse’), was in Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger’s *Ayes* (1609).²⁵⁵ John Duffy feels that ‘The Expiration’ is an ‘elaborate *double entendre*, a fanciful play on the Jacobean sexual connotations of “death” and “dying”, . . . having an ‘unusual force derived from the vigor and measure of its expression’.²⁵⁶

It is evident from the rhythm and metre of ‘The Expiration’ that it could have been used for dancing. It ‘displays both a recitative-like manner and rhetorical touches (e.g., *pathopoeia* in m. 2 [“lamenting”] and *hypotyposis* in m. 7 [“turne”]), but the effect on the whole is more song-like in this almost exclusively syllabic setting; the last four measures constitute an identical refrain,

²⁵¹ Field, ‘Ferrabosco, Alfonso (ii)’. John Browne published both of Ferrabosco’s works, *Ayes* (1609) and *Lessons for 1. 2. 3. Viols* (1609), ‘each representing a significant aspect of his creative work’. The first, *Ayes*, contains songs and dialogues with lute and bass viol, including settings of poems by Donne and Campion and solo songs for Jonson’s masques. The second, *Lessons for 1. 2. 3. Viols*, is devoted to pieces for lyra viol.

²⁵² Nathaniel Tomkins (1599-1681), son of the composer Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656), was born in Worcester and studied at Balliol College, Oxford, graduating with a BA, MA, and BD, and appointed canon of Worcester Cathedral by Bishop William Laud in 1629. He was not well liked, having been accused of being a spy/agent for Bishop William Laud against Bishop John Williams of Lincoln. In his *Memorial* (1693) of Williams, John Hacket claimed, ‘Mr N. T., a musician and a Divine—one that could make better music upon an organ than a text . . . had leave to use the whole [of Williams’s] house, to go into the bishop’s bedchamber, or study . . . [he] transcribed some letters which he found and sent them to an enemy [Laud]’. Nathaniel knew Donne, Ferrabosco, the Younger, Jonson and Campion. (John Irving, ‘Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656), composer’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 8 October 2009) [accessed 20 June 2019].)

²⁵³ *Grove*, p. 512.

²⁵⁴ This is true if John Farmer’s ‘O Stay, Sweet Love’ (1599) is not considered to be an analogue to ‘Break of Daye’ / ‘Sweet, Stay Awhile’.

²⁵⁵ It is listed as the ninth Song in Gardner’s *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*.

²⁵⁶ Duffy, p. 64.

for both textual and musical emphasis'.²⁵⁷ The repetition of the ending lines, beginning with 'We aske none leave to loue', is the same device used by Dowland²⁵⁸ in 'Sweet, Stay Awhile' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (1612), 'Louers Infiniteness' (1612) and Corkine's 'Come liue with me and be my loue' ('The Baite') (1612). In Ayres (1609) and Anonymous's 'The Expiration', MS Mus. Sch. F. 575 (Mid-late 17th c.), 'leave off' this 'last, lamenting kisse' is used because it is more alliterative. It seems preferable to 'break off', as seen in the *Variorum*.²⁵⁹ This score's 'rhetorical hallmarks', with 'Turne thou ghost that way, and let me turne this', 'with its contrasting *catabasis* and *anabasis*, is a clever and successful touch; notable also is the identical treatment (in both rhythm and pitch—as in *palillogia* of "lamenting" (m. 2) and "as saying: (m. 10), as is the suggestion of *aposiopesis* with the *epizeuxis* of "So, so" in m. 1'.²⁶⁰ This version imitates Ferrabosco's style, for the last lines of the poem are also repeated and the melody sounds very similar to Ayres. 'The use of an echo necessitated the repeating of words,—repeating in ways that pleased both poet and composer'.²⁶¹ Echos (often seen in masques) and short phrases were a method of 'dividing a stanza into a symmetrical sections', in keeping with harmonic symmetry and 'variety of expression'.²⁶² Contrasts in 'tonal shading' could be achieved, awakening 'idyllic associations' and 'stirred pastoral sentiments'.²⁶³ 'The

²⁵⁷ Gooch, p. 177.

²⁵⁸ Trudell, p. 71. Trudell asserts that 'repetition and embellishment help to develop the intensely melancholy musical style that became his [Dowland's] trademark and a signal feature of the lute air movement more generally'.

²⁵⁹ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 242.

²⁶⁰ Gooch, p. 177.

²⁶¹ Willa McClung Evans, p. 19-20.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

music of the first line, with its plain, steady progress from G major to D major, indicates the general lack of seriousness that Ferrabosco finds in his text'.²⁶⁴ The 'unexpected drop from C to G sharp on the words "that way" . . . is "dictated by the harmonic progression of the line from C major to D major", with the climax rising to the top F and gently descending to its firm G major cadence'.²⁶⁵ Duffy feels Ferrabosco is 'quite sensitive to the text, both in meaning and accent, and this is reflected not only in the melodic shape and rhythm, but in the harmonic activity within and between phrases'.²⁶⁶ He states, 'There is little harshness: dissonances are only gently acerbic and harmonic transition is smoothly accomplished'.²⁶⁷

Morris feels that the anonymous version of 'The Expiration' (MS Mus. Sch. F. 575) (Mid-late 17th c.) is 'a finer piece of work',²⁶⁸ comparing it to Dowland's 'Welcome, black night': 'The song succeeds because the music expands the dramatic possibilities of the occasion by allowing

²⁶⁴ Morris, p. 232.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 232-33.

²⁶⁶ Duffy, p. 56.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. 'In addition, these songs have a formal clarity and balance which make them quite accessible'; the prevalent structure is bipartite, the most common form ABB'.

²⁶⁸ Morris, pp. 234-36. 'The minim in the first bar sets a slower tempo, the crochet rest imitates the speaking voice and allows the line to breathe, the two semiquavers on the "last" permit a delaying emphasis and prepare for the little figure swelling over a minor third on the key word "lamenting", which establishes the full poignancy of the phrase [...] And the suggestion of "recitativo" style gives formal control and stylised presence to the emotion—those very qualities which the poem goes on to display'. The anonymous composer 'shows a masterly understanding of its sense and its place in the developing dramatic ritual: The wavering, uncertain, rhythm, and the indecisive melodic line of "turne thou ghost that way" is balanced by the steady ascent of "and let mee turne this", with its emphasis falling as the speech rhythm dictates on "mee". The last two lines give strength to the "recitativo" quality of the whole song, flowering as they do into strangely impressive melismata on the words "nor" and "saying"'. 'The striking success of this setting derives from its refusal to impose a musical pattern on the verbal structure. It ignores the metre and pays attention to the rhythm, following the contours of the speaking voice'.

full play to what the sense of words directs the voice to do'.²⁶⁹ 'Recitativo secco' style 'allows the composer the freedom which Donne's verbal dexterity and delicacy demand'.²⁷⁰

Another device of Ferrabosco and Elizabethan composers was their use of 'alternating rhythms'—composers 'twisted the words to conform' to the poet's 'musical measures'²⁷¹ and adjusted to fit rhyme schemes,²⁷² 'changing both at will'.²⁷³ Words suggestive of 'mood', 'pictorial treatment' and 'changes in tempo' were also devices Elizabethan poets provided composers.²⁷⁴ The 'rising thirds' of 'So, so, leave off' conveys 'the imperative movement'.²⁷⁵ The "'turnings'" (such as *circulatio*) in the melody represent those of the characters in the poem, sudden modal shifts reflect shifts in argumentative strategies, and repetition of the stanza's concluding couplet emphasizes its effectiveness as both poetic and musical resolution'.²⁷⁶ Gaston states that 'lute-song conventions' 'restrict its vocal range, rule out extensive illustrative phrases, and discourage dramatic melodic intervals'.²⁷⁷

Ferrabosco also possibly composed an analogue to Donne's 'A Valediction'. As previously noted, Robbins compares it to the song 'Drowne not with teares' in Ferrabosco's *Ayres*

²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 234-35.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 236.

²⁷¹ Willa McClung Evans, p. 26.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 27.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁷⁵ Paul L. Gaston, 'Britten's Donne and the Promise of Twentieth-Century Settings', in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 201-13, (p. 203).

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 204.

(1609):²⁷⁸ ‘The succession of images for tears—coins, mothers, fruits, emblems, worlds, inundations, raindrops seas—echoes the tradition of Mary Magdalene, later exemplified in Crashaw’s “The Weeper”’.²⁷⁹ Read either as a love poem to Ann More [the most likely interpretation since Ferrabosco included it in *Ayres* (1609) with ‘The Expiration’] or as Donne escorting the body of his friend, Thomas Egerton, back home to his musical mother, Elizabeth, the setting of this song by Ferrabosco would have been appreciated by all because of the musicality of each family. Ferrabosco’s patrons also may have included Donne’s associates, ‘Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery (later Earl of Pembroke), and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford’.²⁸⁰ Ferrabosco’s settings of 1609 show Donne’s influence. Possibly, the link of the fourteen- to Ferrabosco, and to poems written to musical friends and aristocratic families of the time, is an example of how Donne’s experimentation with ‘jagged’ metre possibly influenced the music of the period and is further evidence of his ‘Songes and Sonnets’ as melodic lyrics as well as verbal lyrics. The connection with Donne could go back as far as Ferrabosco’s Latin sacred music, the so-called Tregian score-books,²⁸¹ that may have circulated among English Catholics.²⁸² His *Lamentations* resemble the Tenebrae service for Catholic sympathizers, and its text was in the repertory of Charles I’s Chapel Royal and several cathedrals’.²⁸³ Ferrabosco also ‘published some Lessons for Viols, with some introductory lines by Ben Jonson. He was one of the contributors to the collection published in 1614 by Sir William Leighton under the title of

²⁷⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁷⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 274.

²⁸⁰ Field, ‘Ferrabosco, Alfonso (ii)’.

²⁸¹ Drexel 4302, NY Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division and Egerton 3665, British Library, London.

²⁸² Field, ‘Ferrabosco, Alfonso (ii)’.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

“The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule.” He composed numerous Fancies for viols. Antony Wood says he first set music lyra-way for the lute’ [which means, according to the lute tablature instead of musical notation].²⁸⁴

At some point in the 1610s, Jonson seems to have changed from Ferrabosco to Nicholas Lanier in the ‘way he wanted his masques to be treated musically [Walls]’; in *The Vision of Delight* (1617) and in *Lovers Made Men*, the ‘apparently novel feature was verse “sung (after the Italian manner) Stylo recitativo”’.²⁸⁵ However, Ferrabosco comes back to collaborate with Lanier in Jonson’s *Masque of Augurs* (1622). Ferrabosco’s surviving masque songs’ ‘style reflects their function’—‘diatonic harmonies’ support a ‘strong vocal line’ that ‘while skillfully shaped, is unusually disjunct’: his songs have a ‘wide tessatura’[range].²⁸⁶ However ‘disjunct’ and disjointed, like Donne’s poetry, the ‘rhetorical manner’ of ‘The Expiration’ is tempered with intimacy of expression’.²⁸⁷

Ferrabosco’s work closely resembles Italian music between 1570 and 1593: his *madrigalettes* resemble Italian composers like Anerio’s *Canzonette* (Venice, 1586) and one of his lute songs, *O eyes, O mortall starres*, originated as a setting of Gruarini’s *Occhi, stelle mortali*. ‘The Italian monodies in Tenbury 1018²⁸⁸ are the earliest such pieces by an English composer that have come down to us’, which emulate the ‘rhetorical declamation of Caccini’s solo madrigals’. He had a ‘fondness for architectural symmetry and harmonic schemes’, keeping ‘string chamber music

²⁸⁴ *Grove*, p. 512. ‘In 1614 his name occurs in a warrant exempting the king’s musicians from the payment of subsidies’.

²⁸⁵ Field. P. Walls, *Music in the Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996).

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ MS Tenbury 1019 (fol. 1v) contains ‘The Message’, by Giovanni Coprario/Coperario/John Cooper (before 1650).

alive well into the 17th century'. His 'reputation as a composer rests above all on his consort music': he 'developed an idiomatic style of imitative counterpoint suited to viols'; he displayed his 'grasp of the Italian style of diminution *passaglio*' in virtuoso arrangements for the viol and 'demonstrated an architectonic approach to tonal and thematic organization in his fantasias'.²⁸⁹

Alfonso's work had a 'strong influence' on Donne's musical friends. His pavans were used by William Lawes, and Jonson wrote his *Hymne to God the Father* ['Heare me O God'] to fit the treble of a pavan by Daniel Farrant based on Ferrabosco's 'Pavan on Four Notes'.²⁹⁰ 'According to Playford's *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way* [2 | 1661 and subsequent editions] Ferrabosco, Daniel Farrant and John Coprario were the first to write lessons in tablature so as to facilitate the use of different tunings, and featuring chord playing'.²⁹¹ Alfonso's corantos were 'specifically composed for the lyra viol' and 'it is from the lyra solos that we can perhaps best form an impression of Ferrabosco's artistry on an instrument which, in his hands, seemed like the Jacobean equivalent of Orpheus's lyre'.²⁹²

Responsible for purchasing instruments in 1623 and 1627 (lyras), Ferrabosco was a 'prominent' string player at court; 'he was listed in 1624 at the head of a group of four "Musicians for the Violls"'.²⁹³ After the coronation of Charles I in 1625, Ferrabosco succeeded John Cooper (Giovanni Coperario),²⁹⁴ was appointed 'composer in ordinary' by the King and a

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. This pavan was 'transformed' into 'consort song' [...] 'copied into manuscripts between 1610 and 1620'.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ 'The Message', by Giovanni Coprario/Coperario/John Cooper, MS Tenbury 1019, (fol. 1v) (before 1650).

little later named ‘composer of the King’s music’.²⁹⁵ ‘The viol player André Maugars, visiting England as one of Queen Henrietta Maria’s musicians (1625–7), declared that he heard no player of “la Lyre” in Italy who was fit to be compared with the great ‘Farabosco d’Angleterre’ (Thoinan)²⁹⁶. Only the best musicians²⁹⁷ for the best lyrics.²⁹⁸

Donne’s associations with Court musicians continued to develop during his employment with Sir Thomas Egerton. His relationship with the musical Mores was established and his friendship with the musical Stanley women was rekindled, all bonds which remained strong throughout his life. In the following chapter, it will become evident that the musicality of Donne’s family and friends laid the foundation on which Donne’s own musicality was built.

²⁹⁵ Basso, p. 737. [‘Quest’ultimo, incoronato re nel 1625, confermò ad A. le mansioni precedenti; nel 1626, facendolo succedere a Giovanni Coperario (John Coopers), lo nominò << composer in ordinary by the King >> e più tardi anche << composer of the King’s music >>].

²⁹⁶ Field, ‘Ferrabosco, Alfonso (ii)’. E. Thoinan: *Maugars, célèbre joueur de viole ... : sa biographie suivie de sa ‘Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d’Italie’* (Paris, 1865/R).

²⁹⁷ John V. Cockshoot and Christopher D.S. Field, ‘Ferrabosco family’. Cockshoot and Field state that in July 1626, Ferrabosco was granted this fourth court post, that of ‘composer of musicke in ordinary’ to the king, which added another £40 a year to his income. He died in 1628 and was buried on 11 March at the church of St. Alfege, Greenwich.

²⁹⁸ Miriam Miller and Jeremy L. Smith, ‘Snodham, Thomas’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 5 February 2019]. Discussion of Ferrabosco, Corkine, and Peerson should also include their publisher, Thomas Snodham (d. 1624), who began printing when he inherited Thomas Este’s printing business between 1608 and 1611. Este was Snodham’s adopted father and the leading London music printer. ‘He printed William Corkine’s *The Second Booke of Aires* (1612), four books of madrigals by Michael Este (1610–24), the *Ayres and Lessons for 1, 2 and 3 Viols* (both 1609) by Alfonso Ferrabosco (ii) and Martin Peerson’s *Private Musick* (1620). He was a worthy successor to Este; he did not maintain such uniformly high standards, but he was more ready to experiment with existing styles of layout, as seen in Peerson’s *Private Musick*, where he adapted the prevailing “table-book” style, and George Mason’s and John Earsden’s *Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle* (1618), which demonstrates an early example of a printed score, a remarkable achievement for a printer who worked with type’. His premises were at St Botolph without Aldersgate’, not far from Donne’.

CHAPTER THREE

Donne and the Musical Stanley, More, Wolley and Percy Families

This chapter examines the musicality of the Stanley, More, Wolley and Percy families and their influence on Donne's engagement with music. The courtly social stratum of which Donne was a part brought him into close social and professional proximity with the composers of his musical settings and with their (and his) artistic friends and associates. Chapter Three resumes in 1600 with Donne's employment by the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, his presence at Court, and his exposure to the musical Stanley (York House), More (Loseley), Wolley (Pyrford) and Percy (Alnwick Castle) families. The chapter includes Donne's marriage to Ann More (1601) and follows the couple to Pyrford through 1605, examining the musical references in Donne's poetry and prose written during this time.

3.1 The Stanley Women

Alice Spenser Stanley, Dowager Countess of Ferdinando Stanley (1559-1637), and her three daughters, are particularly important for a study of Donne and music because she was not only the wife of Ferdinando, the fifth earl of Derby, but later the wife of Sir Thomas Egerton.¹ Donne became especially close to not only Egerton's son, Thomas, but also to the Dowager and her daughters: Anne (1580-1647) first married Grey Brydges, fifth Lord Chandos, and after his death she married the notorious Mervin Touchet, second earl of Castlehaven, becoming Lady Chandos and later the Countess of Castlehaven; Frances (1583-1636) married the younger son of

¹ Vanessa Jean Wilkie, "'Such Daughters and Such a Mother': The Countess of Derby and her Three Daughters", 1560-1647 (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California Riverside, 2009), p. 59.

Egerton, John Egerton, who became the first earl of Bridgewater in 1617, with Frances becoming the Countess of Bridgewater; and Elizabeth (1587-1636), married Henry Hastings, the fifth earl of Huntingdon, becoming the Countess of Huntingdon. ‘These four women represent arguably the best-documented women outside of the royal family in early modern England’.² Alice Spencer Stanley’s sisters, Elizabeth Carey, Lady Hunsdon, and Anne, Baroness Monteagle, previously married to Robert Sackville, 2nd earl of Dorset, were also friends of Donne’s; Elizabeth was a relative of his friend Sir Robert Cotton and possibly, after being widowed, Cotton’s mistress.³

Thomas Nashe, Donne’s contemporary, dedicated his 1594 pamphlet *The Terrors of the Night* to Elizabeth Carey’s daughter. Nashe praised Lady Carey’s liberality as a literary patron, declaring that ‘you recompence learning extraordinarie’.⁴ Given the documentary evidence, it is probable that Donne was entertained by Sir Robert Cotton and Lady Hunsdon in her home in Blackfriars and could have attended plays by the Lord Chamberlain’s Men, there and at Court.

Elizabethan gentlewomen of Alice’s stature, who frequented the Court or attended the Queen, were described by William Harrison as possessing ‘vertuous beautie or beautifull vertues’.⁵ They exhibited “‘amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire,” “the vse and skill [they have] of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded””.⁶

² Ibid., p. 9.

³ Stuart Handley, ‘Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, first baronet (1571-1631), antiquary and politician’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁴ Elaine V. Beilin, ‘Carey [Carew], Elizabeth, Lady Hunsdon [nee Elizabeth Spencer; other married née Elizabeth Eure, Lady Eure] (1552-161), literary patron’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19 May 2011) [accessed 27 August 2020].

⁵ William Harrison, *Harrison’s Description of England in Shakspeare’s Youth*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: N. Trübner for the New Shakspeare Society, 1877), p. 271.

⁶ Ibid.

McCutcheon adds to this list of attributes: “their knowledge of foreign languages, and their love of needlework, spinning, reading, and music”.⁷ Donne’s history with the Stanley family continued with the entrance of Alice and her daughters into the Egerton household. After the marriage of Egerton and Lady Alice, ‘Donne was soon on cordial terms with the Countess’s daughters, and the two younger ones [Frances and Elizabeth] remained his friends for the rest of this life’.⁸ Alice’s daughters were also very close in age to Ann More. When Alice married Thomas Egerton, Anne, Frances and Elizabeth would have been approximately twenty, eighteen and thirteen, respectively. Ann More’s age would have fallen between Frances and Elizabeth and may have factored into the closeness between Donne, Frances and Elizabeth. Although May states that it is ‘unlikely that Ann continued as a regular guest in the Lord Keeper’s household, particularly after the dowager Countess of Derby became its mistress in October 1600’,⁹ it is nonetheless certain that Ann More and John Donne remained close to the Stanley daughters throughout this period.

Coming from the ‘highest stratum of aristocratic society’, Alice Egerton and her daughters ‘took a romantic and sympathetic interest in his [Donne’s] fate; they all favoured his fortunes and became, and remained, among the staunchest of his friends’ [...].¹⁰ Alice Egerton may have taken a special ‘interest’ in Donne and Ann More’s fate. It is believed that John Egerton and Frances Stanley were married in the same year as John Donne and Ann More (1601), and that Frances Stanley married John Egerton ‘with her mother’s connivance, though, oddly enough,

⁷ Ibid., p. 272.

⁸ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 111.

⁹ Steven W. May, ‘Donne and Egerton’, in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 447-59 (p. 456).

¹⁰ Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899), II, p. 112.

without the Lord Keeper's knowledge'.¹¹ This is telling since John Donne and Ann More were married secretly as well. One wonders if Alice Egerton, as independent as she was known to be, might also have 'connived' with the couple in their endeavor, fueling the contentiousness of her relationship with her husband? ¹²

Egerton's affinity to Donne,¹³ his association with music and musicians who set Donne's songs to music, and the possible reasons why Donne was in his employ, highlight their personal and professional relationship.¹⁴ Although Egerton later became a Calvinist, he 'was raised a Catholic but upon entering public life, he quickly abandoned the religion and wrote extensively in his adult life about his conversion to support the Church of England'.¹⁵ The Stanley daughters were Calvinists and Ferdinando Stanley's religious affiliation was always questionable due to his Lancashire Catholic ties. Perhaps Donne felt a kinship with Egerton in religious matters as well, since he, too, abandoned the Catholic faith.

3.2 The Mores and Wolleys

¹¹ Bald, p. 110 n. 2.

¹² Mary Ann O' Donnell, 'Egerton [née Stanley], Frances, countess of Bridgewater (1583–1636), noblewoman', in *O*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) [accessed 12 October 2020].

¹³ Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 176; Bald, pp. 104, 106. Donne was very close to Egerton's son, Thomas, for he bore the sword at his funeral, 'a most central and poignant emblem of honor' (p. 176). Donne also knew John, Thomas's brother, from when they were at Lincoln's Inn together.

¹⁴ Andrew Gordon, 'Donne, and Late Elizabethan Court Politics', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 460-70 (p. 465). Gordon states, 'The nature of Donne's employment for Egerton has been the subject of much speculation, as May shows (see Ch. 29.I), but one possibility worth considering is that he was taken on with a view to performing scholarly services of the kind tendered by his friend Henry Wotton to the Earl of Essex'.

¹⁵ Wilkie, p. 60.

Alice Spenser Stanley was Sir Thomas Egerton's third wife. He married his second wife, Elizabeth Wolley, in 1598. Elizabeth was 'one of the Queen's favourite maids of honour', the widow of Richard Polstead and Sir John Wolley (the Queen's former Latin Secretary and clerk of the pipe).¹⁶ Wolley had 'succeeded Roger Ascham in 1568 [in the Queen's Latin Secretary role], and in due course had been knighted by the Queen and appointed to the Privy Council; he had acquired a very considerable fortune, consisting largely of estates in Surrey'.¹⁷ Elizabeth Wolley was the daughter of Sir William and Margaret More of Loseley and sister of Sir George More, Ann More Donne's father.¹⁸ Bald states that after the Egerton marriage to Elizabeth Wolley, 'there was no lack of young people in the household to which Donne was now familiarly admitted'.¹⁹ In the household, Bald lists Egerton, his wife, his yet unmarried son, John Egerton (still a student at Lincoln's Inn), Francis Wolley (still a student at Oxford), Wolley's wife,²⁰ Mary; and, of course, Ann More, whom Elizabeth Wolley was 'to introduce to the great world' at York House. 'Thus Donne had the opportunity not only of acquiring intimacy with Egerton's family and enjoying the Lord Keeper's familiar conversation, but also of becoming acquainted with many of the guests who were entertained at meals'.²¹ Walton states, 'Nor did his Lordship in this time of master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his Servant, as to forget he was his Friend; and to testifie it, did always use him with much courtesie, appointing

¹⁶ Bald, p. 95.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game: The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley', *Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 20 (1999), 31-54.

¹⁹ Bald, p. 96.

²⁰ We can assume that Mary Hawtrey, wife of Francis Wolley, benefitted from the musical training of Elizabeth, Francis and Ann, and may also have been musically educated.

²¹ Ibid., p. 96-98.

him a place at his own Table, to which he esteemed his Company and Discourse to be a great ornament'.²² Out of this group, Elizabeth Wolley Egerton, John Egerton, Francis Wolley,²³ and Ann More had music and musical training in the home, their education being orchestrated by Elizabeth Wolley Egerton.²⁴

According to Isabel Sullivan, there are multiple references to the More family and music,²⁵ as 'all of them were taught music and dancing'.²⁶ Evidence suggests that music was a prominent feature in Sir William More's home at Loseley and that his children, Elizabeth [Ann's aunt], and George [Ann's father], sang and played instruments.²⁷

'As a girl she [Elizabeth Wolley Egerton] had entertained the Queen with her singing during several royal progresses to Loseley'.²⁸ Queen Elizabeth I visited the More family on four

²² Izaak Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at his shop under S. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1658), p. 27.

²³ John Evans, 'XXVII. *Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the Time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth. Communicated in a Letter from John Evans, Esq. F.S.A to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary*', *Archaeologia* 36.2 (1855), 284-310 (p. 285). 'However, probate inventories have not been found to exist in the Surrey History Center archives for Sir John Wolley or Sir Francis Wolley [Elizabeth's late husband and son], which might provide evidence for musical instruments at Pyrford Place, where Ann and John lived after they were married'.

²⁴ Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's Wedding and the Pyrford Years', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 471-82, (pp. 471, 472, 479).

²⁵ I am deeply indebted to Isabel Sullivan for our interview at the Surrey History Centre, 10 Sept. 2019. A transcript of her e-mail 5 September 2019 is available. See also, Evans, p. 289.

²⁶ Woking, Surrey History Centre, 6729/7/22. Further evidence shows that Ann's father, George, had voice lessons and payment was requested for him to learn the virginal at Oxford. In a letter dated 25 June 1570 from William Cole, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to William More, Loseley, he 'assures More that his son [George] who has arrived in Oxford will be well looked after [...] If More wishes him to learn the virginals, some [money] should be sent, and Cole will assist in teaching him singing' [HMC p.622b].

²⁷ *Ibid.*, LM/COR/3/106. In a letter dated 17 August 1569 to William More from Thomas Copley of Gatton, Copley 'extravagantly declares his affection and compatibility with More and sends him some Italian songs set to the lute and virginals with treble parts for his son and daughter'.

²⁸ *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. with an Introduction by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 11.

separate occasions: ‘a description of a royal progress in the summer of 1569 that stopped for two days at the then newly completed manor house at Loseley mentions one of the children “playing on a lute and singing, her Majesty sitting upon the threshold of the door, my Lord of Leicester kneeling by her Highness”’.²⁹ ‘The Folger collection of Loseley documents also includes songs sent to William More in c.1570.³⁰ [...] A scroll inventory of household effects of George made in 1633 after his death³¹ (no will, died intestate) likely evince the musical instruments referred to by Flynn when he states, ‘The furnishings at Loseley included virginals, lutes and gitterns for the children as well as a library including hundreds of books’.³² William More had ‘. . . a pair of virginals, a base Lute, and a guitar’.³³ In the Loseley Papers, a letter in King James VI & I’s hand to Sir George More states that in November 1615, the Earl of Somerset’s effects contained: ‘Two Irish harps; a theorbo,³⁴ in a case; a lute, said to be my lord’s man’s’.³⁵ Gitterns, villanelles, harps, viols (viola da gamba/gamba), theorbos, citterns, and lutes were among the most popular instruments found in the great houses of the aristocracy. The fact that musical

²⁹ Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Biography* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1974), p. 172.

³⁰ MS Lb.562-563.

³¹ LM/1105.

³² Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, p. 477. See also, J. Evans 289 and 290-2; FSL, MS L.b.550.

³³ John Evans, ‘XXVII. *Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the Time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth. Communicated in a Letter from John Evans, Esq. F.S.A to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary*’, *Archaeologia* 36.2 (1855), 284-310 (p. 285).

³⁴ A theorbo is similar to a lute, with an extended neck and 2nd pegbox.

³⁵ San Marino, Huntington Library, modified version of detailed catalogue prepared by the library of Loseley Papers Online from the Folger Collection, (406), Microfilm Z/407.

instruments were being discussed between the King and Sir George More highlights their importance to each and the high probability that Ann and Francis were musically trained.³⁶

The ‘combination of music and beauty was invariably equated with female attractiveness’, a demonstration of ‘good breeding’ and suitability for marriage.³⁷ Quoting Robert Burton’s 1621 analysis of ‘love melancholy’, Butler states music was a ‘tool of courtship with 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”’.³⁸ The lute in particular was a visual symbol for sex in Renaissance portraiture, due to its use by Venetian courtesans as the badge of their trade’ . . . ‘the lute could be likened to both male and female sexual organs in poetry’. ‘Music represents an intimate bond between the lady and the male listener, and at its most positive the love inspired by the music of women might even be likened to that of angel musicians, stirring the listener to thoughts of heaven’.³⁹

³⁶ Isabel Sullivan. Further evidence of younger generations of Mores having musical instruments at Loseley also exists. In ‘LM/COR/5/107 Part of a letter [apparently from John Monger to Poynings More, by comparison with LM/COR/5/13], the addressee is to receive “things of yours which are to come from Loseley”, and a “matt . . . to put up the virginals”’.³⁶ Other examples of the music and musical instruments owned by the More family at Loseley including a ‘pair of virginals’, a ‘book of manuscript music for the flageolet’ and a music book ‘most apparently for the lute and some for keyboard’. ‘LM/1126/10 Note of furniture sent by a carrier. It includes a pair of virginals [place not identified but may relate to transfer of instruments by Poynings More: see LM/COR/5/107] and [17th cent]. There are other documents which come from families who married into the More family after Ann’s time: the Greshams (James Gresham married Anne, niece of Ann Donne nee More) and the Hendleys (Mary Hendley married William More, Ann’s great nephew); LM/1327/18 Book of manuscript music for the flageolet. Apparently once belonging to the Hendley family: the front page comprises repeated phrases including ‘John Hendley’; the reverse of the page has a sketch drawing of a three storey building [?Cuckfield Place]. With, on the back of each page definitions of legal terms ‘out of Dr Cowell’ copied on to the blank pages by Robert More. [See article by David Lindley, Galpin Society Journal XXXI]. LM/1083/91/35 Gresham family manuscript music book, most apparently for the lute and some for keyboard, 17th c.’

³⁷ Butler, p. 356.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 17; Burton, pp. 580, 586.

³⁹ Butler, p. 357; Austern, 1989, 421-23; Caleogero, 140-46.

Possibly, ‘an attractive woman’s eloquent and beautiful music’, inspired the ‘Songes’ and musical settings of Donne’s *Songs and Sonets*.⁴⁰

H. J. C. Grierson states that ‘No poet will sing of love convincingly who has never loved, but that experience will suffice him for many and diverse webs of song and drama’.⁴¹ Flynn feels that the ‘crucial problem for our understanding of Donne’s life and writings’ has been ‘our inability to discern clearly the personality of Ann More’.⁴² Ann More Donne remains an enigma to scholars as very little is known about her. Opinions differ regarding Donne’s young wife. Flynn cites Walton’s 1675 edition of *Lives*, who describes her as a ‘young Gentlewoman’ (1675:15); Jessopp (1897 biography) offers no characterization; Edmund Gosse called her a ‘shadowy’ person and ‘denigrated her intellect’ (1:118); Bald conceded she ‘must have had intelligence’ but placed greater emphasis on her ‘steadfastness and dependability’ (1970:326); and John Carey claimed (with no evidence) that she was ‘virtually uneducated’ and that Donne ‘soon grew tired of being cooped up with her’ and the ‘succession of children she bore’ (1981a: 74).⁴³ In a letter to Ann’s brother, Sir Robert More, dated 10 August 1614, Donne writes:

When I began to apprehend, that even to my selfe, who can relieve my selfe upon books, solitariness was a little burdenous, I beleevd yt would be much more so, to my wyfe, if shee were left alone. So much company therfore, as I ame, shee shall not want: and wee had not one another at so cheape a rate, as that we should ever be wearye of one another.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ John Donne, *The Poems of John Donne: Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts with Introductions & Commentary*, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), II, xxiii.

⁴² Dennis Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, p. 476.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 476-77.

⁴⁴ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 59.

Although Donne ‘acribes to Ann Donne the highest virtues as wife and mother’, Robbins refers to Ann as ‘under-educated’,⁴⁵ and interprets Donne’s letter to mean ‘intellectual companionship’ was something Donne ‘could not admire her for’, yet he admits Donne ‘emphasises’ that he and Ann never became tired of one another.⁴⁶ Robbins states, ‘For the younger Donne of “Negative Love” (1-4), “To Mr. Thomas Woodward, ‘All Hail”” (4) and “A Funeral Elegy” (63), “admiring” applied to “virtue or the mind”, “wit and art”’.⁴⁷ ‘Negative Love’, ‘in form’, resembles ‘a song of the 1590s’, though the analogues ‘probably date from the 1600s’.⁴⁸ Donne possibly heard this song in Paris, for Robbins states, H. M. Richmond finds ‘some kind of precedent’ by Ronsard (1524-1585) in *Sonets et madrigals pour Astree in Les Amours, L’homme est bien sot qui aime sans cognoistre*,⁴⁹ confessing to a love of what he has neither seen, heard, nor touched’.⁵⁰ If Donne’s ‘admiration’ of women is their ‘mind, wit and art’, ‘art’ could have included Ann’s musical skills, for the record shows that although there is no evidence of her writing, there is evidence that she was musically trained.

Walton was the first to claim that Ann was well educated, saying that she had been ‘curiously and plentifully educated’, as both she and Donne possessed ‘natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive courtesies’.⁵¹ According to the Loseley manuscripts, ‘collected and

⁴⁵ John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 170.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 573.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 5.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ‘H. M. Richmond, *N&Q*, 203 (1958) p. 535.’

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, and Mr. George Herbert*, 2nd edn. (London: 1675), p. 19.

preserved by Ann More's grandfather, Sir William More, there is [...] evidence to show that she (with other women of her family) received from him the careful education Walton mentions'.⁵² Further evidence of Ann's 'educated intellect' exists in the letters in the Burley manuscript that Ilona Bell has argued were written by Donne to Ann More prior to their wedding;⁵³ they not only mention the exchange of earlier letters but also express Donne's appreciation and admiration of her learning.⁵⁴ Bell states, 'Ann's education not only earns Donne's love and admiration, it also sustains his hopes'.⁵⁵ These letters suggest her 'active agency' as the lover and later the wife of Donne, and contributes to what is known of their courtship and early married life'.⁵⁶ Donne, himself, deems her 'learned' in his letter of October 1601, swearing his allegiance to her, ' . . . I sweare to you by my love & by that fayre learned hand which I humbly kisse'.⁵⁷ In a letter to Donne in 11 April 1599, Wotton closes with 'May I after these kisse that fayre and learned hand of your mistress then whom the world doth possesse nothing more virtuous'.⁵⁸ At her death, Donne engraves on Ann's cruciform Latin epitaph, "Fæminæ lectissimæ, dilectissimæque" ('A

⁵² Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's Wedding and the Pyrford Years', p. 477.

⁵³ LRO, MS Finch DG.7, Lit.2, fos. 295, 296, and 299v.

⁵⁴ Ilona Bell, "'Under Ye Rage of a Hott Sonn & Yr Eyes": John Donne's Love Letters to Ann More', in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 25-52.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵⁶ Camille Wells Slights, 'A Pattern of Love: Representations of Anne Donne', in *John Donne's "desire of more": The Subject of Anne More Donne in His Poetry*, ed. by M. Thomas Hester (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1996), pp. 66-88 (p. 86). See also, Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's Wedding and the Pyrford Years', p. 477.

⁵⁷ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12 n. 19. 'Wotton to Donne, [April 11, 1599] (LRO Finch DG. 7. Lit 2/259). See also Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 1:306; and Simpson, *Prose Works of Donne*, 334-35. Wotton's 1599 use of the word 'learned' to describe Ann's hand is the earliest although not the only such usage [...]; it is echoed also by Walton's statement that Donne's wife had been "curiously and plentifully educated" (*Lives*, 31)', p. 28.

woman most choice | select | read, most beloved | loving | well-read’).⁵⁹ Even more interesting is how Walton compares the couple to musical instruments:

And, though ‘tis most certain, that two Lutes, being both strung and tun’d to an equal pitch, and then, one plaid upon, the other, that is not totcht, being laid upon a Table at a fit distance, will (like an *Eccho* to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune: yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a *sympathy* of *Souls*; ⁶⁰

After recounting the story of Donne’s vision of Ann after the still-birth of their child (when he was with Sir Robert Drury), Walton observes that their relationship must ‘begat some wonder’, as many believe that ‘*Visions* and *Miracles* are ceas’d’.⁶¹ Walton states (upon the account of ‘a person of honor’ who was ‘of such intimacy’ with Donne and ‘knew most of the secrets of his soul, then any person then living’) that Donne and his bride had a loving relationship,⁶² a spiritual bond; he later refers to Ann as Donne’s ‘Angel’.

In ‘Since She whome I lovd’ (Aug. 1617 to c. 1619?),⁶³ Donne’s admiration for his ‘Saint’ and ‘Angel’ (l. 12) Ann is derived from the *Songs of Solomon* (4:15):⁶⁴ ‘Here the admyring her my Mind did whett | To seeke thee God: so streames do shew the head’ (ll. 5-6).⁶⁵ In ‘A Funeral Elegy’ (Dec. 1610-1611), Donne lists the virtues of an ‘angel’ (l. 50) when describing Elizabeth Drury, comparing her life to a song of ‘wonder’ and ‘love’, which ‘fine spirits’ ‘do tune and set’

⁵⁹ Walton, *Lives*, p. 62.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30-31. This ‘spiritual union’ can be seen in many of Donne’s poems, such as ‘A Valediction Forbidding Mourning’ and ‘The Relic’.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 32

⁶³ ‘Since She whome I lovd’ was set to music in 1945 by Benjamin Britten.

⁶⁴ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 574 n. 6.

⁶⁵ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 7.1, *The Holy Sonnets* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 19.

and play on the ‘organ’ [the world].⁶⁶ The use of musical examples to support Donne’s definition of ‘admiring’ [‘virtue of the mind’, ‘wit and art’], ‘saint’ and ‘angel’, underscores the importance of music among the qualities he most admired in others and particularly in his wife. Ann would not have caught the eye of ‘Jack Donne’ had she not been equally attractive, having intelligence and wit to complement his own, and acquiring the social graces and artistic training of a daughter of one of England’s most prominent families. No matter how sexually attracted Donne might have been to a woman’s personality and beauty, it is highly improbable that he would have married an ignorant woman or a woman who would diminish his career or social standing.

Prior to coming to York House and meeting Donne, Ann was under the care of her grandfather, William More, at Loseley, rather than her father, George. Her father had remarried following the death of Ann’s mother in 1590; he had built his own house at Ewhurst, Surrey, and had moved away from Loseley, taking his son, Robert, with him but leaving his daughters to be raised by their grandfather.⁶⁷ In 1587, Sir George More signed a ‘deed’ ‘providing funds for Ann and her sisters’ education by their grandfather; family papers also refer to tutors that Sir William More hired to give lessons in music, rudimentary Greek, and Latin poetry to children residing at Loseley.⁶⁸ Well-educated and ‘attached to study’, William More had an extensive

⁶⁶ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 86. ‘But those fine spirits which do tune and set | This organ, are those pieces which beget/ Wonder and love: and these were she, and she | Being spent, the world must needs decrepit be (ll. 27-30)’. In explicating these lines, Robbins quotes one of Donne’s many references in his sermons to ‘organ’ as a musical instrument: ‘What an Organe hath that man tuned, how hath he brought all things in the world to a Consort, and what a blessed Anthem doth he sing to that Organe, that is at peace with God the source of the water of life’ (*Sermons*, X, 131).

⁶⁷ Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, p. 477.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* SHC, LM/348/178; SHC, LM/COR/3/106.

library; his love of books was inherited by his son, George.⁶⁹ Many aristocratic households ‘included resident chaplains and/or schoolmasters’; reading and writing in English was ‘routinely’ taught to aristocratic daughters⁷⁰ and teaching in French was common. ‘Reading English gave them access to the expanding world of printed books, which included a growing number of translations from other languages, and writing enhanced their skills as household managers’.⁷¹ The More daughters being taught Latin is particularly noteworthy as a sign of a progressive household because Latin was normally reserved for male children.⁷² These women would be able to ‘understand the service books they used in church’ and were not considered intellectually or morally ‘inferior’.⁷³ Ruth Warnicke states, ‘not only was an extremely small percentage of women ever offered an advanced classical or vernacular education but even by the end of Elizabeth’s reign less than five percent of them knew enough about writing to sign their names’.⁷⁴ This is further proof that Ann was well educated and a sufficient match for Donne. This fact underscores how fortunate and privileged Donne was, personally and professionally, to be surrounded by women his entire life who were academically and intellectually the ‘exception to the contemporary social rule’.

⁶⁹ John Evans, ‘XXVII. *Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the Time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth. Communicated in a Letter from John Evans, Esq. F.S.A to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary*’, p. 288.

⁷⁰ Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 34.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Ruth Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 208.

Tudor daughters ‘often learned something about the practice of nonacademic, herbal medicine’ and ‘needlework and weaving’.⁷⁵ ‘Even more than their training in producing and sewing luxury fabrics, however, the musical education of aristocratic daughters was an accomplishment that marked their high status’.⁷⁶ Katherine Butler argues ‘Music was one of the talents expected of well-educated and broadly accomplished young women of royal and noble birth.’⁷⁷ They were to become the eloquent, attractive centerpieces of Renaissance courts, with a duty to charm and entertain foreign visitors.⁷⁸ ‘Wills and inventories reveal that many aristocratic women learned to play the lute and virginals’.⁷⁹

In the mid-1590s, Ann continued her education at York House under the tutelage of her aunt, Elizabeth More Wolley Egerton,⁸⁰ acquiring the necessary skills of a great Lady. Elizabeth was well equipped to teach young Ann all of the necessary skills that were required of the aristocratic early modern woman. To be a successful wife, one needed to ‘exercise “subordinate agency”’, the ‘most important lesson daughters learned by observing and imitating their mothers and the adult women in other households in which they resided’.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Harris, p. 33.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Katherine Butler, ““By Instruments Her Powers Appear”: Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I”, *RQ*, 65.2 (2012), 353–84 (p. 353). Musically trained by Donne’s grandfather, it has been established that Queen Elizabeth I ‘played the virginals, the lute, and similar plucked string instruments; she sang, danced, and on one occasion claimed to have composed dance music’.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 355

⁷⁹ Harris, p. 34.

⁸⁰ Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, pp. 471, 472, 479.

⁸¹ Harris, p. 28 n. 6. ‘See Linda Pollack, ““Teach Her to Live Under Obedience”: The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England’, *Continuity and Change*, 4 (1989), 231-58, esp. 231-35, 237-38.

An exceptional role model for Ann, Elizabeth had learned her duties well from her mother, Margaret Daniell More, ‘a careful household manager and a literate and pious gentlewoman’,⁸² and was a suitable wife to her second husband, Sir John Wolley, who was some twenty years older than she. ‘Wolley was a protégé of Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester, who had long been a friend of her [Elizabeth] father’s—Leicester knighted William More on the queen’s behalf in 1576 and her brother [George] was serving in his household by 1579.’⁸³ Elizabeth became a favorite of Queen Elizabeth I: ‘The queen referred to her with a special term of endearment, a sure sign of favor’⁸⁴ Like Johnson, McCutcheon thinks Elizabeth probably first met Queen Elizabeth as a child at Loseley.⁸⁵

Clearly, then, Elizabeth Wolley Egerton’s many talents are likely to have included music. Proof of musical instruments, musical training and Court entertainment at Loseley are extant. During her childhood at Loseley and at Court, Elizabeth was exposed to music and took part in musical entertainments. The documentary evidence would suggest that Elizabeth extended her musicality in her homes at Pyrford and York House. According to Izaak Walton, Donne in this period was dining with his employer, Sir Thomas Egerton, and his family, and entertaining them.⁸⁶ Therefore, it is highly probable Donne was musically entertained by Ann or Elizabeth at York House, as Donne, in turn, entertained his hosts with his intelligence and wit. We can

⁸² Elizabeth McCutcheon, ‘Playing the Waiting Game: The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley’, *Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association, 20 (1999), 31-54 (p.35).

⁸³ McCutcheon, p. 39 n. 39.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42 nn. 51-53.

⁸⁶ Walton, *Lives*, p. 27.

imagine Donne and Ann trying to impress one another during their courtship with any talents, musical, literary or otherwise, that they may have possessed.

‘Lady Egerton’s ailments understandably made it difficult for her to keep her young niece, Ann, under constant observation’.⁸⁷ ‘Aristocratic households, with their huge numbers of servants and traditions of open hospitality, were poor environments for insulating adolescent girls from threats to their honor’.⁸⁸ Often, young women like Ann were left ‘in the charge of servants, who had far less reason than they to interrupt flirtations that might develop into imprudent, clandestine marriages. These conditions made it difficult to guard the girl’s chastity and prevent them from marrying unwisely’.⁸⁹

Elizabeth Wolley Egerton died in January 1600. Through his third marriage in October 1600 to Alice Spencer Stanley, Sir Thomas had ‘elevated his status and social stock’ in the aristocracy, surpassing his previous wives’ status.⁹⁰ ‘Literary and theatrical patronage played an enormous role in the lives of the Stanley women as well as in their marriages [...], ‘as Alice ‘taught the art of entertaining on to her daughters and their homes also served as a stage for many theatrical gatherings’.⁹¹ Throughout their prominent lives, the ‘dowager countess of Derby and her daughters were all major forces in early modern literary patronage, and in the lives of those around them’,⁹² particularly Donne’s, as he enjoyed the blessings of their favor. Wilkie observes

⁸⁷ John Stubbs, *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), p. 104.

⁸⁸ Harris, p. 40.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Wilkie, p. 61.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

that Stanley women used art to ‘enhance and reflect their own sense of honor, status, political power and authority’, publicly and privately.⁹³

After her marriage to Thomas, ‘Alice brought a number of books to Egerton’s library, and shared in building the famous collection. She also used York House as her central London abode, entertaining Ladies Bedford, Carey, Clifford, Montgomery, and others’,⁹⁴ among whom several were patronesses of Donne. ‘Donne had not wasted the few months in which he had enjoyed the advantage of their society’⁹⁵ and it is probable that Donne was entertained [and entertained?] in the music room by the talented Alice and her equally talented daughters. In 1601, Alice and Egerton feted Queen Elizabeth I ‘at York House’,⁹⁶ ‘choreographing the entire visit around theatrical entertainments’.⁹⁷ In 1602, they ‘hosted her royal progress at Harefield with one of the most lavish entertainments of the era’ that cost over 2,000 pounds.⁹⁸ ‘Some scholars believe that they again entertained the new Queen Consort, Anna of Denmark, at Althorp, in June 1603’,⁹⁹ asking Ben Jonson, to write *The Entertainment at Althorp*.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 164. ‘They used literary entertainments as a way of celebrating their family’s achievements and victories. They intended published dedications and the patronage of theatrical groups to display their grandeur to the public. They also relied on performance and literature to help commemorate and celebrate their own private accomplishments. The dowager countess of Derby and her daughters recreated the court culture of masques in their own homes for celebration but also as a spectacle of their grandness’.

⁹⁴ Mary Ann O’Donnell, ‘Egerton [née Stanley], Frances, countess of Bridgewater (1583–1636), noblewoman’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 24 May 2007) [accessed 13 September 2020].

⁹⁵ Gosse, II, p. 112.

⁹⁶ Louis A. Knafla, ‘Spencer [married names Stanley Egerton], Alice, countess of Derby (1559-1637), noblewoman’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3 January 2008) [accessed 8 June 2020].

⁹⁷ Wilkie, p. 164.

⁹⁸ Knafla, ‘Spencer’.

⁹⁹ Wilkie, p. 164.

‘Preparing her grandchildren for social and public life, she [Alice Spencer Stanley Egerton] employed schoolteachers and musicians, and provided for lavish masques in which the grandchildren acted. Composer Henry Lawes, who later set two of Donne’s poems to music, was hired as their music master’.¹⁰⁰ Lady Egerton was also a patroness of John Milton. ‘The success of *Arcades* for her seventy-fifth birthday on 4 May 1634 led to the family’s approval of his collaboration on *Comus* for Bridgewater’s [John Egerton] installation as lord president of the council in the marches of Wales at Ludlow Castle’;¹⁰¹ Henry Lawes’s younger brother, William, directed Milton’s *Arcades*, where Alice ‘played a part in pastoral habit and was joined by her grandchildren’.¹⁰² Given the Countess’s history of entertainments, her ties to Donne, her employment of Henry Lawes at Harefield and William Lawes’s staging and direction of *Arcades* there, it is possible that their musical settings of Donne’s poems could have been composed during this period, prior to her death in January 1637, to please her ladyship.

Like her parents, John and Frances, young Alice Egerton also gained a reputation for patronizing poetry and theatre.¹⁰³ ‘John Attey’s dedication of 1622 of the *First Booke of Ayres of Four Parts* to the earl and countess of Bridgewater indicates that he was probably music instructor to the Egerton daughters’.¹⁰⁴ Citing the Ellesmere manuscripts, Wilkie reveals, ‘Their

¹⁰⁰ Knafla, ‘Spenser’. Henry Lawes wrote the Donne musical settings ‘Wherfore peepst thou enuious day’ (analogue to ‘The Sun Rising’) and ‘Sweet, stay awhile’ (analogue to Donne’s ‘Breake of Daye’).

¹⁰¹ Alice’s grandchildren, Lady Alice Egerton, John Egerton [second earl of Bridgewater (1623-1686)] and Thomas Egerton, played the main parts in Milton’s *Comus* in 1634, while ‘Henry Lawes composed the score as well as played the title role’. (O’Donnell, ‘Egerton [née Stanley], Frances, countess of Bridgewater (1583–1636), noblewoman’).

¹⁰² Knafla, ‘Spenser’. William Lawes wrote the Donne musical settings ‘The Apparition’ (composed before 1645) and ‘Wherfore Peepst Thou’ (analogue to ‘The Sun Rising’) (c. 1650s).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ O’Donnell, ‘Egerton [née Stanley], Frances, countess of Bridgewater (1583–1636), noblewoman’.

household accounts indicate that they employed a number of instructors [...] Mr. Newport [relative of Magdalen Herbert?] taught the lute, and Mrs. Heard taught dancing, singing, and music'.¹⁰⁵ McColley notes that the Earl of Bridgewater, when young, had made a copy ““of Coprario’s book of musical composition””.¹⁰⁶

Frances, Countess of Bridgewater’s sister, Elizabeth, married into one of England’s oldest and most noble of English families to become Countess of Huntingdon. Known for her ‘literary and political patronage’, the ‘highly educated and deeply religious’ countess,¹⁰⁷ ‘won the respect and esteem of powerful players in both Leicester and London’.¹⁰⁸ References to these women in the poetry and letters of Donne confirm their religious, as well as musical, interests and commitments.

‘From the musical associations of the Egerton and Hastings families it is likely Elizabeth also had some musical education, and she danced in at least one court masque, as an unidentified queen in the “*The Masque of Queens*” (1609)’,¹⁰⁹ the same year that Ferrabosco’s musical setting of Donne’s ‘The Expiration’ was printed. Participating in this masque at Court,

¹⁰⁵ Wilkie, p. 119 n. 38. Notes for payments and receipts for lessons of the Bridgewater children, EL 259 (Ellesmere MSS, Henry E. Huntingdon Library, San Marino, CA.), EL 263-264, HEH (Henry E. Huntingdon Library, San Marino, CA.)

¹⁰⁶ Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 264 n. 12. Coprario wrote the musical setting for Donne’s ‘The Message’ (1612).

¹⁰⁷ James Knowles, ‘Hastings [née Stanley], Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon (bap. 1587, d. 1633), noblewoman’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) (accessed 12 October 2020).

¹⁰⁸ Wilkie, pp. 133, 71-72. Wilkie reveals that Elizabeth often travelled to London to speak on her husband’s behalf to ‘win favor’ with the Privy Council and King’ (p. 71). ‘Besides being an eloquent and charming speaker, she spent much of her time reading scripture and living piously. She left behind several manuscripts of sermons and reflections [...]’. (p. 71)

¹⁰⁹ Knowles.

Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon and Ben Jonson may have been another link between Donne and Ferrabosco.

In 1623, Elizabeth's son, Ferdinando, married the daughter of Donne's friend, Sir John Davies (writer of *The Holy Rood*)¹¹⁰ and Eleanor Touchet Davies.¹¹¹ Following her mother's example, Elizabeth 'continued the tradition of female learning and patronage through the education of her son, Ferdinando's, wife, Lady Lucy Davies'.¹¹² 'Just as Alice was the "Rural Queen" of Harefield, Elizabeth set up her own "court" for writers and theologians at Ashby-de-la-Zouche'.¹¹³ Jacobean playwright, John Fletcher was also linked with Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon, Henry Goodyer and Donne: 'Fletcher (who dedicated his *Faithful Shepherdess* to members of her Leicestershire circle) complimented Ashby's Edenic hospitality and the countess as having "the apple still to know what 'tis"'.¹¹⁴ Knowles states that Fletcher's envoy 'alludes to books to be sent from London, suggesting her national links, and Sir Henry Goodyer, an important figure in the circulation of literary and political texts, seems to have facilitated her patronage of Donne'.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Patrons of the Mermaid tavern (act. 1611)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) [accessed 2 February 2021]. Donne's friends, Sir John Davies (bap. 1529, d. 1626), led 'a riotous Lord of Misrule festival in February 1591' with Richard Martin (1570-1618), the 'acknowledged leader in all revels within the [Middle] Temple' and the 'Prince of Love' during the 'magnificent 1597-8 Middle Temple revels'. Davies also 'organized the masque in honour of the marriage of Frederick V, elector palatine, and Princess Elizabeth at the Middle Temple', in February 1613.

¹¹¹ Wilkie, p. 73.

¹¹² Knowles.

¹¹³ Wilkie, p. 336.

¹¹⁴ Knowles. Hastings MSS, HA 13333.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Frances and Elizabeth's sister, Anne, is the subject of two of Donne's verse letters. Anne married Grey, Brydges, Lord Chandos 28 February 1608.¹¹⁶ Like her mother and sisters, Anne was surrounded by music at Court and she and Lord Chandos entertained at their home at Sudley Castle, in Gloucestershire. Donne states their closeness in his letter 'To your selfe' [Garet] ('Age become nothing better then Friendship'), 'Upon the way hither, another Letter from you overtook me, which by my L. Chandos love to me for your sake, was sent after me to Mastricht:' (ll. 13-16).¹¹⁷ Lord Chandos died unexpectedly [in Germany] 10 August 1621; she married Mervin Touchet, second earl of Castlehaven, an Irish peer, and lived at Fonthill Gifford in Wiltshire.¹¹⁸ Touchet was the brother of Lady Eleanor Davies (later Douglas), wife of Donne's friend, Sir John Davies. The 'disastrous' marriage between Anne and Touchet ended in 1631, after Ann told investigators that her husband had 'assisted his footman in raping her, and that her husband frequently engaged in sodomy with his male favorites'.¹¹⁹ The earl was tried and executed May 1631¹²⁰ and Anne (as Lady Chandos) spent the rest of her life 'quietly either at her younger son's estate at Heydons in Middlesex' or at Harefield House (which she inherited in 1637) with her mother, Alice.¹²¹ Alice afforded Anne's children the same musical and literary education as her other grandchildren. 'Despite the humiliation of the Castlehaven trial, the

¹¹⁶ Mary Ann O'Donnell, 'Brydges [née Stanley], Anne, Lady Chandos [other married name Anne Touchet, countess of Castlehaven] (1580–1647), noblewoman', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 04 January 2007) [accessed 12 October 2020].

¹¹⁷ John Donne, 'To your selfe' [Garet] ('Age become nothing better then Friendship'), 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 13 March 2021].

¹¹⁸ Wilkie, p. 74-75.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

¹²¹ O'Donnell, 'Brydges [née Stanley], Anne, Lady Chandos [other married name Anne Touchet, countess of Castlehaven] (1580–1647), noblewoman'.

countess of Derby saw to it that her other Brydges grandchildren lived reputable and normal lives'.¹²²

In public and in private, the documentary evidence shows that through Donne's association throughout his life with the 'complex and dynamic'¹²³ Stanley women, it is probable that, along with their literary patronage, he would have been exposed to their musicality, their (and his) composers, their musical/theatrical associations, and their entertainments. Their involvement in Donne's personal life and marriage to Ann would have been commonplace as well, for John Gillis affirms that in the early modern period, marriage was 'a social drama involving family, peers, and neighbors in a collective process aimed at making things right economically,¹²⁴ socially, and psychologically, as well as legally'.¹²⁵ 'It was a deeply held social principle that families were participants in the arranging of marriages'.¹²⁶ Clearly, Donne was not the 'marriage partner' Sir George More would have preferred. Ann More and John Donne did not fit into Lawrence Stone's idea that family life during the early modern era did not include love, for obviously the couple were in love and willing to risk their 'economic and political survival' for it.¹²⁷ Vanessa Jean Wilkie accurately summarizes early modern family life and, unknowingly, the relationship between John and Ann:

¹²² Wilkie, p. 76.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 333.

¹²⁴ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), in Vanessa Jean Wilkie, "'Such Daughters and Such a Mother': The Countess of Derby and Her Three Daughters" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 2009), p. 17.

¹²⁵ John Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 17.

¹²⁶ Bald, p. 131.

¹²⁷ Stone, pp. 4-8.

When we penetrate the facade of the family, . . . we begin to see that the personal lives of early modern people comprised complex networks, power negotiations, adaptation in the face of religious and political reform, transformation of family rites and rituals, and a constant struggle between individual contentment and larger social expectations.¹²⁸

‘Whatever arrangements they made for their daughters, aristocratic parents invested considerable amounts of money in supporting them in a manner befitting their rank, educating them in the appropriate accomplishments, and seeking opportunities to marry them off advantageously’.¹²⁹ Based upon all the advantages Sirs William and George More tried to give to their children, it is little wonder that Ann’s father was so upset when his daughter married Donne. Shortly after the death of his sister, Elizabeth, in 1601, Ann’s father ‘removed her from Egerton’s household to Loseley’ to try to quell the ‘growing intimacy’; however, Loseley was only a few miles south of Pyrford and their romance remained intact.¹³⁰

With their secret marriage in December of 1601, Donne and Ann did not conform to the prescribed protocols of early modern society and the family. Donne was not of the same aristocratic stratum as Ann and her father was livid. On 2 February 1602, when Donne revealed to Sir George in a letter that he was his new son-in-law, Donne was immediately imprisoned in the Fleet.¹³¹ The fact that this news had been delivered to George More by Donne’s good friend, Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, held no sway.¹³² Brothers and friends, Samuel

¹²⁸ Wilkie, p. 25.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

¹³⁰ Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, p. 472.

¹³¹ Bald, p. 538.

¹³² Walton, *Lives*, states that Donne (punning on his name) wrote in a letter after his marriage: ‘John Donne, Ann Donne, un-done’, p. 29.

Brooke, who performed the ceremony, and Christopher Brooke,¹³³ who gave the bride away, also fell victim to Sir George's revenge, for they were imprisoned along with Donne.¹³⁴ At his father-in-law's insistence, Donne lost his job as secretary to Egerton. He had to use every skill his charming personality, intelligence and legal acuity could muster to plead his own case (and the cases of his friends) to secure the release of all, for his marriage and their future depended on it. Fortunately, Donne's arguments were well received, as the Court of Audience upheld the validity of their marriage on 27 April 1602.¹³⁵ Donne was released, the couple were reunited, and the newlyweds were kindly given sanctuary by Ann's cousin, Francis Wolley, at Pyrford, where they lived 'in one of the properties' two manor houses'¹³⁶ for three years with their first three children, Constance (1603), John (1604) and George (1605).¹³⁷

'Set among fields and streams, near a deer park and adjacent medieval ruins', Wolley's estate 'was situated on former abbey lands, time out of mind a favoured country home for abbots of Westminster, until the dissolution of the monasteries'.¹³⁸ Donne's activities in this idyllic setting 'are almost entirely unknown. Probably he remained quietly at Pyrford most of the time'.¹³⁹ Prior to the birth of their gamesome children, Donne and Ann may have enjoyed

¹³³ In 'To Samuel Brook (S.B.)' (1592), Donne gave some advice to the young student, Samuel, 'in the vast Sea of Arts', casting himself as a 'singing' Siren [I sing not Syren-like, to temp, for I Am harsh; (ll. 9-10)] (*Variorum*, 5, p. 184). Donne addressed a verse epistle and poem, "The Storm" To Mr. Christopher Brooke from the Island voyage with the Earl of Essex' (1597) and a companion poem, 'The Calm' (1597).

¹³⁴ Bald, p. 128.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 538.

¹³⁶ Flynn, 'Donne's Wedding and the Pyrford Years', p. 478.

¹³⁷ Bald, p. 538.

¹³⁸ Flynn, 'Donne's Wedding and the Pyrford Years', p. 478.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

artistic pursuits, writing and music. Although an interest in legal and diplomatic work continued while there, Donne ‘settled fairly comfortably into an attitude of observant indifference’¹⁴⁰ to the machinations of Court life and London. Yet, living in the country, the Donnes still maintained connections to London. Susan Whyman believed that to survive and rise in status, early modern families had to build strong networks in London as well as in the country.¹⁴¹ Examples of this would be Elizabeth and Sir John Wolley operating between London and Pyrford; Alice and earl Ferdinando Stanley between London and Knowsley in Lancashire; the More family between London and Loseley in Surrey; and the Percy family between London and Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. This ensured ‘authority in both regions and was necessary to keep the family rooted in English social politics’.¹⁴² Therefore, despite their distance from Court, its entertainments were a brief part of the Donne’s life in the summer of 1603: ‘Following the coronation late in July, the King and Queen went on progress through the southern counties, staying first at Sir Francis Wolley’s house in Pyrford on 10 August, followed by two nights at Loseley with Sir George More. Donne and Ann would likely have attended both these visits’.¹⁴³ At Loseley, ‘Goodere, apparently on his own initiative, approached Queen Anne’s secretary William Fowler about the prospect of Donne’s possible service at Queen Anne’s court’, an initiative that ‘led nowhere’.¹⁴⁴ Many of Donne’s friends “swarmed about the new King,”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 481.

¹⁴¹ Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁴² Wilkie, p. 29.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, p. 480.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 478.

expecting preferment and knighthoods; but, Donne ‘made little initial attempt to gain the favour of the new regime’.¹⁴⁶ King James VI & I had been warned about the ‘irregular circumstances’ of Donne’s marriage and ‘remembered him for this for several years’.¹⁴⁷ Friends Tobie Matthews and poet John Davies sought favour from the new King and many were knighted; among the knighted were Donne’s friends Francis Wolley, Robert Cotton, Walter Chute, Basil Brooke, and Richard Baker.¹⁴⁸ ‘Goodere, as a client of Queen Anne’s favourite Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, was appointed a gentleman of the privy chamber, along with other friends and acquaintances of Donne, including Sir William Cornwallis and Sir Charles Percy, brother of Donne’s friend Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland’; Henry Percy himself enjoyed ‘sudden favor’ as a member of the Privy Council.¹⁴⁹

3.3 The Percys

¹⁴⁶ Anthony Milton, ‘New Horizons in the Early Jacobean Period’, in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 483-94 (p. 484).

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Flynn, ‘Donne’s Wedding and the Pyrford Years’, p. 480. In *Life*, Bald states, ‘Richard Baker the future chronicler’, matriculated from Hart Hall on the same day as Donne and his brother, and was for a while ‘Wotton’s “chamber-fellow”’. Donne’s life-long friendship with Sir Henry Wotton began at Oxford. ‘Other friends of later years who were Oxford contemporaries were Hugh Holland (at Balliol) and Richard Martin (of Broadgates Hall)’, Thomas Coryate and John Owen’ (p. 43). In G. H. Martin, ‘Baker, Sir Richard (c. 1568–1645), religious writer and historian’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 26 November 2021], Martin states that Sir Richard Baker (1568-1645) and John Owen (1563/4-1622?) were known to be great lovers of the theatre and frequented plays with Donne, exposing all to music and the arts. In *Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Time of the Romans’ Government unto the Death of King James* (1643) (dedicated to Charles I, Prince of Wales, for which Sir Henry Wotton wrote a commendatory letter), Baker “‘desire[s] the Readers leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance”, Donne and Wotton of whom the first was “Mr. *John Donne*, who leaving Oxford, lived at the *Innes of Court*, not dissolute, but very neat; a great visiter of ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great writer of conceited Verses’. In Colin Burrow, ‘Holland, Hugh (1563–1633), poet’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 10 July 2021], Burrow states that Hugh Holland (1563-1633), former Catholic and contributor to the *Odcumbian Banquet*, wrote dedicatory poems for Giles Farnaby’s *Canzonets to Fowre Voyces* (1598) which includes Giles Farnaby’s musical setting of ‘Loth to depart’, which also appears in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612) with Martin Peerson’s musical setting of Donne’s ‘The Primrose’.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Dating as far back as the 1580s, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632) was a close personal friend to Donne. Donne was believed to have been at Oxford with Henry's brother, William [Vivian], and Henry 'may well have been among those three of the five persons assisting' at Donne's wedding 'who to his day have never been named'.¹⁵⁰ Henry was the messenger chosen to deliver the news of their marriage to Ann's father, Sir George, in a letter written on 2 February 1602.¹⁵¹

Like Donne, Henry Percy, his brothers, William, Charles, and possibly Richard Percy, were in Paris in the 1580s. Flynn places Donne with Henry Percy, William Stanley, and Anthony Cooke (Burghley's nephew) at Parma's encampment in Antwerp in April 1585.¹⁵² All would have been exposed to music at Court and likely during their travels in Europe.¹⁵³ Their Catholic history, experiences at home and abroad, and long-standing friendship aside, what is less well known is that the Percy family was replete with musical talent, revealing Henry to be an excellent musician, well-versed in music theory, multiple instruments and Italian vocal techniques.

Substantial work has been done on the Percy accounts¹⁵⁴ held at Alnwick Castle: 'Moved to the Castle from Syon House, Middlesex, they indicate that the Percies during this [Donne's] time supported performing arts generously. The family paid musicians,¹ travelling players,² jesters,³

¹⁵⁰ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 15.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Nobility*, p. 140.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁵⁴ I am deeply indebted to Gemma McGuirk for directing me to this information in her e-mail titled, '16th and 17th c. Music/Donne/Percy' on 18 September 2019. These accounts were reproduced by permission of the Duke of Northumberland and can be viewed in the *Records of Early English Drama North-East* (REED N-E).

and purchased musical instruments.⁴ Their entourage included “Iacomo the Italyan” who performed a “comody”.”¹⁵⁵

The Percy accounts give a detailed listing of all references to drama, music, performances and instruments.¹⁵⁶ The period from 1575 to 1642, spanning the lifetimes of Henry and his son, Algernon (1602-1668), shows the Percy home to be replete with ‘Emptions of diuers Necessaryes’,¹⁵⁷ which included numerous artistic endeavours by year and accompanying payment. The ‘Percy Family Accounts’ list musical instruments, lessons for singing, dancing, and the viol, and masques, plays and entertainments,¹⁵⁸ spanning the lifetime of the 9th Earl and his family.¹⁵⁹ 1610-1613 are particularly noteworthy, for during these years, Henry Percy took singing, dancing, composition (theory) and ‘violl’ lessons. ‘A set of violins was a desirable part of the equipment of a young man of fashion’.¹⁶⁰ The first musical settings of Donne’s poems had been written for the lute and viol during this period and Henry took a musical instrument with him to the Tower in 1613, for there was a ‘bass viol in the inventory of his possessions’.¹⁶¹ He also took singing lessons there.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ Robert Alexander, ‘Percy Family Accounts’, REED-NE (2018), 1-34. <<http://community.dur.ac.uk/reed/ne/wp-content/uploads/Percies-Pre-publication.12.12-1.pdf>>.

¹⁵⁶ *Selections from Dramatic Records in Accounting Rolls and Drafts from the Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, 1575-1642*, have been recently updated by Dr James Gibson and Archivist, Dr Christopher Hunwick. See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁵⁷ Alexander, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Theatre companies of the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Leicester, Worcester and the Queen’s Musicians.

¹⁵⁹ For the purposes of establishing the musicality of Henry Percy and the Percy family, a full listing is in the Appendices, Vol. II, with Textual and Explanatory Notes.

¹⁶⁰ Willa McClung, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 3.

¹⁶¹ Gordon Batho, ‘Education of a Stuart Nobleman’, in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 5.2 (1957), 131-43 (p. 135).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

The Percys were at Petworth and Syon House, brought south by Queen Elizabeth from Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, in closer proximity to London. The association between Henry Percy and Court composers/musicians is well documented in the family accounts: Walter Porter (c. 1587-1659),¹⁶³ a composer and church musician in the Chapel Royal, gave singing lessons to Percy from 1610 to 1613 and ‘Mr. Lewes of Branford’ from 1611 to 1612.¹⁶⁴ ‘Private music tutors enjoyed a booming business: there was an explosion of higher education in Tudor England, and musical skill in particular was newly and hugely fashionable. Resident music tutors were brought into great households to teach children (and sometimes parents) the skills necessary to impress . . .’.¹⁶⁵ The accounts entry referring to ‘Mr. Lewes of Branford’ in 1611-1612 is less clear. It is possible that tutor ‘Lewes’ was composer, William Lawes,¹⁶⁶ or Henry Lawes. William Lawes joined the household of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford around 1612,

¹⁶³ Ian Spink, ‘Porter, Walter (c. 1587–1659), composer and church musician’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 13 May 2020]. As a chorister of Westminster Abbey, [Walter] Porter sang at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and, after his voice broke, as a tenor in George Chapman’s Middle Temple and Lincoln’s Inn masque (1613). He was promised the next tenor vacancy in the Chapel Royal on 5 January 1617, and the following year was duly sworn in (1 February). Already he may have travelled to Italy to study under ‘my good Friend and Maestro *Monteverde*’ (as he stated in the preface to his *Mottets*), for his madrigal on the death of Lady Arabella Stuart (d. 1615), ‘*Wake sorrow, wake*’, shows signs of a new approach to madrigal writing that he would have experienced in Italy.

¹⁶⁴ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1951) pp. 67, 76-77. Fellowes points out that features of Gibbons’ writing ‘can be compared with the *tremolo* written out in reiterated notes in some of Walter Porter’s compositions’, who took the idea from Monteverde. (p. 67) Fellowes states that after 1630, ‘Martin Peerson, Walter Porter, Henry and William Lawes, among others, wrote a fair number of secular pieces for combined voices, but in most instances they also were breaking new ground by introducing independent instrumental accompaniment, and they seldom followed the conventional traditions for the polyphonic composers’ (pp. 76-77).

¹⁶⁵ Katie Nelson, ‘Love in the music room: Thomas Whythorne and the private affairs of Tudor music tutors’, *Early Music*, 40.1 (February 2021), 15-26 (p. 15). ‘As yet we know little about the tutors themselves. There is a remarkable dearth of historical records, and we cannot know the actual number of music tutors working in Tudor England, though there must have been an army of them, given the number of people who acquired musical skill’.

¹⁶⁶ ‘The distinctive voice of Lawes is positioned in the early phase of the Baroque as squarely as Monteverdi, and represents an understanding at its fullest of the Italian *seconda pratica* among English composers in the reign of Charles I’ (Spink, ‘Porter, Walter (c. 1587–1659), composer and church musician’).

and ‘[...] was apprenticed to John Coprario’.¹⁶⁷ Spink and Wainwright state that Porter was, ‘according to Anthony Wood, the son of Henry Porter, who graduated BMus from Christ Church Oxford in 1600’.¹⁶⁸ Although it is ‘uncertain if this was the same Henry Porter listed among “Lutes and others” at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth I and among King James I’s sackbuts and hautboys (1603-17)’, I posit that it could have been, given the account book entries for a ‘lute’, ‘sackbut’ and ‘sackbutt caske’, as Walter Porter would have had knowledge of these through his father. If ‘Mr. Lewes of Branford’ was William Lawes, it would make sense that Porter and Lawes would be working together given their shared Court connections.

There are multiple entries in the Percy account books of the Italian language being spoken, taught, or sung within the Percy family. Two examples are ‘Iacomo, the Italyan playing in a comody’¹⁶⁹ and ‘ffrancisco Petrazanni reading Italian to his lordship’.¹⁷⁰ During this time, many musicians would go to Italy to learn from the maestros there. However, ‘English composers did not need to visit Italy to become infused with the new Italian styles’ because a significant number of the musicians in the King’s music, most notably the Bassano, Ferrabosco, and Galliaro families, were Italians, many first and second generation’.¹⁷¹ Robert Dowland (1591-1641) [John Dowland’s son] and Angelo Notari (1566-1663), ‘who had come from Italy about

¹⁶⁷ David Pinto, ‘Lawes, William’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 18 January 2021].

¹⁶⁸ Ian Spink and Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Porter, Walter’, in *Grove* (Oxford: University Press, 2001) [accessed 13 May 2020].

¹⁶⁹ Alexander, pp. 7, 11.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷¹ William Lawes, *Collected Vocal Music, Part 1: Solo Songs*, ed., Gordon J. Callon (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2002), p. xvii.

1610' were publishing music in the new declamatory style ¹⁷²; Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* included songs in Italian and Spanish and Dowland's *A Musically Banquet* included songs in English, French, Spanish and Italian.¹⁷³ Porter is believed to have visited Italy between 1612 and 1615; according to records, in 1612, he was in England teaching Henry Percy how to sing. Not only was Porter in Italy, he 'was granted a licence to travel abroad for three years on 12 March 1622, but this was probably in connection with the earl of Bristol's embassy to Madrid to arrange the "Spanish match".¹⁷⁴ In gratitude "for all your rare goodnesse in my attendance in *Spaine*" Porter dedicated his *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632) to the earl.¹⁷⁵ As a member of the Chapel Royal, Porter went to Scotland for the coronation of Charles I in 1633, and in February 1634 took part in James Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace*, as both a singer and a theorbo player. In 1639 he was appointed master of the choristers of Westminster Abbey'.¹⁷⁶ Like Porter, 'Younger composers who visited Italy, active in England after 1610, include Donne composer John Coprario, [believed to have visited Italy before 1603] . . . '.¹⁷⁷ Tied to the Spencers, Porter later lived in the household of Sir Edward Spencer, between 1644 and 1656,

¹⁷² Vincent Duckles and Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Words to Music: Papers on English Seventeenth-Century Song Read at a Clark Library Seminar December 11, 1965 with an Introduction by Walter H. Rubsamen* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1967), p. 6. Duckles and Zimmerman believed that the 'concept of the word as a carrier of feeling, heightened and intensified in the medium of song, was indeed a performance that brought vivid emotional life to the text'.

¹⁷³ Lawes, p. xvii.

¹⁷⁴ Spink, 'Porter, Walter (c. 1587–1659), composer and church musician'.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Lawes, p. xvii.

after the disbandment of musical services at both the Chapel Royal and the abbey during and following the civil war.¹⁷⁸

As can be seen in the aforementioned listing, multiple entries are extant for Walter Porter ‘teachinge his *Lordship* to singe XXX s,’¹⁷⁹ with the purchase of a viol made with foreign payments’.¹⁸⁰ ‘Porter wrote anthems, madrigals, and two-part settings of metrical psalms’.¹⁸¹ ‘Five full anthems¹⁸² and five verse anthems by Porter were in the repertory of the Chapel Royal about 1635’.¹⁸³ Porter wrote ‘ayres’ and English madrigals (London, 1632), along with Donne composers Peerson (1622 and 1630) and Hilton (1627).¹⁸⁴ The madrigals ‘borrow *concertato* techniques, mixing solo, duet, and dialogue textures. They include passages of quasi-recitative and virtuoso solo writing embellished with the Italian trillo’.¹⁸⁵ Since it is evident from the account books that Percy read in Italian and watched plays in Italian, chances are he was singing in Italian. Porter was probably teaching Percy the Italian vocal technique [vocal ornament] of the *trillo*, popular during the seventeenth century and taught by the musicians of the period.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁸ Katie Nelson, nn. 13 and 14.

¹⁷⁹ Alexander, pp. 13-15.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁸¹ Ian Spink and Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Porter, Walter’.

¹⁸² Spink, ‘Porter, Walter (c. 1587–1659), composer and church musician’. ‘Only one of the anthems survives complete—the verse anthem “*O praise the Lord*” [published in *Madrigales and Ayres*, London, 1632], with which the book of madrigals opens. It includes florid solo writing and reflects Italian influences, albeit applied to English words’.

¹⁸³ Ian Spink and Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Porter, Walter’.

¹⁸⁴ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, distributor Galaxy Music Corp., 1962), p. 254.

¹⁸⁵ Spink, ‘Porter, Walter (c. 1587–1659), composer and church musician’.

¹⁸⁶ In John Playford’s ‘translation of Caccini’s preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602), not published until the 1664 edition of *A Breefe Introduction*’, Playford indicates ‘that one can approximate the sound of the *trillo* [similar to

Porter published *Print Ayres of 3, 4, and 5 Voyces with the Trills and other Graces to the same*.¹⁸⁷ These airs and madrigals included ‘Toccatos, Sinfonias, and Ritternellos’ . . . ‘after the manner of Consort Musique’. . . ‘to be performed with the Harpsichord, Lutes, Theorbos, base Violl, two Violins, or two Viols’.¹⁸⁸ Porter also ‘. . . published hymns and motets for two voices [*Mottets of two Voyces*] in 1657 [London]. He had published, in 1639, “Airs and Madrigals for Two, Three, Four, and Five Voices, with a Thorough-bass for the Organ, or Theorbo-lute, in the Italian Way”. These were the last madrigals published in England for many years.¹⁸⁹ These madrigals are ‘virtually the only English madrigals in concertato style’,¹⁹⁰ reflecting the Italian influence on Porter’s style.¹⁹¹

The Percy account books reveal that Henry Percy, under the tutelage of Porter (and ‘Mr. Lewes of Branford’), was singing (possibly in English and Italian) and playing the viol. He owned lutes, ‘virginalls’, ‘violls’ and gitterns. He attended plays and was entertained by a wide variety of musicians, jesters and travelling players, some of whom were Italian. Percy was taking singing and viol lessons at the same time Donne’s poetry was being set to music by the same Italian and English composers within Percy’s and Donne’s circle. Considering the long-

vibrato] by shaking the finger upon the throat’; he also compared it to the sound men used to ‘lure their hawks’ (Jeffrey Kite-Powell, *A Performer’s Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2012), p. 22).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Edmund Horace Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632 Edited from the Original Song Books* (Oxford: Calrendon Press, 1920), p. 304.

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Bird, *Gleanings from the History of Music: The Earliest Ages to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Metcalf, 1849), p. 209.

¹⁹⁰ Ian Spink and Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Porter, Walter’.

¹⁹¹ Spink, ‘Porter, Walter’.

standing friendship between the Percy family and Donne, we can say with a high degree of certainty that Donne was acquainted with them and their musical talents.

After Donne's marriage in December 1601 caused him to lose his position with Egerton, Donne sought state employment—indeed, any employment. Donne's predicament may be compared to that of his Cambridge fellow, poet and playwright, Thomas Nashe, who felt the same pressure of the 'valiant poverty'¹⁹² of a writer living in London, seeking employment and patronage from the aristocracy.¹⁹³ Described by David Landreth as a 'wit without money',¹⁹⁴ Nashe was accused of 'prostituting' his pen to fill his 'purse turnd downeward'.¹⁹⁵

Clearly, Donne's travels, military adventures, and life as a courtier had made him 'hardy and venturous', draining his resources, now exacerbated by losing his job. Wealth and prosperity belonged to the aristocratic company he kept. Like Nashe, Donne needed a steady income—he had a wife and family to support. Since 'poverty instructs a man in all arts',¹⁹⁶ music could have been one of them. His next move was to return to London and seek employment within a very musical sphere.

¹⁹² Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, vol III (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1910), p. 30.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁹⁴ David Landreth, *The Face of Mammon: The Matter of Money in English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Ch. 4: 'Wit without Money in Donne and Nashe'.

¹⁹⁵ McKerrow, ed., pp. 30-31.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

CHAPTER FOUR

Donne's Literary Musical Milieu

This chapter begins in 1606 with the Donne family's move to Mitcham and Donne seeking employment in London, lodging in the Strand (1607-1614). The relationships between Donne, his aristocratic friends, patrons and the composers of his musical settings (Dowland and Peerson) are explored, along with analyses of the musical settings of Donne's poetry and musical references that Donne deploys in his writing.

4.1 Donne's Musical Aristocratic Circle (Part One)

In 1606, Donne moved his family from Pyrford to Mitcham,¹ 'a fashionable suburb for courtiers', 'closer to London and, more importantly, even nearer to James VI & I's palaces at Richmond, Nonsuch, and Greenwich',² after he and Sir Walter Chute returned to England from France (and possibly Italy).³ During these years, he was 'frequently absenting himself from Mitcham to be with friends and press his claims to jobs'.⁴ At his lodgings on the Strand (1607-

¹ Gosse, Edmund, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899), II, p. 145. Mitcham 'was near the prosperous homes' of Ann's married sisters, Lady Grymes at Peckham and, after 1607, Lady Carey at Beddington'. Gosse claims the Donnes were living near Camberwell, where Lady Grymes had a house; they then moved into a 'small manorial house' which Dr. Jesopp had a drawing of in 1897.

² *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. with an Introduction by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 19.

³ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 538.

⁴ John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 149.

1611),⁵ Donne grew close to George Garrard⁶ and Sir Thomas Roe. In a letter to Garrard, Donne imagines singing his verses in a celestial setting: ‘If I shall at any time take courage by your letter to express my meditations of that lady in writing, I shall scarce think less time to be due to that employment than to be all my life in making those verses, and so take them with me, and sing them amongst her fellow angels in Heaven’.⁷ In ‘To Sir Thomas Roe’ (‘It is an ease to your friends abroad’),⁸ Donne refers to himself as a ‘descant’ to a ‘plain song’: ‘Howsoever with every commodity, I shall say something, though it be but a descant upon this plain song, that I am, Your affectionate servant, J. Donne’.⁹

Donne’s ‘brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Carew, was lord of the manor of Mitcham; and Donne either found or immediately made a fast friend there in the generous and splendid Sir Julius Caesar’.¹⁰ Donne’s friendship with Dr Caesar [formerly Adelmare] (bap. 1558, d. 1636) provides further musical connections and may explain the true nature of his lodgings at Mitcham.¹¹ Marriage to Caesar’s second wife, Alice Dent, in 1596, brought Julius

⁵ Bald, p. 538.

⁶ Garrard was later employed by Catherine Howard (sister of Frances Howard), wife of William Cecil, to whom Donne wrote ‘To the Countess of Salisbury August 1614’.

⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 724.

⁸ Michael Strachan, ‘Roe, Sir Thomas (1581-1644), diplomat’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 Sep. 2004) [accessed 14 February 2022]. Friend of Jonson and Coryat, he was among the ‘company of wits’, a ‘sparkling conversationalist and raconteur’, who ‘contributed eulogisms to Jonson’s *Sejanus* (1605) and *Volpone* (1607) and later befriended Coryat in India. Roe became Elizabeth I’s ‘loyal friend and confidant’ and, along with Donne and his father-in-law, Sir George More, he was also a member of the Virginia Company.

⁹ John Donne, ‘To Thomas Roe’ (‘It is an ease to your friends abroad’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 14 March 2022].

¹⁰ Gosse, II, p. 146.

¹¹ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 19. In *The Marriage Letters*, Hester, Sorlien and Flynn state: We do not know the terms on which Donne held his house in Mitcham, nor from whom he acquired this home . . . Probably Donne dealt on some basis comparable to that afforded at Pyrford by Francis Wolley, accommodated by some relative or other wealthy landowner who was not using a vacation home at Mitcham and lent or leased it as an act of patronage.

the ‘magnificent’¹² manor of Mitcham, Surrey,¹³ where he received the queen on 12 September 1598’.¹⁴ Perhaps, Caesar provided lodgings for Donne and Ann; if so, Donne’s descriptions of “‘my poor house’” might have been ironical and his lodgings more than adequate.

Originally from Venice, Caesar’s father, Caesar Adlemare, was physician to Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth I, and members of the Court.¹⁵ Julius Caesar was known for his ‘exquisite manners’, ‘courtly hospitality’, and a love of literature.¹⁶ His second wife, Alice, died in 1614, and Caesar married his third wife in 1615, Anne *née* Woodhouse, widow of Henry Hogan and William Hungate, niece of Sir Francis Bacon (who gave the bride away), and sister of Mary Woodhouse Killigrew,¹⁷ whose musical entertainments Donne witnessed.¹⁸ Since Dr. Caesar

In ‘Donne’s Decision to Take Orders’, in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and M. Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 523-37, Shami argues that even though the letters of Donne indicate otherwise, Donne appeared anything but ‘indigent’ (p. 525). In *John Donne’s Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, p. 19 n. 43, E. N. Montague, *Mitcham: A Brief History* (Morden: Merton Historical Society, 1987) states, ‘Donne’s frequent, humorously self-deprecating references in letters to “my poor house”, “my close prison”, “my dungin of Micham”, or “the incommmodity of a little thin house”, have sometimes been taken to signify he was impoverished; but no doubt his accommodations at Mitcham as well as at Pyrford were more suitably stylish than he implies’. Walton wrote that Mitcham when Donne lived there was ‘a place noted for good air, and choice company’ (*Lives*, 35).

¹² Gosse, II, p. 146.

¹³ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 19 n. 43.

¹⁴ Alain, Wijffels, ‘Caesar [formerly Adelmare], Sir Julius (bap. 1558, d. 1636), civil lawyer’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 Sep. 2004) [accessed 15 February 2022].

¹⁵ *Ibid.* He would have been aware of the music of the Italian masters as well as music at the English court. It is likely his children were as well, as Julius’s godmother was the Queen and he was ward to William Cecil, Lord Burghley prior to 1578.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* An Oxford graduate, Caesar studied law at Clement Inn, then undertook further studies in France for three years, where he received his licentiate’s degree and a doctorate in law in 1581. In 1580, he was admitted to the Inner Temple and admirably served the courts, the city of London and the Crown in various capacities thereafter. Bald states that Caesar served in Parliament with Donne in 1601 (p. 114), served with Donne on the High Commission, in the Court of Delegates (p. 454) and he held the position of Master of the Rolls from 1 October 1614 until his death (p. 454).

¹⁷ Wijffels.

¹⁸ It will be established that the Killigrew family was extremely musical, Mary and her children were musically trained, they performed entertainments in their home and Donne was present.

had entertained the Queen, and was married to Anne Woodhouse,¹⁹ it is highly likely that there was music in their home as well. Among Caesar's papers was a transcript of 'Hymne to God, my God. In my sicknes', which dates Donne's 'greate | siknes. | in Decemb. 1623'.²⁰ This is believed to be when Donne wrote the hymn.

Anne's uncle, Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban (1561-1626), referred to himself as 'a mere bell-ringer', whose only task was 'to ring a bell to call other wits together'.²¹ He stated that his plans to build his new home, Verulam House, in 1607-8, would include 'a bed chamber, a Cabanett, and a Roome for Musicke'.²² '*De interpretatione naturae premium*', composed in 1603, asserted Bacon's plans: 'Now among all the benefits that could be conferred upon mankind, I found none so great as the discovery of new arts, endowments, and commodities for the bettering of man's life'.²³

Donne knew Bacon from Parliament and Court and their musical and literary ties went as far back as Bacon's grandfather.²⁴ Bacon's mother, Anne, was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke

¹⁹ Bald, p. 454, 373, 524 n. 3. Presumably, Caesar lived in quarters in the Rolls Office (in Chancery Lane) within the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, where Julius and Anne attended church (p. 454); Caesar and Donne's friends, Sir Robert Rich and Izaak Walton, had 'business dealings' there. Donne's old friend, Sir Richard Martin, the master of the Mint, was Sir Julius Caesar's father-in-law (p. 524 n. 3); In a letter to Goodyer (30 August 1621), Donne states that he had visited 'Hackney, with the Master of Rolls', Caesar's home (p. 373). 'Lady Drury was Lady Caesar's cousin and stayed with her "at the Rolls"' in 1621 or 1622. Therefore, Lady Drury, from whom Donne and Ann rented lodgings in 1607, was an integral part of this group (p. 373).

²⁰ Bald, p. 454.

²¹ Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, Douglas Denon Heath, Vol. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 254, 300.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 362.

²³ Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St. Alban (1561-1626), lord chancellor, politician and philosopher' *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 12 February 2022]; Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, Douglas Denon Heath, Vol. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 84.

²⁴ It will be established that Bacon made frequent visits to Magdalen Herbert's home while Donne was there.

(tutor to Edward VI); Flynn conjectures that Cooke was with Donne and the Percys in France. Anne's sister, Mildred (later wife of Lord William Cecil, Lord Burghley), was taught music by Donne's grandfather, John Heywood, at Court,²⁵ who also taught Donne's mother, Elizabeth.²⁶ Anne and her four sisters were highly educated and they all had ties to Donne: Katherine Killigrew, wife of Sir Henry Killigrew, was a poet, famous for her knowledge of Hebrew,²⁷ and the sister-in-law of Sir William Killigrew, Mary Woodhouse Killigrew's father-in-law. Bald attests Mary was highly skilled in music, recounting Donne and Sir Francis Bacon's presence at entertainments in her home.²⁸ Anne Bacon's sister, Elizabeth Russell, wife of Sir Thomas Hoby and, later, John, Lord Russell, second son of the second earl of Bedford, was patroness to composer John Dowland²⁹ and Margaret was maid-in-waiting to Queen Mary. Anne Bacon was fluent in Greek, Latin, Italian and French; we can presume that she was as trained in music as her sisters and fostered an appreciation of music in her son.³⁰

²⁵ Chandley. 'Court musicians were the professional musicians of the day; they were highly skilled and transported their instruments easily to and from performances. Performances would vary widely from performer to performer, as each had his or her own style of delighting the senses. Improvisation was the norm, and often during performances, other instrumentalists would join in. One can imagine impromptu "jam sessions" at Court, in the homes of the aristocracy, or at the Mermaid and Mitre Taverns. The music in performance was almost certainly not what one saw in the score. It varied widely. Musicians would use the music seen on the page more like an outline than a precise score; the music would serve as a "reminder guide" to the performer, but by no means would one follow exactly what was on that page [...] Every performer had his | her own style [and applied it]'.

²⁶ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 25. Elizabeth was taught music at Court by her father, John Heywood (b. c 1497; d. after 1577), 'who from early in the reign of Henry VIII enjoyed intermittent celebrity as a musician, comic entertainer and poet serving the Courts of all the Tudor princes [Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth]'.

²⁷ Caroline M. K. Bowden, 'Killigrew [née Cooke], Katherine (c. 1542-1583), gentlewoman and scholar', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) [accessed 12 February 2022].

²⁸ Bald, p. 442.

²⁹ Pamela Priestland, 'Russell [née Cooke], Lady Russell [other married name Elizabeth Hoby, Lady Hoby] (1528-1609), linguist and courtier', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) [accessed 2 February 2022]. Priestland states that, although an avid patroness of the arts, Elizabeth opposed Richard Burbage's proposal in 1596 to convert property near her Blackfriars home into a playhouse.

³⁰ Peltonen.

Bacon's association with entertainments was evident at Gray's Inn revels, where he wrote parts of *Gesta Grayorum* (1594-5) and, in 17 November 1595, a 'device' for the Accession Day celebration, 'dramatizing his own choices between the active and contemplative modes of life'.³¹ Toby Matthew was chosen to act in this play.³² In 1613, Bacon was 'involved in preparing' *The Masque of Flowers* [Jonson/Campion] for Somerset and his new bride.³³ Through Essex, Sir Henry Wotton was also associated with Bacon; Wotton and Bacon exchanged verses, particularly Bacon's poem, 'The World', which Wotton passed on to Donne.³⁴ Bacon's connection to Donne extended to Sir Thomas Egerton, for whom Donne was secretary. Taking over from Egerton as Lord Chancellor in January 1618, Bacon moved back into York House, where he had grown up. As Lord Keeper he 'made chancery sit mornings and afternoons and extended the term, reserving only the depth of the three long vacations [...] for studies, arts, and sciences'.³⁵ Bacon states, 'There is variety allowed in counsel, as a discord in music, to make it more perfect'.³⁶

³¹ Ibid. Donne was chosen Steward of Christmas 26 November 1594 at Lincoln's Inn, but 'declined the office' (Bald, p. 537).

³² A. J. Loomie, 'Matthew, Sir Toby [Tobie] (1577-1655), writer and courtier, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004) [accessed 12 February 2022]. Christ Church, Oxford graduate, Sir Toby Matthew (1577-1655), provides a unique window into Donne's life through the collection of his letters. Frances Bacon's closest friend, Toby Matthew was exposed to music amongst the aristocracy of which he was a part, at Court in England, in France, in Italy, and through the church.

³³ Peltonen.

³⁴ Bald, p. 100 n. 1. Bald quotes a letter Donne writes to Sir Robert Ker early in James VI & I's reign confirming that Bacon had introduced him to James Hay, later the Earl of Carlisle. Bald states, 'If Donne knew Bacon well enough to rely on him for such favours, it is more than likely that their acquaintance went back into the previous reign'.

³⁵ Bacon, p. 190.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 362.

In Donne's letters, the Mitcham years were fraught with 'domestic concerns and the hunt for employment'.³⁷ Patrons and patronesses, like Magdalen Herbert, helped Donne and Ann financially. At Mitcham, Donne wrote prose and poetry and, as Gardner states, experimented with the 'music of song'. He began to concentrate on the great theological questions of his time, writing *Biathanatos* (c. 1608), *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), and *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611). In *Biathanatos*, Donne writes, 'The Church in her Hymnes and Antiphones, doth often salute the Nayles and Crosse, with Epithets of sweetnesse, and thanks'.³⁸ In *Ignatius his Conclave*, Donne reaches for musical imagery as his narrator breaks into verse, imagining his soul taking the form of a lark, which: 'by busie and laborious ways,, / Having climb'd vp th'etheriall hill, doth raise | His Hymnes to Phoebus' Harpe'.³⁹

Bald recalls the few reminiscences of Donne, included in *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), later in his sermons, and in *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1623), where Donne describes lying ill, listening to the tolling of the bells, and how those recollections brought to mind the tolling of other bells he had heard at Antwerp and Rouen.⁴⁰ In 16. Meditation ('From the bells of the church adjoining, I am daily remembered of my buriall in the funeralls of Others'), and 16. Expostulation, although he has heard bells all over the world peal for various reasons, in his

³⁷ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 488.

³⁸ John Donne, *Selected Prose*, eds. Evelyn Simpson et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 29.

³⁹ Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. T. S. Healey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 7.

⁴⁰ Bald, p. 10.

sickness, Donne has ‘never been so much affected with those, as with these *Bells*’,⁴¹ the ‘voice of thy *Church*’.⁴²

Preaching at Lincoln’s Inn (1618), Donne reprised his trope: ‘. . . every bell that distinguishes times, is a passing-bell, and every passing-bell, his own; every singing in the ear, is an Angels Trumpet; at every dimnesse of the candle, he heares that voice: “Fool, *this night they will fetch away thy soul*”’.⁴³

In Donne’s *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, 17. Meditation (‘*Now, this Bell, tolling softly for another, saies to me, Thou must die*’) (1624), the bell peals for the soul throughout: ‘. . . No Man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe; . . . Any Mans *death* diminishes *me*, because I am involved in *Mankinde*; And therefore never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for *thee*’.⁴⁴

While the effect of hearing beautiful bells chiming, instruments played, or voices singing, can have a lasting effect on anyone, not proving or disproving their musicality, it is interesting that Donne would have been so moved by the tintinnabulation of the bells⁴⁵ as to mention them so frequently. Donne admonishes his flock to be awakened early by the ‘sad and doleful bel-man’,

⁴¹ John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1975), pp. 86-87. Donne expands his musical metaphor further by discussion of the ‘ringing to praiers’ and reminds us: ‘The *Bell* doth toll for him that *thinkes* it doth; . . . who bends not his *eare* to any *bell*, which upon any occasion rings? but who can remove it from that *bell*, which is passing a *peece of himselfe* out of this *world*? . . . but this *bell*, that tels mee of his *affliction* . . . if by this consideration of anothers danger I take mine owne into Contemplation, and so secure my selfe, by making my recourse to my *God*, who is our onely securitie’.

⁴² Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. by Anthony Raspa, pp. 82-83.

⁴³ John Donne, ‘Preached at Lincolns Inne. Psal. 38:3. There is no soundnesse in my flesh, because of thine anger, neither is there any rest in my bones, because of my sinne’, *Sermons*, II, 13.

⁴⁴ Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. by Anthony Raspa, p. 87.

⁴⁵ Cf. John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by David Colclough, Peter McCullough (gen. ed), (deputy gen ed.) David Colclough, Vol. III, *Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), pp. 91, 340.

preparing the hearer for the ‘cheerful street musick in the winter mornings’, and in turn, ‘for all that blessed musick which the servants of God shall present to you in this place’:

. . . but yet

there was a sad and doleful bel-man, that wak’d you, and call’d upon you two or three hours before that musick came, so for all that blessed musick which the servants of God shall present to you in this place, it may be of use, that a poor bel-man wak’d you before, and though but by his noyse, prepared you for their musick.⁴⁶

The bell is metaphorized once more ‘as the voice of one crying in the wilderness,’ preparing the hearer in much the same way as John the Baptist ‘prepares the way of the Lord.’ (John 1:23) John, the bell-man, and the bell itself, denote ones ‘not worthy to untie the thongs of His sandals’ (John 1:27), but are necessary conduits by which to prepare the congregant for the hearing of the ‘blessed musick.’⁴⁷

Donne uses bells symbolically and metaphorically, as themes and as *leit motifs* throughout his poetry and prose. They are among his favourite literary and musical devices. In *Meditation XVIII*, (‘The Bell Rings Out, and Tells Me in Him, That I Am Dead’), Donne ‘humbly’ thanks God for telling him ‘in the other voice’ that he is ‘mortal and approaching death’. Using personification, imagery and expanded metaphor, *Donne* is the *bell*: the priest in his chasuble (vestment), is shaped like a bell, with voice ringing out, his body the ‘clapper’. Donne’s imagery is technically accurate, for the parts of a bell correspond with that of priest. The ‘crown’ and ‘Canons’ of the bell are held by a ‘yoke’ (the yoke of Christ); the bell has a ‘head’, ‘shoulder’ and ‘waist’. The ‘Sound bow’ of the bell is the ‘mouth’ and ‘lip’, ‘abolishing all instruments of sin, the allurements of this world, and the world itself’, even death, a ‘sacrifice to thee’.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 91, 340.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 113-115.

In Problem VIII, *Why are the fairest falsest?*, Donne displays his knowledge of the sound quality of bells in his comparison to the falseness of the beautiful women he has encountered: ‘Or as Bells of the purest mettall retayne the tinkling and sound longest; so the memory of the last pleasure lasts longer in these, and disposes them to the next?’.⁴⁹

In ‘To his Mistress Going to Bed’, Donne tells his lover to ‘Unlase your selfe: for that harmonious chime | Tells me from you that now t’is your bed time!’ (ll. 9-10).⁵⁰

Donne’s *Divine Meditations/Holy Sonnets* were believed to have been written between 1609 and 1610 at Mitcham. Low states, ‘Seventeenth-century poets employed at least four major devotional modes: vocal, meditative, affective, and contemplative’.⁵¹ For Donne, ‘devotion involves inner movement spiritual, or intellectual, affective or sensitive. In Donne’s words: “Let mans Soule be a Spheare, and then, in this, | The intelligence that moves, devotion is”’.⁵² Five of the Seven Penitential Psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143) ‘are echoed’ in these poems.⁵³ ‘The Penitential Psalms were rendered into metre and set to music by William Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, in his enduringly popular *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin* (1583)’.⁵⁴ When Donne later became Dean of St. Paul’s, Donne’s duties included preaching a sermon on the Penitential Psalms each year; he would likely have heard Hunnis’s

⁴⁹ John Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. by Helen Peters, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 30.

⁵⁰ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 2, *The Elegies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 163.

⁵¹ Anthony Low, *Love’s Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. xi.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵³ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 520.

⁵⁴ Michael Smith, ‘Hunnis [Ennis, Honnys, Hunys, Hynnys etc], William, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 25 Feb. 2022].

piece, as Hunnis was a well-known poet, dramatist (an author of *Lady of the Lake*) and composer whose poems were set by Thomas Morley, Thomas Weelkes, William Mundy, Thomas Ravenscroft, and William Byrd.

Donne refers often to a 'lack of identity' during the Mitcham years in poetry and in letters to Goodyer;⁵⁵ his letters show him to be 'frequently sick and depressed'.⁵⁶ Between 1606 and 1615, Ann Donne gave birth to Francis (1607), Lucy (1608), Bridget (1609), Mary (1611), a still born child (1612), Nicholas (1613) and Margaret (1615). Still seeking gainful employment, Donne travelled with patron Sir Robert Drury to the Continent in November 1611 and stayed in Amiens, leaving a pregnant Ann and the children with Ann's sister, Frances, and brother-in-law, John Oglander, at Nunwell on the Isle of Wight.⁵⁷ 'By the time he departed for Europe with the family of Sir Robert Drury', where he would visit Paris, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Spa, Maastricht, Louvain, and Brussels, Donne had already 'composed the earliest group of his meditative Holy Sonnets'.⁵⁸ Upon his return from Europe, Donne moved his family to London (1612) into a house at Drury House, the home of Sir Robert Drury, the same year six of his musical settings were composed/published.⁵⁹ In 1613, Nicholas was born, but died in infancy, and Donne and his

⁵⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 666 n. 1-5.

⁵⁶ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Bald, p. 539.

⁵⁸ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 20.

⁵⁹ 'Sweet, stay awhile' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') and 'To aske for all thy loue' ('Louers Infiniteness') were published in John Dowland's *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612); 'T'is True, 'tis day, what though it be?' ('Breake of Daye') and 'Come liue with me and be my loue' ('The Baite') were published in William Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* (1612); and 'Ah, deere hart' (another version of 'Sweet, stay awhile', and analogue to 'Breake of Daye') appeared in Orlando Gibbon's *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612). Also included is 'Why dost thou fly' ('Sweet, stay awhile', analogue to 'Breake of Daye') by Thomas Bateson in Orlando Gibbon's *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612).

family were very ill.⁶⁰ In 1614, Donne sat in Addled Parliament and two more children were buried, Mary and Francis.⁶¹ This year would mark Donne's last attempt at state employment.

Prior to his marriage and afterward, particularly at Pyrford and during the Mitcham years (when he had lodgings on the Strand in London), Donne's personal and professional associations with other poets, playwrights and musicians in London and at Court increased; he spent time with aristocratic friends and families (all well known for their musicality) and had ample opportunity to experiment with music.⁶² Isolation and sequestration during bouts of the plague between 1603 and 1611 may have prompted all types of artistic pursuits to pass the time.

Jeanne Shami outlines Donne's activities as 'gentleman scholar'⁶³ in the 'twelve years after his marriage and consequent dismissal from the service of Egerton'.⁶⁴ David Colclough says that these years should not be seen primarily as years of disappointed ambitions and failure, but as years in which Donne remained active and engaged with the world; he wrote many works in prose and verse, including his first published works; and remained much occupied with

⁶⁰ Bald, p. 539.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Walter A. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 4-5. Woodfill states, 'London sheltered during much of the year the royal musicians, household musicians accompanying their patrons to court, and many of the hungry minstrels and musical vagabonds of the rest of England and the continent, and most of them competed with London's own citizens. Custom and law allowed the retained musicians to come to London, and the impossibility of forming a strong organization, in large measure because of the deficiencies of the local government, admitted the others'.

⁶³ Bald, p. 19.

⁶⁴ Jeanne Shami, 'Donne's Decision to Take Orders', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and M. Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 523-37 (p. 525), Shami states, 'That Donne by 1615 was not rich, is undeniable, but that he was destitute is questionable, and requires rethinking in light of his prolonged uncertainty . . . about the best course to pursue. We know that during these twelve years and throughout his life Donne kept a manservant, found time and resources to write frequent letters and poems, paid rent at Drury's house in London, travelled extensively, owned numerous books, sat for and perhaps commissioned portraits by some of the period's most fashionable artists (including an Oliver miniature dated 1616), and was a connoisseur and collector of art (at some point even acquiring a Titian)'.

occasional verse'.⁶⁵ A writer, 'connoisseur and collector of art',⁶⁶ 'Donne takes both himself and his art more seriously, which does not mean that he is the more solemn (which he is not), or the more profound (although he may be), but that he wishes to be considered'.⁶⁷

Colclough and Shami adequately explain what Donne was doing during these years, yet they do not acknowledge that Donne might also have been writing songs. However, these years correspond exactly to the appearance of the majority of Donne's musical settings. It is possible that he enjoyed music, with others and alone, as a creative outlet; possibly, he viewed the musical settings of his poems in the same way he viewed their lyrics—for the enjoyment and consumption by a limited group of close friends and family. These years correspond to lutenist Dowland's move back to England from his post at the Court of Christian IV of Denmark (1606) and his publication of two Donne musical settings.⁶⁸

4.2 John Dowland: 'Sweet stay awhile' and 'Louers Infiniteness'

Although John Dowland (b? London, 1563; bur. London, 20 Feb. 1626) is recognized today as the 'greatest English composer of lute music and lute songs', like Donne, in 1606, 'he continued to be passed over at the English court'.⁶⁹ Peter Holman and Paul O'Dette state that, in the preface to *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612), Dowland 'made his feelings plain' by 'attacking large sections of his profession', comparing his "'Kingly entertainment in a forraine climate"' with his

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 528.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 525.

⁶⁷ Gillian Hanscombe, 'John Donne and the Writing of Lyrics', *Studies in Music*, 6 (1972), 10-26, p. 17.

⁶⁸ Peter Holman, and Paul O'Dette, 'Dowland, John', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 1 November 2021].

⁶⁹ Ibid.

“strange entertainment” in England’. One might wonder if Donne and Dowland commiserated on their lack of prospects at Court, for Dowland set two of Donne’s poems to music, ‘Sweet stay awhile’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) (1590s) and ‘To aske for all thy love’ (‘Louers Infiniteness’) (1590s), both printed in *A Pilgrimes Solace*.⁷⁰ ‘Grierson points out’ that ‘Love’s Infiniteness’ ‘is a piece of legal quibbling’, which (and the form, a song) would make D’s fellow law-students a fitter audience and place it in the earlier 1590s’.⁷¹ However, since ‘Breake of Daye’, along with ‘The Baite’, was also printed by Corkine in 1612, it is more likely that the poem was associated with Ann More before their marriage.⁷² Regardless of when the poems were written, Dowland and Donne’s personal histories seem to overlap with curious frequency.

While Donne was believed to have been at Cambridge (1588-1589), Dowland matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford and received a BMus on 8 July 1588.⁷³ He also claims to have received a BMus from Cambridge, for he describes himself in the Stationers’ Register on 31 October 1597 as ‘Lutenist and Batcheler of musicke in both the Universities’; as with Donne, no Cambridge record survives.⁷⁴ Dowland’s Oxford degree would have necessitated his subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles; however, Dowland later admitted to Sir Robert Cecil in a long

⁷⁰ Recordings in Appendices, Vol. II.

⁷¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 209.

⁷² See Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 421 and *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 244. Both Marotti and Gardner associate the poem with Ann More before their marriage. These songs were included in early manuscripts and in print music, the analogue to ‘Break of Day’ by Farmer possibly appearing as early as 1599. 1612 was also the same year that Orlando Gibbons’ ‘Ah, dear heart’ (Another version of ‘Sweet, stay awhile’), and analogue to ‘Break of Day’, was published in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612). ‘Sweet, stay awhile’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Day’) was published in Gibbons’ *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces*.

⁷³ Holman, Peter, and Paul O’Dette.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

autobiographical letter (1595) that he had become a Catholic in France (an additional connection to Donne).⁷⁵ Also, Dowland lived ‘in Fetter-lane neare Fleet-streete’ with his wife (married before 1591) and son, Robert (also a musician), close to Donne’s lodgings on the Strand.⁷⁶

In *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597), Dowland wrote that he had ‘studied music from childhood, and this was presumably in an aristocratic household’. ‘In 1588 the Oxford academic John Case listed him among English musicians worthy of honour’ . . . a ‘variant’ of one of his songs was sung for Queen Elizabeth in 1590 and he ‘seems to have played in an entertainment given by Lord Chandos during the Queen’s visit to Sudeley from 9 to 12 September 1592’.⁷⁷

Sister to Alice Egerton, Sir Robert Cotton’s mistress, Lady Elizabeth Spencer Carey [Carew], Lady Hunsdon, was a patroness to Dowland. Donne began his service for Egerton in 1597 and, in the same year, in *The First Book of Songs or Airs* (1597), Dowland refers to Lady Elizabeth’s ‘singular graces towards me’.⁷⁸ Poulton thinks Dowland could have served in the household of his ‘mistresse’ Elizabeth or received financial assistance from the family before the publication of *The First Book* because he wrote an instrumental allemande, or ‘puff’ for her when he was in Italy in 1595.⁷⁹ Donne knew Lady Elizabeth Cooke Russell, wife of Sir Thomas Hoby and, later, John, Lord Russell, second son of the second earl of Bedford, who was also patroness to Dowland. Donne, his friends and his relatives could have known Dowland on his travels to

⁷⁵ Ibid. In France, Dowland was in service to Sir Henry Cobham (1579-1583), and to his successor, Sir Edward Stafford (1584). In Dowland’s 1595 letter to Cecil, he states that he was loyal to the Queen.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Elaine V. Beilin, ‘Carey [Carew], Elizabeth, Lady Hunsdon [nee Elizabeth Spencer; other married née Elizabeth Eure, Lady Eure] (1552-161), literary patron’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19 May 2011) [accessed 27 August 2020]

⁷⁹ Diane Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: 1972; Rev. ed. Berkley: University of California Press, 1982), 50, pp. 161-2, 365.

Europe, for Dowland, appointed to the service of Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg at Wolfenbüttel (beginning in 1594), visited the court of Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse, in the company of the Wolfenbüttel lutenist Gregorio Huet, [...] and set out for Rome to study with Luc Marenzio.⁸⁰ He wrote in *The First Booke* that he visited Venice and ““divers other places” before reaching Florence where he was drawn into a circle of English Catholics involved in treasonable activities’. On 1 December 1596, courtier Henry Noel writes to Dowland at Kassel to ‘tell him that the queen “hathe wished divers tymes your return”, and to “wishe you health & soon return”’; however, Noel died two months later ‘before any strings could be pulled’.⁸¹

With no preferment to the English Court, even after the success of *The First Booke* in 1597 (which confirmed his position as ‘a leader of English musical life’), Dowland entered the service of Christian IV, King of Denmark. Dowland was highly valued—he was one of the highest-paid court servants, was allowed extended absences in England to ‘purchase instruments and recruit musicians’ (1601-1602) and to do ‘his own business’ (1603) (which was to try to obtain a post at the English court).⁸² He published *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* in 1600.

After Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603, Dowland dedicated his consort collection *Lacrimae or Seaven Teares* (1604) to the new queen, Anne of Denmark, Christian IV’s sister. Dowland was back in England by 1606, for he was dismissed by the Danish Court on 24 February, but there is ‘no evidence that he left under a cloud’.⁸³ Upon his return, he translated *Musicae activae micrologus* (Leipzig, 1547) into *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus*, in 1609, but little is

⁸⁰ Holman, Peter, and Paul O’Dette.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

known of his activities between 1606-1609.⁸⁴ By 1606, Dowland was ‘one of the most famous musicians in Europe’;⁸⁵ yet, like Donne, court employment continued to elude him.

Another connection between Donne and Dowland is Dowland’s dedication to patroness Lady Bedford in the preface of *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612). Dowland was also the lutenist of Theophilus, Lord Howard de Walden, and received a gift from William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, in May 1612.⁸⁶ Chatsworth houses a seventeenth-century commonplace book containing four of Donne’s poems listed in various MSS as songs.⁸⁷

Court preferment finally came for Dowland in 1612, the same year his musical settings of Donne’s poems were printed in *A Pilgrimes Solace*. Thomas Howard, Theophilus’s father, became Lord Chamberlain, obtaining for Dowland a ‘specially created post’ at Court.⁸⁸ In 1613, Dowland was paid to provide a ‘conserte’ for the Middle Temple on Candlemas Day with Richard Goosey⁸⁹ and composer Corkine. ‘*A Pilgrimes Solace* was Dowland’s last publication, and the only works that can be dated with any certainty after it are the beautiful devotional partsongs in Sir William Leighton’s *Teares or Lamentation’s of a Sorrowful Soule* (London, 1614)’. Possibly Donne had some influence on Dowland writing religious music since Donne

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Fran Baker, and Aidan Hailey, ‘16th/17th c. Music | Donne’ (E-mail to Mary Elaine S. Nelson, 7 October 2019). DEV/002719 (17th c.): ‘The Message’, ‘Break of Day’, ‘The Flea’, and ‘The Ecstasy’. Music is extant for ‘The Message’ (Coprario), ‘Breake of Day’ (Corkine) and analogue ‘Lady, the Silly Flea’ (Farnaby). Also in the Devonshire Collection are Donne’s *Poems* (1669) DEV/000340, *Six Sermons Upon Several Occasions* (1634) DEV/003513, *Letters to Several Persons of Honour* (1651) DEV/007364 and *Pseudo Martyr* (1610) DEV/009524.

⁸⁸ Holman, Peter, and Paul O’Dette.

⁸⁹ Nothing else is known about Richard Goosey.

was ordained the following year. Dowland's music continued to be published overseas⁹⁰ and Dowland received his due, gaining the praise that had eluded him earlier.⁹¹

A Pilgrimes Solace, containing the Donne settings, is very different from his first two works for it 'relates more to the consort song than the strophic dance song'; it contains 'many more serious pieces with contrapuntal lute parts and/or lower voices'. Some may come from 'theatrical entertainments, and use a novel declamatory vocal idiom akin to Italian monody; It is through-composed with a complex contrapuntal lute part, there are no optional lower voice parts, and the anguished text is illustrated by grinding dissonances and lurching harmonic instability, culminating in the extraordinary inconclusive ending'.⁹² Given their parallel paths, it is possible that Dowland's declamatory songs were influenced by the discord, dissonance, disharmony, and jagged rhythm of Donne's lyric. Dowland's importance 'lies in his role as an innovator',⁹³ a trait he and Donne had in common. Ranked with Purcell and Britten as 'one of England's greatest song composers', he 'created the English type of lute-song, synthesizing elements from the broadside ballad, dance music, the consort song and the madrigals'.⁹⁴ Equally important, 'instead of a set of quarto partbooks, with each book containing all the parts in the collections for

⁹⁰ See later discussion on print music.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Holman, Peter, and Paul O'Dette.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

a particular voice or instrument, Dowland used a single folio book⁹⁵ intended to be placed flat on a small table, to be read by the performers grouped around it'.⁹⁶

4.3 Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford

Lucy Russell [née Harington], Countess of Bedford (bap. 1581- d. 1627), another patroness to Dowland and Donne, and namesake and godmother to Donne's daughter, Lucy (1608), was a courtier, musician and patroness of the arts. In his poems to Lucy, Donne's musical metaphors, allusions and imagery indicate a shared love of literature, drama and music. Dowland 'dedicated his *Second Booke of Songes or Ayres* to her in 1600, honoring her for her 'knowledge of Musicke'.⁹⁷ As a 'celebrated lutenist in her own right',⁹⁸ Lucy was the 'elder daughter of John Harington, first Baron Harington of Exton, Rutland (1539/40-1613), and Anne (c. 1554-1620), daughter of Robert Keilway, surveyor of the court of wards and liveries, and his second wife, Cecily, daughter of Edward Bulstrode'.⁹⁹ The Haringtons were close to the family of Sir Henry Goodyer. 'Goodyer, besides his appointment at Court, seems also to have been attached to the

⁹⁵ See photographs in Appendices, Vol. II.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 'The table layout brilliantly solved the problems of combining lute tablature with staff notation in a printed collection, and allowed for many different types of domestic performance: all the songs in *The First Booke* can be performed by a single person singing the cantus part and playing the underlaid tablature on the left-hand page. Alternatively, they can be sung as partsongs using some or all the lower parts on the right-hand page, or with viols replacing or doubling some or all of the voices. Another advantage of the table layout, particularly exploited in later collections such as *A Pilgrimes Solace*, is that the layout of each opening could be different, so that it was possible to include in a single collection a wide variety of music, ranging from solo songs to masque music or even anthems and motets'.

⁹⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 202-203.

⁹⁸ Holmes, p. 186.

⁹⁹ Helen Payne, 'Russell [née Harington], Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 23 July 2021].

Bedford household',¹⁰⁰ and introduced Donne to Lady Bedford. It is believed that Donne came to know her about 1607.¹⁰¹ Her paternal grandmother was Lucy Sidney, aunt of poet Sir Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, to whom Donne wrote. 'An undated letter to Lady Bedford from Donne clearly indicates that she wrote poetry herself'.¹⁰²

'Lady Bedford's broader cultural patronage included music, masques¹⁰³ and art collecting'.¹⁰⁴ Well-educated and a favourite of Queen Anne's, she was made 'a Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber'.¹⁰⁵ 'From 1603 until about 1620 Lady Bedford was one of the most influential people in England . . . and her house [Twickenham Park] was the meeting-place for poets and wits'.¹⁰⁶ 'John Florio, in his dedicatory epistle of his Italian-English dictionary (*A World of Wordes*, 1598), praised Lady Bedford for her ability to understand, read, write, and speak Italian, French and Spanish'.¹⁰⁷ Donne writes, 'Hee [God] will best teach yow, how you

¹⁰⁰ Bald, p. 172.

¹⁰¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 665. Robbins states that Marotti (1986, p. 211) thinks that 'A Fever' (1605-8?) was written for Lady Bedford (p. 186). 'It stay, 'tis but thy carcass then; The fairest woman, but thy ghost'; (ll. 10-11) is similar to the wording of 'The Expiration', printed in Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (1609).

¹⁰² Payne, 'Russell [née Harington], Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts'. A month before her fourteenth birthday, she was married to 21-year-old Edward Russell, third earl of Bedford (1572-1627), on 12 December 1594 and together they 'participated in the social life of the Elizabethan court and the aristocracy in London'.

¹⁰³ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 202-203. Lady Bedford was an enthusiastic participant in court masques: she danced in all of Queen Anne's masques but one (*Tethys' Festival*, in June 1610, as she was six months pregnant) and in *Hymenaei*, Ben Jonson's masque at court for the wedding of the earl and countess of Essex in 1606. She also promoted the writing and performance of masques at court and elsewhere. In 1603-4, she preferred Samuel Daniel to Queen Anne to write the first extant court masque, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, performed by the queen and eleven ladies-in-waiting at Hampton Court on 8 January 1604. In 1617 the countess furthered and encouraged the presentation of a masque (*Cupid's Banishment* by Robert White) By the young Gentlewomen of the Ladies Hall in Deptford at Greenwich The 4th of May.

¹⁰⁴ Payne, 'Russell [née Harington], Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts'.

¹⁰⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 665.

¹⁰⁶ Bald, p. 172. Graham Parry, in *Seventeenth Century Poetry: The Social Context*, includes 'musicians' (p. 60).

¹⁰⁷ Payne, 'Russell [née Harington], Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts'.

should lay out | His stocke of beautye, learning, fauour, blood' (ll. 36-7).¹⁰⁸ 'The countess was closely associated with' and patroness to, 'some of the leading poets, playwrights, and translators of the day', notably Chapman, and Donne associates Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, and Ben Jonson, 'who eulogized her as his muse in three *Epigrammes* to her'.¹⁰⁹

Grierson states that in Donne's estimation, out of all of his patronesses, 'The highest place is held by Lady Bedford and Mrs. Herbert'.¹¹⁰ Donne's 'respectful flattery' is 'blended [...] not a little of the tone of warmer feeling permitted to the "servant" by Troubadour convention'.¹¹¹ Bald states the relationship between Lady Bedford and Donne 'developed with rapidity and fervour'.¹¹² In 'To the Countesse of Bedford' (April 1609?) ('Yow haue refind mee; and to worthiest things') and 'To the Countesse of Bedford' (Easter 1612?) ('That I might make your Cabinet my Tombe'), Donne refers to 'Orgaines', 'Himmes', and 'Trumpetts'. Donne states, 'Madam, Yow haue refind mee; and to worthiest things | Vertue, Art, Beautie, Fortune now I see (ll. 1-2) [...] And whether Priests, or Orgaines, yow wee obey | Wee sound your Influence, and your Dictates say' (ll. 29-30) [...] 'These are Petitions, and nott Himmes;' (l. 33).¹¹³ 'Heere, bodies, with lesse miracle, enioy | Such privileges, enabled heere to scale | Heav'n, when the

¹⁰⁸ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 5, *The Verse Letters* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), p. 333. 'To the Countesse of Bedford att New-Yeares tide'.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 665, 669.

¹¹⁰ John Donne, *The Poems of John Donne: Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts with Introductions & Commentary*, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), II, xx.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxii.

¹¹² Bald, p. 173. 'There was a strong element of mutual attraction between them. She possessed, besides rank and wealth, youth and charm as well as wit and an unusual share of intellectual capacity, and all those qualities attracted Donne to her. She, on her side, found something intoxicating in the brilliance of his mind and in the quality of his flattery'.

¹¹³ *Variorum*, 5, pp. 303-4.

Trumpetts ayre shall them exhale' (ll. 18-20).¹¹⁴ Donne wrote seven verse epistles to Lady Bedford and multiple commemorations, many including references to harmony and music of the spheres. The 'Actiue Ioye' to which Donne refers in 'To the Countesse of Bedford att New Yeares tide' (Dec. 1607), that God will not 'disenrowle' her name in heaven ['Hee cannot, thats hee will nott disenrowle | Your Name: and when with Actiue Ioye wee heere | This priuate Gospell, then tis our new Yeare' (ll. 63-6),¹¹⁵] is explained in *Sermon* 10, ll. 214-215 (n. d.), where 'Joy' and 'a good conscience' are a part of *musica universalis*.¹¹⁶

In 'To the Countesse of Bedford' (c. 1609-1611?), Donne sings:

'Care not then, Maddam, how low your praiers ly;
In laborers Balads oft more Pietie
God findes, then in Te Deums melodie.

And Ordnance raisd on towres, so Manie Mile
Send not their Voice, nor last so long a while,
As fires from the Earthes low Vaults in Sicill Isle'. (ll. 13-18)¹¹⁷

In 'To the Countess of Bedford' (c. July-August 1610?), 'Donne compares himself to a pagan temple, and claims for his verses the status of 'hymns', 'illustrating how conceits do not have unchangeable significances but "such as they are circumstanced they be"¹¹⁸ 'But since to yow your prayes discordes bee, | Stoope, others ills to meditate with mee' (ll. 40-1) evinces harmony and discord.¹¹⁹ When Lady Bedford's brother died in 1614, Donne wrote again of 'harmony',

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 358.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 333.

¹¹⁶ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 671.

¹¹⁷ *Variorum*, 5, p. 291.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 704.

¹¹⁹ *Variorum*, 5, p. 319.

‘voyce’, the ‘Organ’, a ‘bell’, the string of an instrument, and puns on ‘beats’ in heart and music in ‘Obsequyes vpon the Lord Harrington the last that dyed’.¹²⁰

In ‘A Nocturnall vpon St. Lucies day being the shortest day’ (1612), Donne’s ‘Art did expresse’ (l. 14) in nine-line stanzas.¹²¹ ‘Double festivals such as Lucy’s have nine psalms for matins, and there were supposed to be nine choirs of angels—alluded to by the nine-line stanzas’ of this ‘anti-epithalamion’.¹²²

‘The close relationship between the countess and John Donne lasted from c.1607 to 1615 [...] however, their relationship foundered in 1615 when the countess was not moved by his elegy on her brother's death to pay Donne's debts’.¹²³ Despite this rift, the earliest musical settings of Donne’s poems printed and included in manuscripts correspond exactly to the years when Donne and Lady Bedford were closest.

4.4 Martin Peerson: ‘The Primerose’

During the years that ‘The Expiration’, ‘Breake of Daye’, its analogues, and ‘The Baite’ appeared, composer Martin Peerson (1571-1650/51) wrote ‘The Primerose’ (‘Vpon thys Primerose hyll’), found in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612).¹²⁴ At the same time, Donne was ‘writing elegies to Lady Markham and Cecelia Bulstrode, Divine Meditations, and

¹²⁰ Ibid., 6, pp. 177-182.

¹²¹ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.3, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022), p. 209.

¹²² Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 226-30.

¹²³ Payne, ‘Russell [née Harington], Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts’. Payne speculates that ‘religious disagreement may have been the cause, perhaps influenced by Dr Burges, a Puritan divine and physician who had attended Lady Bedford during her serious illness in 1612.

¹²⁴ ‘The Primerose’ by Martin Peerson, Mu. MS 168, *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612), (ff. 381r-382v). See Appendices, Vol. II.

verse epistles to Lady Bedford . . .'.¹²⁵ In 'An Elegie vpon the Death of M^{rs}. Bulstrode',¹²⁶ who died at twenty-five at Lady Lucy Bedford's home,¹²⁷ Twickenham Park, Donne speaks of death as hymns of praise and organs (voice and church-organs): 'Hee rounds the ayre, and breaks the Himique noates | In Birds, Heauens Quoristers, organique throates, | Which (if they did not dye) might seeme to bee | A tenth ranke in the Heau'nly Hierarchy' (ll. 17-20).¹²⁸ Lady Bedford echoes Donne's 'Death be not proud!' (l. 1) and his musical references in her own 'Elegy on Mistress Bulstrode': 'Calm the rough seas by which she sails to rest | From sorrows here to a kingdom ever blessed, | And teach this hymn of her with joy, and sing: | 'The grave no conquest gets, Death hath no sting' (l. 39-43).¹²⁹ The Autumn of 1609 also begot Donne's 'A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife': 'I sing no harm, good sooth, to any wight,' (l. 1).¹³⁰

In 1609, Peerson was living in London at Stoke Newington, within close proximity to Donne and the Herberts. A year older than Donne, Peerson 'had Catholic sympathies, for in 1606 he was cited for recusancy'.¹³¹ Irving points out that the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* contains music

¹²⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 929.

¹²⁶ Neighbour of Donne and Gerrard at the Strand, Sir Thomas Roe was believed to be intimate with Mistress Cecelia Bulstrode. Bald states that Sir Thomas Roe was probably the lover of Mistress Cecelia Bulstrode, one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting and close friend of Lady Bedford. Donne writes of her death and the grief of Roe in a letter to Sir Henry Goodyer (*Letters*, pp. 215-16), p. 177 n. 2.

¹²⁷ Also dying at Lady Bedford's home, Bridget Harington, Lady Markham, daughter of Lucy's uncle, Sir James, was the subject of Donne's 'An Elegy upon the Death of Lady Markham, written in May, 1609.

¹²⁸ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 6, *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 129.

¹²⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 754-55.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 949-50. It has not been proven that this poem was written by Donne. Robbins includes this poem in *Dubia* as 'author unknown'.

¹³¹ John Irving, 'Peerson, Martin (1571-1650/51), composer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 03 January 2008) [accessed 11 Mar. 2020]. Peerson was able to graduate later 'BMus at Lincoln College, Oxford' (1613).

‘largely by Catholic composers (Peerson’s keyboard music is found only in this source)’. Irving states:

Peerson came under the influence of the poet Fulke Greville at an early stage in his career, composing a setting of “*See, O see, who is heere come a maying*” which was performed at the Highgate home of Sir William Cornwallis as part of Ben Jonson’s “*Private Entertainment of the King and Queene*” on May Day 1604 [...] Possibly between 1623 and 1630 Peerson was sacrist at Westminster Abbey. Certainly at some point between June 1624 and June 1625 he became almoner and master of the choristers at St. Paul’s Cathedral.¹³²

Steven W. May notes Donne’s friendship with essayist and writer of ‘himnes’,¹³³ William Cornwallis, the younger (1579-1614),¹³⁴ who had musical ties to Peerson, Jonson and possibly Sir Henry Percy. Between 1598 and the end of 1601, Cornwallis sent Donne ‘a verse letter to accompany the four “himnes” he enclosed as a further gift to this frend’.¹³⁵ The present of the three bifolia (Bodleian, MS Tanner 306) was sent as a packet to Donne endorsed ‘To my ever to be respeckted freand Mr Iohn Done Secretary to my Lorde keeper fiye these’.¹³⁶ No proof has been uncovered that Cornwallis set his ‘himnes’ to music; however, he was at Court in England and in Spain, he knew Court musicians and was musically entertained by Jonson and Peerson.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Steven W. May, ‘Donne and Egerton’, in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 447-59, (p. 455).

¹³⁴ Arthur Kincaid, ‘Cornwallis, Sir William, the younger (c. 1579-1614), essayist’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004) [accessed 28 October 2021].

¹³⁵ May, p. 455.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

There is a payment in the Percy Accounts to a ‘Mr. Cornwallis’ for playing the trumpet.¹³⁷ Peerson’s setting of ‘*See, O see, who is heere come a maying*’ was performed at the Highgate home of Sir William Cornwallis as part of Jonson’s ‘*Private Entertainment of the King and Queene*’ on May Day 1604’.¹³⁸ William ‘cultivated many of the same genres in prose and verse—problems, paradoxes, essays, and verse letters—that were popular with Donne and his circle’.¹³⁹ Cornwallis published paradoxical essays and wrote his encomium of Richard III, dedicated in an extant manuscript to Donne; he also wrote a verse epistle to him. More evidence of the musical association between Cornwallis, Donne and Peerson appears in Peerson’s contrapuntal interplay and declamatory musical style, in keeping with his contemporaries who were writing musical settings of Donne’s poetry.¹⁴⁰ Peerson’s principal publications were *Private Musicke* (1620) and *Mottets, or, Grave Chamber Musique* (1630).¹⁴¹ Irving states, ‘possibly Peerson’s most famous compositions are the brief programmatic pieces for keyboard “*The Fall of the Leafe*” and “*The Primerose*” in the famous Fitzwilliam virginal book’.

¹³⁷ *Dramatic Records in Accounting Rolls and Drafts from the Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, 1575-1642*. 1591/2--94/5 Account Roll Sy:U.I.2/16 sheet [7] (27 February-1 March) (Payment of debts) ...to m^r Corne Wallys xxxj li. xvij s.... Explanatory Note: ‘Corne Wallys’ is mentioned in U.I.2/41 as a trumpeter.

¹³⁸ John Irving, ‘Peerson, Martin (1571–1650/51), composer’.

¹³⁹ May, p. 454.

¹⁴⁰ John Irving, ‘Peerson, Martin (1571–1650/51), composer’.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* ‘The former, composing secular vocal ayres (solos and duets) with viol accompaniment, is notable for its stylistic novelty, combining features of the madrigal, consort song, and anthem. The latter claims historical importance as the first known published musical collection in England to include a notated figured bass part, and is notable too for its largely melancholic idiom, in which the musical techniques (suggesting an awareness of declamatory possibilities imported from Italy) are devoted purely to the affective representation of rather somber texts’.

The artistic genres of poet and composer once again crossed paths at St. Paul's with Peerson's anthems. Mary Ann Lund confirms 'the cathedral organist in 1626 was John Tomkins' [...] as was Donne composer 'Martin Peerson [...] the master of the choristers or almoner'.¹⁴² An accomplished virginalist and organist, 'A significant number of English anthems (mainly 'verse' anthems, alternating soloists and full choir) survive in manuscript. They incorporate contemporary madrigalisms, including quite precisely crafted word-painting and affective use of chromatically inflected melody and harmony'.¹⁴³ Peerson wrote 'eleven Latin motets', 'preserved in a single manuscript (in the Bodleian Library)'.¹⁴⁴ Peerson also worked with Thomas Myriell on *Tristiae Remedium*, which includes works by Ward, Thomkins, and Ferrabosco [all colleagues of Donne's].¹⁴⁵ 'Declamatory style', 'contrapuntal interplay', 'word-painting' and 'chromatically inflected melody and harmony' were all musical techniques echoing Donne's literary experimentation and suggest a serious knowledge of one another's repertoire. Peerson also 'contributed three "full" anthems to Sir William Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule* (1613) [Thomas Ford contributed his setting of Donne's 'The Lamentations of Jeremy' to this work] and a psalm tune to Thomas Ravenscroft's¹⁴⁶ *The*

¹⁴² John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by Mary Ann Lund, (gen. ed.) Peter McCullough, (deputy gen ed.) David Colclough, Vol. XII, *Sermons Preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, 1626* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017), p. xxv.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ John Irving, 'Peerson, Martin (1571–1650/51), composer'.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Louis Knafla, *Law and Politics in Jacobean England: The Tracts of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 4-6. Knafla states that Sir Thomas Egerton, Donne's employer, was 'reared by Thomas Ravenscroft', 'a local Chester Lawyer'. Egerton married Ravenscroft's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1576, and 'had three children: Thomas, John and Mary' (Wilkie, p. 60).

Whole Booke of Psalmes (1621)'.¹⁴⁷ Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke*, with its 105 settings, 'is one of the most important psalters of the period, though it contains much music from the earlier publications of Day, Parker, East and Barley. The melodies are in the tenor and are named. The new contributors include John and Thomas Tomkins, Peerson, Palmer, the elder John Milton, Ward, Stubbes, Cranford, Harrison and Ravenscroft himself'.¹⁴⁸

'Family member' of Elizabeth Ravenscroft Egerton,¹⁴⁹ 'editor, composer and theorist', Thomas Ravenscroft,¹⁵⁰ sang in St. Paul's choir and was on the rolls under Thomas Giles, and later Edward Pearce, until 1600.¹⁵¹ He was in the St. Paul's company of child actors and wrote music for their productions, an 'active instrumentalist and actor-singer'.¹⁵² Composing for organ and viols, and writing 'play songs, madrigalian pieces and a jig-like series of pieces',¹⁵³ he later

¹⁴⁷ David Mateer, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2), music theorist and composer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 Sept. 2004) [accessed 21 Dec. 2021].

¹⁴⁸ David Mateer, and Ian Payne, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 Jan. 2001) [accessed 16 March 2022].

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game: The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley', *Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 20 (1999), 31-54. Educated in a home with one of the finest private libraries in England, Elizabeth Ravenscroft Egerton likely appreciated Donne's literary talents for, like the aristocratic patronesses of her day, she was celebrated 'in a collection of sonnets that constitutes something like a social register' of "'Honorable Ladies and Gentlewomen, attendants in the Court,'" by Henry Lok in *Ecclesiastes* (1597)' (p. 51).

¹⁵⁰ David Mateer, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2), music theorist and composer'. Ravenscroft presented a copy of *A Brief Discourse* (1614) to Sir John Egerton, whose mother was Elizabeth Ravenscroft of Bretton.

¹⁵¹ Thurston Dart, David Scott, and Rogers Bowers, 'Pearce [Pearse, Pierce, Perse, Peers], Edward' in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 21 March 2022].

¹⁵² David Mateer, and Ian Payne. Ravenscroft went to Gresham College and matriculated at Cambridge, receiving his MusB in 1605. He composed British folk music and was known for his rounds and catches, like 'Loth to departe' and 'Three Blind Mice'.

¹⁵³ David Mateer, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2), music theorist and composer'. *Pammelia's* 100 songs 'comprise settings of sacred texts, tavern songs, vendors' cries, sol-faing pieces, traditional ballads, and songs from the contemporary theatre'. *Melismata* (1611), was dedicated to 'kinsmen Thomas and William Ravenscroft', consisting of 'Citie' and 'Country' rounds.

wrote ‘Hold thy peace knave’, sung in *Twelfth Night*.¹⁵⁴ Thomas composed ‘the earliest English printed collection of rounds and catches’, *Pammelia*, in 1609, the same year Ferrabosco’s setting of ‘The Expiration’ was printed.¹⁵⁵ Ravenscroft ties Donne and the Egertons to five composers who were Donne’s friends and one who set his poetry (Peerson). The connection of Peerson to Donne through Catholicism, ‘The Primerose’, Jonson, Cornwallis, the Court, and later St. Paul’s suggests a long friendship and musical association between the two.

4.5 Magdalen Herbert’s Musical Sphere

Although scholars disagree about when Donne’s poem ‘The Primrose’ was written, and whether it was written for mother, Magdalen, or son, Sir Edward Herbert, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island (1582?-1648), the dating of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*¹⁵⁶ that includes the musical setting of Peerson’s ‘The Primerose’ gives us a clue.

‘According to Suzanne Reynolds, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts and Printed Books, the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* was once known as Queen Elizabeth I’s Virginal Book’; this volume is ‘one of the most important treasures in the music collection bequeathed by Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816)’ and is the ‘richest anthology of sixteenth-and early seventeenth-century English keyboard music in existence’.¹⁵⁷ The book contains ‘nearly three

¹⁵⁴ David Mateer, and Ian Payne.

¹⁵⁵ David Mateer, ‘Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2), music theorist and composer’.

¹⁵⁶ Fitzwilliam Museum, *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, ([n.d.]) <<https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/objects-and-artworks/highlights/Music-MS-168>> [accessed 3 Jan. 2021]

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

hundred works dating between 1562 and 1612'¹⁵⁸ and 'represents thirty of the greatest composers of the time, including John Bull, Orlando Gibbons,¹⁵⁹ and William Byrd'.

It was widely known that artists and musicians frequented the Herbert home at Charing Cross, 'the London base for Magdalen's Newport family'.¹⁶⁰ John Drury describes the Herbert household as a hub of activity. Magdalen lived at Charing Cross¹⁶¹ from 1601-1609 and Bald suggests Donne was a 'frequent visitor' by 1607.¹⁶² Magdalen's townhouse 'was close to Donne's lodgings in the Strand [1607-1611]; he mentions calling there in the second of the letters appended by Walton (dated 23 July)'.¹⁶³ In 'To M. M. H.' (c. late 1608-early 1609), Donne puns on his name, as he alludes to the 'noble ambitious wits' (including himself) who flocked to her 'nest':

Who knows thy destiny? when thou hast donne
Perchance her cabinet may harbour thee
Whither all noble ambitious wits doe runne,
A nest almost as full of good as she. (ll. 33-6)¹⁶⁴

In 'Elegie 13. The Autumnall',¹⁶⁵ Donne speaks of Lady Herbert's wit and hospitality as

¹⁵⁸ Fitzwilliam Museum, *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, ([n.d.]) <<https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/objects-and-artworks/highlights/Music-MS-168>> [accessed 3 Jan. 2021]. The time frame of madrigalist Peerson's musical setting of Donne's 'The Primerose' (1609-1612) also corresponds closely with his collaboration with Ben Jonson at Highgate (1604).

¹⁵⁹ 'Ah, deere hart' (Another version of 'Sweet, stay awhile', and analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (Orlando Gibbons), in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612), (MS Mus. f. 24), Summary Catalogue nos. 16838-16842.

¹⁶⁰ Cristina Malcolmson, 'Herbert [née Newport, second married name Lady Danvers], Magdalen (d. 1627), estate manager and patron' *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 09 May 2019) [accessed 31 January 2020].

¹⁶¹ John Drury, *Music at Midnight: The Life and Poetry of George Herbert* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), p. 42. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁶² Bald, p. 180.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

¹⁶⁴ *Variorum*, 5, p. 264.

¹⁶⁵ Scholars disagree whether 'The Autumnal' was written for Magdalen Herbert, as Walton suggests.

‘Reuells’/songs:

Here, where still Euening is, not Noone, nor Night,
Where noe voluptuousnes, yet all delight.
In all her words, vnto all hearers fitt,
You may at Reuells, you at Councell sitt. (ll. 21-24)¹⁶⁶

Guests mingled with the storied artists of the day there, for entertainment and hospitality had been extended by the Herbert family for generations.¹⁶⁷ Magdalen Herbert, ‘was considered to be a lady of considerable virtue, charm and piety . . . esteemed by John Donne (with whom she developed a deep friendship) . . . and Izaak Walton’.¹⁶⁸

‘Mrs. Herbert’s Kitchin Book,’ the household book of Magdalen Herbert, provides a window into the life of the Herberts in London,¹⁶⁹ and their many musical associations. After moving from Oxford to Charing Cross in 1601, during a rousing housewarming and ‘drinking’ for twenty-six guests, Magdalen entertained with music and dancing: ‘In the following three months, ninety-six different visitors were entertained, some of them so frequently as to be semi-resident. There was music, once from “a Blind harper and his boys” [...] Morris dancers came to the house. There were card games. There were prayers. And so it went merrily on . . .’.¹⁷⁰

In the ledger, steward John Gorse carefully chronicles not only the expenses of food, drink and household purchases, but provides details of the family, including who was present at meals

¹⁶⁶ *Variorum*, 2, p. 277

¹⁶⁷ David A. Pailin, ‘Herbert, Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island (1582?-1648), diplomat and philosopher’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 08 January 2009) [accessed 18 February 2019]. .

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Drury, p. 42. ‘The number of Lady Magdalen’s household is listed as “twenty-eight people”: six “gentlewomen” and six “gentlemen” (her family), four female and ten male domestic staff’.

¹⁷⁰ Malcolmson. Providing meals for between twenty-six to forty people, Edward Herbert expressed concern in his *Autobiography* about his mother’s generous hospitality, feeling ‘the expenses were too great’.

and what food was served.¹⁷¹ Amy M. Charles reveals that the most famous guests to come to Mrs. Herbert's table during this period were two of the leading musicians of their day: John Bull and William Byrd, doctors of music and members of the Chapel Royal;¹⁷² 'Another musician who came to the house from time to time was Will Heather¹⁷³ (or Heyther) a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey and a close friend of William Camden, with whom he shared a house in Westminster'.¹⁷⁴

The most eminent musicians of the day, William Byrd, John Bull (and Orlando Gibbons) are referred to as 'the three famous Masters' in the dedication of the first printed volume of virginal music, *Parthenia*, or *The Maydenhead* (1612-1613).¹⁷⁵ The Byrds 'styled themselves "gentlemen"; Simon, the composer's oldest brother, took out a coat of arms in 1571. A family member of Byrd's had been an abbot, and the composer was able to arrange a marriage between his oldest son Christopher and a great-granddaughter of Sir Thomas More',¹⁷⁶ his familial

¹⁷¹ Amy M. Charles, 'Mrs. Herbert's Kitchin Booke', in *ELR*, 4.1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 64–73.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 170. '... Byrd was Bull's senior by nearly twenty years. Bull took supper at the house on Tuesday, April 14, [1601] and again on Sunday, May 10; Byrd whose home at this time was at Stondon Massey, Essex, was on hand for supper on Sunday, June 14, and perhaps spent the night, since he had dinner with the Herberts on the following day, and returned for dinner on Thursday, June 25'.

¹⁷³ Jack Westrup, and Penelope Gouk, 'Heyther [Heather], William', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 26 Jun. 2023]. a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey and a close friend of William Camden, with whom he shared a house in Westminster. John Hilton, composer of Donne's 'Hymne to God the Father', dedicated his '*Ayres or Fa La's for Three Voyces* (1627)' to Heather. 'Tomkins's six-part madrigal *Music divine* (*Songs*, London, 1622) is inscribed "To Mr Doctor Heather". The Oxford chair of music is named after him'.

¹⁷⁴ Charles, p. 170.

¹⁷⁵ O. W. Neighbour, and Susi Jeans, 'Bull [Boul, Bul, Bol], John', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 3 April 2022]. John Bull was also known as [Jan] [Bouville, Bonville, Jean].

¹⁷⁶ Joseph Kerman, and Kerry McCarthy, 'Byrd, William', in *Grove* (03 September 2003) [accessed 27 March 2022].

connection to Donne.¹⁷⁷ More,¹⁷⁸ himself, was musical: ‘he lernt the viol at Oxford, and used to “sitt and singe in the quire” even when Lord Chancellor’.¹⁷⁹

Born in London,¹⁸⁰ brought up in the Chapel Royal and described in the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal as “a Father of Musicke”, William Byrd (b. London, c.1540; d. Stondon Massey, Essex, July 4, 1623) was the pupil of composer and organist Thomas Tallis;¹⁸¹ Ferrabosco, the

¹⁷⁷ Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, pp. 9, 22.

¹⁷⁸ J. S. Bennett, ‘A Tallis Patron?’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21 (1988), 41-44 (p. 43). Before the Reformation and Catholic worship was forbidden, Donne’s early ancestors would have been familiar with music through the Church, the singing of the liturgy and hymns, through priests, cantors, and choirs. Then, Catholic worship consisted of responsive liturgies praising God and honoring the Virgin Mary, intricately complicated choral works and Gregorian chants. These plainchants (or plainsongs) were monophonic in nature, a single, rhythmically unconfined, unaccompanied melodic line. Young Donne’s first exposure to religious music may have come from his family members and visits to the homes of relatives and friends. ‘Recusants usually had to rely on the private chapels of the Catholic nobility and gentry for hearing mass, . . . But, household devotions of a less strictly liturgical kind were a common practice of the Age’.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42 n. 13. *Dictionary of National Biography* s. v. More (q. v.), and Harpsfield, 64.

¹⁸⁰ Nicholas Temperley, et. al, ‘London (i)’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 4 April 2022]. London’s ‘ancient musical traditions, deriving from its many ecclesiastical institutions (including St. Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey), its importance as a court and centre of government, and its commercial prosperity’ has been a ‘magnet for musicians’ from Europe since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Replacing the Saxon building on the site, the Norman and Gothic cathedral was built between 1087 and about 1285. Plainchant was performed, replaced by Sarum Use in 1414. Polyphony was introduced about 1228-30. St. Paul’s was uniquely music oriented, with 30 vicars-choral (who were deacons and sub-deacons) in addition to 12 minor canons. Choristers were trained in a song school under the supervision of an almoner. ‘From the 15th century, the choir was supplemented by chantry priests’. Henry VII incorporated the ‘Guild of Jesus’, to ‘provide payments for the additional attendance of the 12 minor canons, eight chantry priests, six vicars-choral and ten choristers for certain special services, to be sung “solemnly by note” in the crypt’. ‘The boys were frequently engaged by other churches in the City and performed in mystery plays and pageants. By the 16th century the choir was second in importance only to that of the Chapel Royal’. ‘Paul’s Cross, in the north-east angle of the cruciform church, was for many years London’s great pulpit’. ‘After Elizabeth’s accession the reformers frequently celebrated their triumph by assembling at Paul’s Cross after cathedral service and singing a metrical psalm—“six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes” according to John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, in a letter of 1560. Metrical psalms were sung in the cathedral also, especially after the sermon; the new liturgy was sung by the choir, whose numbers remained constant (with 12 minor canons, six lay clerks and ten choristers). Throughout Elizabeth’s reign the choristers continued to perform in plays and pageants. The last engravings of Old St. Paul’s, published in Dugdales’ *History* of 1658, show a large organ apparently still intact in the north aisle of the choir’.

¹⁸¹ P. Doe and D. Allinson, ‘Tallis [Tallys, Talles], Thomas’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 27 March 2022]. Thomas Tallis [Tallys, Talles] (b. c. 1505; d. Greenwich, 20 or Nov 23, 1585) Thomas Tallis was an English composer who spent at least fifty years as an active organist whose ‘surviving keyboard compositions’, too numerous to mention, ‘represent no more than a fraction of his output’. His virtuoso manner ‘has no known parallel anywhere in Europe during his lifetime’. [His *Felix namque* plainchant is found in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Booke*, dated 1562 and 1564.] Tallis would have known Donne’s grandfather, John Heywood, for he was at Court as early as 1535; Tallis also served with Byrd (beginning in 1572). ‘Tallis remained

Elder, was a mentor. ‘Through Ferrabosco, Byrd came to know—and became, it seems, the first English composer really to understand—classical imitative polyphony’.¹⁸² The ‘variety of experimentation, novelty, and expressive range’ in Byrd’s motets ‘must have dazzled contemporary musicians’.¹⁸³ He tried to ‘frame his music “to the life of the words”’.¹⁸⁴ Whilst organist and Master of the Choristers at Lincoln Cathedral from 1563-70, Byrd ‘perfected the English virginal music from primitive beginnings’: it is as though ‘he embarked on a deliberate programme of experimentation’ due to ‘the large number of styles, forms, and genres that Byrd essayed’ (line, motif, counterpoint, harmony, texture and figuration)’.¹⁸⁵ He laid the groundwork

in the royal household until his death, serving under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor, and finally for more than half of the reign of Elizabeth’. ‘Tallis’s compositional career spanned decades of unprecedented political and religious turbulence whose effect on English music was profound. Musical genres and styles declined, mutated or were invented afresh in response to the liturgical and doctrinal demands of the moment. Tallis maneuvered the changes with adaptation and flexibility, nimbly dodging any religious affiliation. From extended votive antiphons such as *Salve intemerata* to succinct Anglican service music, Tallis’s diverse output covers almost every musical genre used in the English church during the 16th century. However, style was not determined only by religious circumstances: it is likely that the profound differences between ostensibly early and late works of Tallis (for example, the reduction in melismatic writing and the corresponding growth in chordal homophony, and the tendency for imitation to become less decorative and more structural) may be attributed equally to the influence of continental musical developments on the native style. In this way, political and artistic imperatives converged to change Tallis’s style as well as that of many of his contemporaries.

¹⁸² Joseph Kerman, and Kerry McCarthy.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: The Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 86. Byrd, quoting from *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611), ‘found from experience that meditation on the text caused the right music to come spontaneously into his mind’.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. His [Byrd’s] ‘famous Short Service [modeled after Tallis’s] became a staple of the cathedral repertory and a fixture after it appeared in John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641)’. His ‘Lamentations’ surpasses both Tallis’s and White’s in its ‘contrapuntal sweep’ and ‘powerful rough climax’. After a dispute, Byrd would leave for London in 1573 and was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1572, where he was joint organist with Tallis. Byrd would teach Donne’s friends, organist Thomas Tomkins and the children of the Percy’s; Byrd also taught Morley, Philips and Weelkes, another connection to Donne. ‘Byrd moved easily among the Elizabethan aristocracy; in 1579 the Earl of Northumberland called Byrd “my friend” (Byrd was teaching his daughter)’. Queen Elizabeth I was a benefactor, granting Byrd and Tallis a ‘patent for the printing and marketing of part-music and lined music paper’, ‘a trade with only a very limited history in England up to that time’. During the time Byrd was at Magdalen Herbert’s, he was spending less and less time at Court, for he was providing music ‘specifically for Catholic services’, published as *Gradualia* in 1605 and 1607, that contained ‘irregular’ dissonances. Having knowledge of Donne’s lyric poetry, William’s experiments with ‘dissonances’ might have been influenced by Donne, or familiarity with Byrd’s musical dissonance could have influenced Donne. Byrd came out with his last

for the fantasias of Coprario and Ferrabosco, the Younger, and the virginal music of Bull and Gibbons.¹⁸⁶ Kerman and McCarthy believe Byrd belongs ‘to the pioneer generation that built Elizabethan culture. In music, Byrd did this alone, for, unlike Tallis before him and Morley after, he had no immediate contemporaries of any stature (except perhaps Ferrabosco [the Elder])’.¹⁸⁷

Another frequent guest of Mrs. Herbert, ‘English composer, organist, virginalist and organ builder’, John Bull, [Boul, Bul, Bol], (b. ?Old Radnor, Radnorshire, 1562-3; d. Antwerp, 12-13 March 1628) was ‘one of the leading keyboard virtuosos of his time and an important composer of keyboard music’.¹⁸⁸ In 1609, Bull became an active organ builder, having built instruments for the queen in 1599; he bought music books for Prince Henry and, in 1612, he was appointed music teacher to Princess Elizabeth (then 15). Bull dedicated *Parthenia*, or *The Maydenhead* (1612-1613) to Princess Elizabeth and Prince Friedrich, the Elector Palatine, between 1612 and 1613.¹⁸⁹ Bull composed the anthem *God the father, God the son* (now lost) for their wedding. The associations between Bull, Byrd, and Donne were familial, religious and musical, through

published songbook, *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* in 1611. [Note the change in the spelling of ‘Sonnets’ from the 1588 ‘Sonets’.] He had keyboard music printed in *Parthenia* (c1612/1613), jointly with Bull and Gibbons, the same year Gibbons’s ‘Ah, deere hart’ (1612) (analogue to Donne’s ‘Breake of Daye’) debuted. Byrd’s last songs appeared in Leighton’s *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule* in 1614.

¹⁸⁶ See Jeremy L. Smith, *Verse and Voice in Byrd’s Song Collections of 1588 and 1589* (Rochester: Boydell, 2020) for an extensive study of William Byrd’s use of song text to convey an overall grand narrative and hidden meanings (to Catholic recusants), to foster inclusivity during religious strife.

¹⁸⁷ Joseph Kerman, and Kerry McCarthy.

¹⁸⁸ O. W. Neighbour, and Susi Jeans. ‘Bull [Boul, Bul, Bol], John’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 3 April 2022].
bid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

Court and through mutual friends, which included three Donne composers and the Herbert family.¹⁹⁰

Since the songs in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* were believed to be compiled between 1609 and 1612, by Frances Tregian, this would substantiate Grierson's belief that 'The Primerose' was among the 'songs' that Donne wrote to Magdalen 'in the tone of hopeless, impatient passion, of Petrarch writing to Laura, and others which celebrate their mutual affection as a love that rose superior to earthly and physical passion. The clue here is the title prefixed to that strange poem 'The Primrose, being at Montgomery Castle upon the hill on which it is situate'.¹⁹¹ (Grierson's use of the word 'songs' could, possibly, be exactly that—lyrics of songs that Magdalen, a great lover of music, could enjoy.) Grierson states that this 'title is found for the first time in the edition of 1635 and is in none of the manuscripts.'¹⁹² The *Variorum* states that it is an 'apparent editorial confection'.¹⁹³ Aubrey quotes Donne's poem and describes the scene in 'Memorandum:--the castle of Montgomery was a most romacy seate. It stood upon a high promontory, the north side 30+ feete high. From hence is a most delightsome prospect, 4 severall ways. Southwards, without the castle, is *Prim-rose hill*: vide Donne's Poems, p. 53'.¹⁹⁴

The placement of Peerson's song, 'The Primerose', in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, occurred between 1609-1612; this contradicts Gardner's claim that it was written to Edward when Donne visited in spring 1613 (based on Charles M. Coffin's suggestion that it must be dated after the

¹⁹⁰ These alliances also extended to Constantine Huygens and the Bacons.

¹⁹¹ Grierson II, xxiv.

¹⁹² Ibid. The short title is given in all of the manuscripts in which it occurs as well as in *1633*. The second edition of *1635* added to it the words 'being at Montgomery Castle, upon the hill, on which it is situate'.

¹⁹³ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 181.

¹⁹⁴ Aubrey, 'Sir John Danvers' in *Brief Lives*, Vol. 1, n.p.

publication of Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* in 1610).¹⁹⁵ H. W. Garrod argued that 'The Primerose' 'could not have been written on this occasion since in 1613 Herbert's cousin, Philip, was living at the Castle'.¹⁹⁶ However, Gardner asserts that 'if Herbert was in Wales he would surely have been staying with his cousin' and she does not believe 'that we should postulate another visit to Wales than this'.¹⁹⁷ Since Magdalen married Danvers in 1609, it is unlikely Donne would have written this poem to her after that date; but, he could have written it to her before. This could also be true of 'The Autumnal', if viewed as a 'song' written around 1608 instead of in the 1590s.¹⁹⁸ Grierson's case for connecting five of the *Songs and Sonnets* with Mrs. Herbert' earlier, 'rests on his statement that these five poems ('The Funeral', 'The Blossom', 'The Primrose', 'The Relic', 'The Damp') occur frequently together in manuscript'.¹⁹⁹ Gardner agrees with Grierson, citing various groupings of these poems in Group I manuscripts; however, she does not 'think it is possible to argue, from the deduction that certain poems must have been physically connected in Donne's papers,²⁰⁰ that they must have been composed at the same time and addressed to the same person'.²⁰¹ Robbins states that both Grierson and Gardner

¹⁹⁵ Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, p. 257.

¹⁹⁶ H. W. Garrod, 'Donne and Mrs. Herbert', *RES*, 21.83 (1945), 161-173 (p. 168)

¹⁹⁷ John Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 257.

¹⁹⁸ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 355.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 254. Robbins (p. 191) states later editors (except Redpath) contest that 'The Funeral' was written for Magdalen Herbert. 'Marotti (1986) p. 211, believes it was written for (not the same as "about") Lady Bedford' (p. 191).

²⁰⁰ Ted-Larry Pebworth, 'Manuscript Poems and Print Assumptions: Donne and His Modern Editors', *JDJ*, 3 (1984), 1-21, (pp. 14-15). Pebworth states that there is no evidence that Donne 'completed a manuscript volume much less that he lent it out for someone to transcribe', and that this is 'mere speculation' on Gardner's part. Possibly, the musical settings of Donne's poetry contributed to her opinion of the grouping of his poetry.

²⁰¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 255 n. 2.

associate ‘The Relic’ with Edward, dating it c. 1613, but states the poem may connected with Magdalen.²⁰² Marotti feels that ‘The Primerose’ was likely written for Edward Herbert as well.²⁰³ The absence of these five ‘songs’ from the Clitherow MS substantiates Gardner’s argument, but not her belief that ‘The Primerose’ was written for Edward. The symbolism of the four petals of the primrose ‘resembled the common true love knot with its four loops. Four was also, among other things, the number of the Cardinal virtues: Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice, and symbolic of concord, friendship and stability’, all virtues of Magdalen and the Herbert family.²⁰⁴ Mabel Potter describes the ‘little flower ornament’ inscribed after the poem in the Dobell manuscript, ‘not found in any other manuscript’, and wonders if this signified the poem was written to Magdalen.²⁰⁵

A beloved matriarch, Lady Magdalen Newport Herbert Danvers (d. 1627), became patroness of the Donnes after they married in 1601 and before John was ordained in 1615. In the letter accompanying ‘To the Lady Magdalen Herbert, of St. Mary Magdalen’, and the enclosed *Holy Hymns and Sonnets* (songs of praise now lost), sent in late summer 1607-summer 1608, Donne compares the devout Magdalen to Mary Magdalen and confirms the generosity in musical terms, that she has extended to him, to Ann (‘loved most’) and to his family during this time.²⁰⁶ In the poem, Donne states: ‘Take so much of th’example, as of the name; | The latter half; and in some recompense | That they did harbour *Christ* himself, a Guest, | Harbour these *Hymns*, to his dear

²⁰² Ibid., p. 239.

²⁰³ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 649. See Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 196.

²⁰⁴ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 236.

²⁰⁵ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. See Mabel Potter, ‘A Seventeenth-Century Literary Critic of John Donne: The Dobell Manuscript Re-examined’, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 23 (1975), 63-89 (pp. 68-69).

²⁰⁶ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 488.

name address' (ll. 11-14).²⁰⁷ 'Upon the Annunciation when Good Friday Fell upon the Same Day' (c. March 1608) might also have been written to Lady Herbert. Donne invokes the music of the spheres to describe the Church, the centre, with all in orbit around it, angels singing and praising God, 'Of th' Angells Ave,' and Consummatum est' (l. 22).²⁰⁸ ['Hail' Luke 1.28 and 'It is finished' John 19.30, both in the Vulgate version].²⁰⁹ Donne shares in Lady Herbert's funeral sermon that 'her selfe, with her whole family . . . did, euery Sabbath, shut vp the day, at night, with a generall, with a cheerfull *singing of Psalmes*,' (Sermons VIII:86).²¹⁰ Donne's commemoration imagery 'combines Isaiah's image of God's Kingdom as a place of music with another image, from Revelation 5, that promises variety in the music of the Kingdom: "to those which delight in Musicke, [God] promises [that God's kingdom will be characterized by] continuall singing,²¹¹ and every minute, a new song"'.²¹² 'In his sermon delivered at Evensong on 23 November 1628, Donne again evokes the image of our future in terms of music, imagining that at death the old song is made new and one's own voice is to be heard as part of a larger chorus, for one "shalt adde a Voyce to that old and every-new song that Catholique Hymne in

²⁰⁷ *Variorum*, 5, p. 260.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.2, p. 133.

²⁰⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 492.

²¹⁰ John Donne, *A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Da[n]Uers Late Wife of Sr. Iohn Da[n]Uers. Preach'd at Chilsey, Where She was Lately Buried. by Iohn Donne D. of St. Pauls, Lond. 1. Iuly 1627. Together with Other Commemorations of Her; by Her Sonne G. Herbert.* London, Printed by I. Haviland] for Philemon Stephens, and Christopher Meredith, and are to be sold at their shop at the golden Lion in Pauls Church-yard (London, 1627), p. 159. See also McColley, p. 134. McColley states that these psalms could have been from *The Whole Book of Psalmes . . . composed into foure parts*, published by Thomas Este in 1592 and 1604, to which Westminster Abbey's organist Edward Hooper was a contributor.

²¹¹ John N. Wall, "'That Holy roome": John Donne and the Conduct of Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral', *Renaissance Papers 2005*, ed. by Christopher Cobb and M. Thomas Hester (Suffolk: Camden House, 2005), 61-84, (p. 62 n. 5); 'A Sermon Preached at St. Paul's in the Evening, November 23, 1628,' *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1956), VIII, p. 291.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 62 n. 4. 'A Sermon Commemoration of the Lady Danvers,' *Sermons*, VIII, 83.

which, both Churches, *Militant* and *Triumphant*, shall joyne, Blessing, Honour, Glory, and Power bee unto him, that sitteth upon the Thorne, and to the Lambe, for ever, and ever”²¹³ In *A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Dāvers . . .* (Keynes, no. 23),²¹⁴ preached at Chelsea 1 July 1627, Donne speaks of Magdalen Herbert’s life in musical terms: ‘Shee expected this, that she hath receued ; Gods *Physioke*, and Gods *Musicke* a Christianly death’.²¹⁵ Using the word ‘composed’, Donne describes God ‘gathering, and composing, and preferuing’ the ‘*dust*’ of ‘this good Soule’ . . . ‘for *future Glory*, . . .’.²¹⁶ ‘To those which delight in *Musicke*, hee promises continuall singing, and euery minute a, a new song;’.²¹⁷ Donne displays knowledge of tuning a stringed instrument through his comparison of the relationship and age difference of Magdalen and her second, younger husband, Sir John Danvers:

For, as the well tuning of an *Instrument*, makes *higher* and *lower* strings, of one sound, so the inequality of their yeeres, was thus reduc’t to an evenesse that shee had a *cheerfulnesse*, agreeable to his *youth*, and he a *sober staidnesse*, conformable to her more yeeres.²¹⁸

In *Brief Lives*, John Aubrey reports that Magdalen’s son, George Herbert²¹⁹ ‘had a very good

²¹³ John N. Wall, p. 62 n. 5. “A Sermon Preached at St. Paul’s in the Evening, November 23, 1628,” *Sermons*, VIII, 291.

²¹⁴ Bald, p. 544.

²¹⁵ Donne, *A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Da[n]Uers Late Wife of Sr. Iohn Da[n]Uers. Preach’d at Chilsey, Where She was Lately Buried. by Iohn Donne D. of St. Pauls, Lond. 1. Iuly 1627. Together with Other Commemorations of Her; by Her Sonne G. Herbert.* London, Printed by I. Haviland] for Philemon Stephens, and Christopher Meredith, and are to be sold at their shop at the golden Lion in Pauls Church-yard (London, 1627), p. 159.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

²¹⁸ *Sermons*, VIII, 88.

²¹⁹ Izaak Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at his shop under S. *Dunstans* Church in Fleet-street, 1658), pp. 83-84. In Izaak Walton’s biography of the Reverend George Herbert (1593-1633), he describes the friendship between Donne and the Reverend George Herbert (1593-1633) as ‘long and dear’, made up by such a ‘Sympathy of

hand on the lute, and that he sett his own lyricks²²⁰ or sacred poems'.²²¹ Having received training at Westminster School, where 'pupils by statute included "ten singing boys"' and were taught by the 'choristers' master',²²² George Herbert also played the viols and received 'early experience of the polyphonic church music that gave him lifelong pleasure'.²²³ Walton chronicles Herbert's deep love of music in *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*.²²⁴ Described by Barnabus Oley as 'the sweet singer of the Temple', Herbert's 'chiefest recreation was Musick' while rector at Bemerton.²²⁵ His devotion to music continued throughout his ministry.²²⁶

Helen Wilcox describes the "lurking musical puns" among the "multi-layered meanings" of the "lute-song strictures of his lyrics" to be the "essence of his artistry and spirituality".²²⁷ This 'lyrical directness which is found within the tension of contrapuntal writing' is reflected in the

inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each others Company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred inearments', by which Donne sent to George one of his 'Seales of the Anchor and Crest. A sheaf of Snakes used heretofore to be my Seal, the Crest of our poor Family'.

²²⁰ John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, Vol. 1, ed. by Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 310. Aubrey notes that George Herbert was 'buried (according to his owne desire) with the singing service for the burial of dead, by the singing men of Sarum'.

²²¹ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 267. 'These Hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in Heaven'.

²²² Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 134.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 269. Walton describes Herbert as student of Cambridge: 'And in that year, he was also made *Master of Arts*, he being then in the 22nd year of his Age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his Study, was the practice of Musick, in which he became a great master'.

²²⁵ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 303.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 305.

²²⁷ Helen, Wilcox, 'The Sweet Singer of the Temple': The Musicians' Response to Herbert', *GHJ*, 10.1 (1986), 47-60 (p. 47).

‘subtle free counterpoint, shaped by the texts, of Herbert’s contemporary John Jenkins, (O Christ Church MSS 736-38), and to some extent settings by Henry Lawes and John Wilson’ [both composers of Donne musical settings], to be ‘nearer in spirit to Herbert’s subtle tones than later baroque settings’.²²⁸ As with Donne, Henry Lawes also set Herbert’s poetry to music, ‘transforming the “light Love-song” into “a Spiritual Hymn”’, writing a ‘solo setting’ of Herbert’s Psalm 23.²²⁹ Wilcox notes Bishop Thomas Ken, and the ‘anonymous non-conformist editor’ of *Select Hymns, Taken out of Mr. Herbert’s Temple (1697)*, state Herbert’s ‘tunes’ were ‘beyond the capacity of the “ordinary” reader’ and questions why. Possibly, the music reflected the shift in seventeenth-century music and the difficulty of the declamatory style. George Herbert would have heard the music of the Court composers of the day and presumably the musical settings of Donne’s poetry, reflective of Donne’s disjointed, irregular rhythm. Given the friendship between Donne and the Herberts, his musical compositions seem to echo the persuasive style of Donne’s. As Wilcox states, ‘Donne knew well that a singer’s art could reinterpret a poem’ . . . ‘While the poet “restrains” in one sense, the musician simultaneously restrains in another, setting the poem to new “strains” which act as a commentary on the original’.²³⁰ Wilcox’s statement that the ‘difficulty of Herbert’s poems—or at least the tight metaphysical arguments which underlie their apparent simplicity—formed part of Herbert’s appeal to musicians’, was also true for Donne. She reveals that the accounts of

²²⁸ McColley, p. 136.

²²⁹ Wilcox, ‘The Sweet Singer of the Temple’: The Musicians’ Response to Herbert’, p. 50.

²³⁰ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

Herbert's life from Walton and Aubrey 'invariably refer to his singing, not reading, his poems'.²³¹

The friendship between Lady Herbert and Donne²³² is believed to have originated at Oxford University,²³³ where Donne and George's brother, Edward,²³⁴ matriculated. Magdalen Herbert 'entred Edward into Queens Colledge, Oxford' [matriculation as gentleman commoner at University College, Oxford (McFeely)] and 'continued there with him' where she 'indeared him to her own Company': and continued with him at *Oxford* four years': . . .'.²³⁵ Donne and Lady Herbert grew closer as the years passed.²³⁶ About ten years Edward Herbert's senior, possibly

²³¹ Ibid., p. 48.

²³² John Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 294. Quoting Mario M. Rossi in *La Vita, le opera, i tempi di Edoardo Herbert di Cherbury* (Florence, 1947, i. 39), Gardner suggests that 'there was a reason for Donne's visiting Oxford in 1599 when he was Egerton's secretary': 'Egerton's stepson, Sir Francis Wooley (who went with Donne on the Islands Voyage and later gave him and his wife shelter), graduated in that year. It may well have been through Wooley that Donne met Edward Herbert and his mother in Oxford'.

²³³ Bald, p. 114. Whereas Walton dates the beginning of Donne's friendship with the Herberts to the early 1580s in Oxford, Bald places it almost a decade and a half later in London, when Donne served as secretary to the Lord Keeper, Egerton: 'As the Lord Keeper's secretary, it would be convenient that he should be in the House of Commons; it would provide him with a chance to show his quality and also give him an additional insight into the conduct of public affairs'. Sir Edward Herbert was among the members of Parliament ('from Montgomeryshire, where his principal estates lay'), with whom Donne would have served, in 1601.

²³⁴ Edward Herbert, *The life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Written by himself*, 4th ed. (London: printed for J. Dodsley, 1792), in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, p. 26 [accessed 12 Mar. 2020]. In his autobiography, Herbert recounts: 'Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford together with my wife and mother, who took house and lived for some time there; and not having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued 'till I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time 'till I came to the age of one and twenty having in that space divers children'.

²³⁵ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 264. ' . . . : in which time, her *great and harmless wit*, her *cheerful gravity*, and her *obliging behavior*, gain'd her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly, with Mr. *John Donne*, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there: it was that *John Donne*, who was after *Doctor Donne*, and Dean of *St. Pauls London*: and he at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there in verse a Character of the Beauties of her body, and mind'.

²³⁶ Grierson, Vol. II, p. 254 n. 1. Donne and Lady Herbert's close relationship is clearly apparent in a letter from Mitcham:

Donne was able to serve as friend and mentor to young Edward and George, as William Stanley had done for him.²³⁷

Like his brother, George, Edward Herbert was very musical; he ‘learned to play on the Lute’ at Montgomery Castle, where he continued his studies, and became an accomplished player.²³⁸ Permanently in Montgomery by 1605, while the Donne family was living at Pyrford,²³⁹ Herbert visited France in 1608, his first introduction at the French court.²⁴⁰ Influenced by his travels in Europe and his associations with Court composers, in 1624, Edward began to assemble²⁴¹ his famous lutebook, *The lutebooke of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island*:

Madam, Your favours to me are everywhere: I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there, and yet find them at Mitcham. Such riddles as these become things inexpressible, and such is your goodness [...] my coming this day is by the example of your Saint, Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday to seek that which she loved most, and so did I. And from her and myself I return such thanks as need most have of us: . . . (Donne, *Selected Prose*, p. 488.)

²³⁷ Information about Herbert’s life was compiled by Lumsden (1957), Dart (1957), Price (1969), Spring (1987), and Craig (1991); a concise outline of songs written by Donne composers and Herbert is given in the Appendices, Vol. II in Selections from *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630*, by Julia Craig-McFeely, in *Edward Herbert, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island, The Lute Book of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, [n.d.]) <<http://www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/App1c.pdf>> [cited 28 January 2020].

²³⁸ Fitzwilliam Museum, *Edward Herbert, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island, The Lute Book of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, ([n.d.]) <<https://data.fitzwilliam.cam.ac.uk/id/image/media-2897165525>> [accessed 28 January 2020]. Herbert recalls in his autobiography (*The life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Written by himself*, 4th ed. (London: printed for J. Dodsley, 1792), that he ‘learnt to play the lute at a young age’; ‘I attained also to sing my part at first sight in Musick, and to play on the Lute with very little or almost no teaching’ (*The life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Written by himself*, 4th ed. (London: printed for J. Dodsley, 1792)).

²³⁹ Bald, pp. 538, 144. According to Bald, while at Pyrford, Ann had Constance (1603), John (1604) and George (1605) (p. 538); Sir Toby Matthew chides Donne for his absence from Court during his time at Pyrford, urging his return. He states, ‘Your friends are sorry that you make yourself so great a stranger, but you best know your own occasions. Howbeit, if you have any designs towards the Court, it were good you did prevent the loss of any more time . . . the places of attendance . . . grow daily dearer’ (p. 144).

²⁴⁰ Pailin. Travelling with the musical English ambassador, Sir George Carew, Herbert likely would have been exposed to the music there.

²⁴¹ Fitzwilliam Museum, ‘The Lute Book of Lord Herbert of Cherbury’, *The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* <<https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/collections/music/lutebook>> [accessed 4 Jan. 2021] ‘Lute books were more commonly transcribed by women’ and it was ‘unusual’ for a man to write his own musical manuscript. But, not in the case of Edward and George Herbert. Herbert was ‘one of three scribes involved’ in writing his own lute book ‘in tablature form, giving direct instructions to the player about where to place his fingers on the frets’.

*containing divers selected lessons / of excellent authors in severall cuntreys ; wherein also are some few of my owne composition, Herbert (c. 1624-1640),*²⁴² compiled throughout his lifetime. This manuscript is ‘one of the most important anthologies of 17th century lute music’ and contains ‘some 240 pieces, including some of his own compositions’.²⁴³ ‘It features music by John Dowland (1563-1626) and other English lutenists, as well as major European composers, and provides valuable evidence of variations of well-known pieces found elsewhere throughout Europe’.²⁴⁴ Craig-McFeely argues that the major part of the manuscript probably dates from the early or mid-1630s; however, Thurston Dart dates one piece that Herbert wrote to 1619²⁴⁵ and suggests that it was a ‘copy of a loose-leaf collection, gathered over some years prior to copying’.²⁴⁶ Although multiple composers are listed, most notable are the inclusion of songs by Dowland, Ferrabosco, Coprario (composers of Donne settings) and William Byrd, as well as Herbert himself.²⁴⁷

²⁴² *The lutebooke of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island: containing divers selected lessons / of excellent authors in severall cuntreys ; wherein also are some few of my owne composition, Herbert (c. 1624-1640),* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum), (MU MS 689). Since William Corkine was an apprentice to Herbert, it is noteworthy that no songs of Corkine, or of Corkine’s Donne settings, appear in Herbert’s ‘lutebooke’.

²⁴³ Edward Herbert, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island, *The Lute Book of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, [n.d.]) <<https://data.fitzwilliam.cam.ac.uk/id/image/media-2897165525>> [accessed 28 January 2020].

²⁴⁴ Ibid. ‘By the 1620s, when this book may have been started, the Golden Age of the lute in England was over. The mixture of old English and newer French pieces found here may well reflect Lord Herbert’s years in Paris as ambassador’.

²⁴⁵ Dart could be correct because 1619 was when Herbert returned to London. [Pailin dates Herbert’s return to London as 1617, so songs in this manuscript could have been composed before Herbert went to Paris as ambassador.

²⁴⁶ Craig-McFeely.

²⁴⁷ A complete listing of the songs of these composers was taken from Craig-McFeely’s Appendix and are listed in the Appendices, Vol. II of this thesis. Since William Corkine was an apprentice to Herbert, it is noteworthy that no songs of Corkine, or of Corkine’s Donne settings, appear in Edward Herbert’s ‘lutebooke’.

After Magdalen Herbert's marriage to Sir John Danvers in 1609, Lady Danvers's household 'changed radically',²⁴⁸ yet friendships with musicians remained strong. Both Donne and Danvers were friends with composer Orlando Gibbons and Danvers with Orlando's son, Christopher, Gentleman Chorister of the Chapel Royal, organist at Winchester Cathedral and later Westminster Abbey.²⁴⁹ Aubrey states that Danvers was a 'great friend of the king's partie and a patron to distressed and cashiered cavaliers, e.g. captain Gunter, he served; Christopher Gibbons (organist); captain Peters, etc.—Lord Bacon's friend'.²⁵⁰ 'Danvers acquired a large house in Chelsea early in the marriage, located next to what had been Sir Thomas More's estate.' During the plague in the London in the summer of 1625, Donne and George lodged there.²⁵¹ Deaths from the plague 'occurred throughout the years 1603-1611, with another lesser peak in 1609';²⁵² during these peaks, Magdalen gave Donne sanctuary twice,

'On the death of his father in August 1648', Richard Herbert 'succeeded to the title and was bequeathed his father's horses while his wife received his father's viols and lutes'.²⁵³ The elder son of Edward Herbert, became second Baron Herbert of Cherbury and second Baron Herbert of Castle Island (1600?–1655); he had married Lady Mary, the daughter of John Egerton

²⁴⁸ Malcolmson.

²⁴⁹ Christopher Gibbons, *Orlando and Christopher Gibbons*, (London: Westminster Abbey, [n.d.]) <<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/orlando-and-christopher-gibbons>> [accessed 04 January 2021].

²⁵⁰ John Aubrey, 'Sir John Danvers' in *Brief Lives*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), in *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Brief Lives* (Vol. 1 of 2) in *Project Gutenberg* [accessed 04 January 2021]. Frances Bacon was a frequent visitor at Chelsea.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 148.

²⁵³ Craig-McFeely.

[Elizabeth's son], the first earl of Bridgewater, in November 1627.²⁵⁴ It is logical that Lady Mary, the daughter of Frances Stanley Egerton and granddaughter of Alice Spencer Stanley Egerton, played both of the instruments that she inherited since she was trained in music in her home by music tutors (and Donne composers), Henry and William Lawes, and participated in masques.²⁵⁵ In 'A Sermon Preached at the Earl of Bridgewater's house in London at the marriage of his daughter, the Lady Mary, to the eldest sonne of the Lord Herbert of Castle-iland, Novemb. 19, 1627',²⁵⁶ Donne preaches on the text, 'For, in the resurrection, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in Heaven' (Matthew xxii, 30):²⁵⁷ Donne states, 'But, that my *Dead body* should come to praise the Lord, this is that *New Song*, which I shall learne, and sing in heaven . . .'.²⁵⁸

4.6 Donne's Musical Aristocratic Circle (Part Two)

Along with the gifted musician George Herbert, the second of the two biographies Izaak Walton devotes to a close friend of Donne was of Sir Henry Wotton. Wotton, was, according to

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ian Spink, 'Lawes, Henry', in *Grove Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 13 March 2022]. Lawes dedicated his first book of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) to the daughters of the old Earl of Bridgewater, "most of them being Composed when I was employed by Your ever Honor'd Parents to attend Your Ladishipp's Education in Musick".

²⁵⁶ John Donne, 'A Sermon Preached at the Earl of Bridgewater's house in London at the marriage of his daughter, the Lady Mary, to the eldest sonne of the Lord Herbert of Castle-iland, Novemb. 19, 1627', *Sermons*, VIII, 1.

²⁵⁷ Donne, *Selected Prose*, p. 326.

²⁵⁸ *Sermons*, VIII, 5.

Walton,²⁵⁹ ‘one of the most intimate friends of the Dean’.²⁶⁰ In line 28 of Charles Wotton’s poem, ‘To my Old, and most Worthy Friend, Mr. IZAAK WALTON, on his Life of Dr. DONNE &c.’, this closeness is confirmed when he claims, ‘Wotton and Donne, to whom his soul was knit’.²⁶¹ Like Herbert, Wotton had exposure to music in his background, particularly at Court and in aristocratic circles.

Bald states that Wotton was the ‘friend of the period of Donne’s secretaryship with whom his relations are most fully documented’.²⁶² Donne and Wotton’s frequent correspondence continued throughout their lives and their closeness is clear when, in his c. 1598 verse letter to Henry, Donne begins, ‘Sir, More then kisses, Letters mingle Soules’ (l. 1),²⁶³ which ‘sets the tone for the whole of their subsequent correspondence’.²⁶⁴ Donne empathizes with his dear friend’s employment complaint, ‘And Courts are Theatres, where some men play’ (l. 23), a recognition that ‘involvement is unavoidable—“we must touch”—and that contamination is inevitable’.²⁶⁵ Walton confirms Wotton’s court connections (and possible musical exposure) during the time Donne would have known him, for Wotton was ‘secretary [...] to Robert, Earl of Essex at Queen Elizabeth’s court’.²⁶⁶ When Essex was accused of treason, Wotton escaped to

²⁵⁹ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 80-82. Their closeness was apparent in Donne’s will, where Wotton inherited a ‘figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor’ [...] ‘[the Embleme of hope]’, [...] ‘ingraven very small in *Hf* . . .]*litropian* Stones, and set in gold’ [...] ‘sent to many of this dearest friends to be used as *Seales*, or *Rings*, and kept as memorialls of him and his affection’.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁶² Bald, p. 119.

²⁶³ *Variorum*, 5, p. 71.

²⁶⁴ Bald, p. 119.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 108.

Italy, where his brother sent his annuity and he lived in Florence with the Great Dukes of Court, in Venice, Tuscany and Rome. Also living in France,²⁶⁷ Geneva and Germany,²⁶⁸ Walton relates that Wotton travelled almost nine years before his return into England.²⁶⁹ Walton states Wotton was later knighted by James VI & I and was ambassador to Venice, which would have meant further court exposure to music. Wotton is included among Donne's friends at the Mitre and Mermaid Taverns; but, like his father, Thomas, Wotton 'preferred to dwell in his ancestral home [Bocton Hall], exercising hospitality and cherishing learning'.²⁷⁰

About 1604-1605, Donne's friend, Rowland Woodward, was in the service of Sir Henry Wotton, accompanying the ambassador to Venice as his secretary.²⁷¹ A poet, scribe and linguist who attended Lincoln's Inn with Donne, Woodward was 'the owner of a travelling library' (whose books Donne borrowed), later incorporating it into the Westmoreland collection at Apethorpe (where Woodward died in 1636).²⁷² While in Venice, it is probable that Woodward

²⁶⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 35, n. 4. 'Between Sept. 1591 and Dec. 1595, Henry Wotton, for example, stayed at Ingolstadt, Linz, and Vienna on the Danube, crossed the Po between Florence and Geneva and visited Paris on the Seine (*Life and Letters* I. 13-26), 30, 241-71, 297'.

²⁶⁸ *Variorum*, 5, p. 72. In 'To Henry Wotton' ('Sir, More then kisses') (1598), Donne reminds Wotton that, upon his return to England, he is now 'free from Germaine Schismes, and lightnes | Of France, and fayre Italyes faythlesnes, Hauling from these suckd all they had of worthe' (ll. 65-67). Their 'worthe' surely included the arts.

²⁶⁹ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 107. 'He stayed but one year in France, and most of that in *Geneva*; where he became acquainted with Theodor Beza (then very aged) and with *Isaac Causabon*, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) *Sir Henry Wotton* was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and Ingenuity. Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the Stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for Learning all manner of Arts. As *Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture*, and other manual Arts, een Arts of Inferior nature; as all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge'.

²⁷⁰ Adolphus William Ward, *Sir Henry Wotton A Biographical Sketch* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1898), p. 9.

²⁷¹ M. C. Deas, 'A Note on Rowland Woodward, the Friend of Donne', in *RES*, Vol. 7. 28 (1931), 454-74 (p. 454). See also Bald, pp. 146, 540.

²⁷² Daniel Starza Smith, 'Woodward, Rowland (bap. 1573, d. 1636), poet, secretary, and scribe', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 12 April 2018) [accessed 4 February 2021]. Wotton deemed him, 'a very honest person &

was exposed to music²⁷³ and entertained by musicians at Court; similarly, during his visits to Milan, France and later in the Low Countries of Huygens with Sir Dudley Digges.²⁷⁴ In addition to Wotton, Woodward associated with other musical friends and patrons of Donne, like Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, third earl of Dorset (1589-1624) and Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590-1676).²⁷⁵ A lutenist (taught by composer Jack [John] Jenkins in 1603),²⁷⁶ Lady Anne was patroness of Donne and was known for her musicality and her hospitality at Knole, Wilton and other residences.²⁷⁷ In 1617, Donne ‘stayed for a week at Knole²⁷⁸ with the Earl and Countess of Dorset, and his visit is recorded in the Countess’s diary’.²⁷⁹ ‘Her breadth of knowledge surprised John Donne’.²⁸⁰ Anne ‘was educated by her mother and her Russell relatives, all intellectually gifted, her governess Anne Taylor, and

of a very capable spirit, besides being furnished at home by his own industry with good beginnings of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages’ whereof he spoke the last best (L. P. Smith, 1.326)’.

²⁷³ *Variorum*, 5, pp. 155, 158. In ‘To Mr Rowland Woodward’ (‘Zealously my Muse’) (early 1590s?), Donne questions his whereabouts and proclaims that his ‘Muse sings’ to the ‘Elegiaque string’ only when married to Rowland’s: ‘Or is thy devout Muse retir’d to sing | Vpon her tender Elegiaque string? | Our minds part not, ioyne then thy Muse with myne | For myne is barren thus divorc’d from thyne’ (ll. 9-12) (p. 155). Again, in ‘To Mr. Rowland Woodward’ (‘Muse not’) (early 1590s?), Donne refers to his Muse ‘being the soules soule | Of poets’ (ll. 8-9) and his poem as a ‘melodee’: ‘Wright then, that my greifs, which thyne got may bee | Cur’d by thy charming soveraigne melodee’ (ll. 11-12) (p. 158).

²⁷⁴ Smith, Daniel Starza, ‘Woodward, Rowland (bap. 1573, d. 1636), poet, secretary, and scribe’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 12 April 2018) [accessed 4 February 2021].

²⁷⁵ Richard T. Spence, “‘Clifford, Anne [known as Lady Anne Clifford]”, countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590-1676), noblewoman and diarist’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25 September 2014) [accessed 12 Mar. 2021].

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Bald, p. 324 n 2. *Sermons*, i, p. 130 n., and Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of [...] Anne Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, 1677*, p. 38.

²⁷⁸ Spence.

²⁷⁹ Bald, pp. 324.

²⁸⁰ Spence.

until 1602, her tutor, the author Samuel Daniel'. She 'had a dancing master, Stephen', and Anne 'performed in masques at James I's court'.²⁸¹ A favourite of Elizabeth I, Lady Anne danced in Daniel's *Tethys's Festival* (1610), to celebrate the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales; Anne Daye observes that Ferrabosco and Lanier wrote songs for *Tethys's Festival* and that Thomas Ford²⁸² was a flautist.²⁸³

Lady Anne Clifford played Berenice in 'Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*, performed at Shrovetide (1609)' and was possibly Daniel's 'Cleopatra', performing at home.²⁸⁴ In 1616, Lady Anne attended a masque at Court 'in the company of Lady Arundel and in the context of a lavish supper for the Florentine ambassador'.²⁸⁵ Even in the months before she died, Lady Anne's thoughts were on entertainment: "'Being Twelfth day [January 6], I remembered how this day was 54 yeares since, at night, [that] at a Mask performed in the King's Banqueting house at Whitehall & in the Privy Galleries there, did I see King James the Scotchman, and it was the last time I ever saw him or Hee mee"'.²⁸⁶ In the triptych commissioned by Lady Anne in 1646, *The Great Picture*, Lady Anne's love of music is on display, for artist Jan van Belcamp (1610-1653)

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Thomas Ford wrote the musical setting to Donne's 'The Lamentations of Jeremy'.

²⁸³ Anne Daye, "'The power of his commanding trident": *Tethys Festival* as royal policy', *Historical Dance*, 4 (2012), 19-28 (p. 23).

²⁸⁴ Yasmin Arshad, 'The Enigma of a Portrait: Lady Anne Clifford and Daniel's "Cleopatra"', in *The British Art Journal*, 11.3 (2011) 30-36 (p. 34).

²⁸⁵ Sharon Cadman Seelig, 'The Construction of a Life: the Diaries of Anne Clifford', in *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature: Reading Women's Lives, 1600-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 34-72 (p. 43).

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 67.

paints her as a young girl with her lute and her books.²⁸⁷ When speaking of Lady Anne's personal family homes (like her favourite Appleby Castle), Helen Wilcox writes, 'Clifford transformed these ancient and in many ways non-domestic homes into seats of hospitality, authority, and devotion, as meals, legal sittings, and church services were all held at her behest within their walls'.²⁸⁸ Lady Anne and Donne, therefore, had shared musical, literary and religious interests.

Wotton describes himself as 'a poor scholar . . . fitter to be an Instrument of Truth than of Art'.²⁸⁹ Yet, Wotton wrote verses to Princess Elizabeth, 'printed to music as early as 1624 in Est's *Sixth Set of Books*, etc.'. He also wrote a *Hymn* in Venice "in the time of a great sickness there", which he later sent to Walton.²⁹⁰ Later as Provost of Eton, Wotton wished to 'utilise both his reading and his long experience abroad in an exposure of the "arts and practices" of Rome'; and should he prove unable to "produce anything else for the use of Church and State, yet it would be comfort enough to the little remnant of his life to compose some Hymns unto His endless love, Who had called him, though late, to His Service, yet early to the knowledge of His truth, and sense of His mercy".²⁹¹

In London, Wotton was associated with the musicians of St. Paul's while Donne was Dean because Lein states that Sir Henry Fanshawe, 'who maintained a London residence in Warwick

²⁸⁷ *The Great Picture*, 1646 (oil on canvas), Belcamp, Jan van (1610-53) (attr.) | Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria, UK | © Abbot Hall Art Gallery | Bridgeman Images <Bridgeman Education (bham.ac.uk)> [accessed 12 March 2021].

²⁸⁸ Helen Wilcox, 'Anne Clifford and Samuel Pepys: Diaries and Homes', in *Home and Nation in British Literature from the English to the French revolutions*, ed. by A.D. Cousis and Geoffrey Payne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 49-60 (p. 50).

²⁸⁹ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, p. 5 n. 1.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86 n. 3, 114, 168, 137.

Lane', was 'a very good friend of Donne's intimate, Sir Henry Wotton'.²⁹² It has been established that Fanshawe 'was a great musical enthusiast and the patron of John Ward, whose compositions figure so prominently in [Thomas] Myriell's manuscripts as well as in the collections of the musicians of St. Paul's'. Lein infers the link between Myriell, Donne, and Wotton by stating that 'Donne, consequently, may well have met Myriell as well as some of his future musicians in Fanshawe's London residence in Wotton's company'.²⁹³

Music manuscripts owned by a 'Donne', 'Donne 2d' and 'Dunn' were examined and collated, with other music books owned by 'Mr. Fanshawe', 'Drury.', 'Gibbs.', 'Barnard' (and others), by Sir Nicholas LeStrange,²⁹⁴ now in the Southgate Collection.²⁹⁵ Le Strange often acquired music from other musicians and, with his copyists, meticulously collated their versions with his.

Formerly the LeStrange manuscripts (MSS 59550-4), the Southgate Collection contains several musical settings ('Fancies') by John Ward [Warde] (1589-1638), which are listed alongside the works of other Donne composers, Ferrabosco and Coprario, and composer William Byrd [Birde]. Songs by Richard Dering/Deering/Deeringe, also trained in Italy and Catholic, are contained in these volumes as well; he was among the first to use the augmented sixth, a dissonant interval.²⁹⁶

²⁹² Clayton D. Lein, 'Donne, Thomas Myriell, and the Musicians of St. Paul's', *JDJ*, 23 (2004), 215-47, (p. 238, n. 17).

²⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 238.

²⁹⁴ Gosse, II, p. 80. Gosse states Donne's link to Shakespeare possibly came from an anecdote told by 'Sir Nicholas L'Estrange' of William and Ben Jonson. Shakespeare was godfather to one of Jonson's children and LeStrange discloses Ben cheered William up after the child's christening, when Shakespeare was in 'deep study' and 'melancholy'. Gosse states, 'Donne's unquestioned intimacy with Ben Jonson makes it possible that he was told this letter jest at first-hand'. If this anecdote is true, it links Donne and his close friend Ben Jonson to both Shakespeare and LeStrange.

²⁹⁵ Le Strange MSS (Add. MS 39550-4 (Vols 1-5, 5 parts); Nicholas Le Strange (1603-1655).

²⁹⁶ This information is from a cut-out newspaper article enclosed in one of the volumes from 'The Morning Post', vii, dated 15 May 1911.

An augmented sixth, first used during the Renaissance, consists of an interval (of an augmented sixth) normally above the bass tone. An augmented sixth is made by widening a major sixth by a chromatic semi-tone.²⁹⁷ His musical style is closest to Ward's.

Richard Dering, like many Catholics, decided to live abroad and, in 1617, was organist of the convent of English nuns in Brussels and was still there in 1620, possibly knowing Donne's family living in Brussels. In England, Donne would have been acquainted with Dering at Court: 'In 1625, he was appointed organist to Queen Henrietta Maria soon after her marriage to Charles I, and in the same year he is recorded as a "musician for the lutes and voices" to the king; he also appears in court accounts between 1626 and 1630'.²⁹⁸ 'Barnard' [John] (1591-fl. c.1641?)²⁹⁹ was an 'English music editor and composer' . . . 'a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in the early 17th c.,' . . . and was 'compiler of *The First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641).³⁰⁰ 'A much larger collection of English liturgical music which Barnard assembled in manuscript between about 1625 and 1638 has also survived.'³⁰¹

English composer John Ward (b. c.1589; d. before 31 Aug. 1638) or (1571-1617) and Donne were contemporaries who enjoyed music, the church and the law. Depending upon which theory of his biography is true regarding birth and death dates, Ward (and his father) were retainers of

²⁹⁷ Use of a chromatic scale can be heard in 'Song' 'Sweet staie.//: awhile', (Anon.) Add MS 29481 (fol. 9) (c. 1630).

²⁹⁸ Peter Platt and Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Dering [Deering, Dearing, Diringus, etc.], Richard' in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 10 August 2021].

²⁹⁹ John Morehen, 'Barnard, John' in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 6 February].

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 'This anthology of church music by 19 leading composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries was the only printed collection of English liturgical music to appear between Day's *Certaine notes* (1565) and the Civil War. It comprised ten partbooks—Medius, Primus and Secundus Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus, for each side of the choir, Decani and Cantoris.

³⁰¹ (GB-Lcm 1045-51), *London, Royal College of Music 1045-51*.

‘Mr Fanshawe’, Sir Henry Fanshawe (1569-1616) of the Southgate MSS, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, former student of the Inner Temple, and great patron of the arts,³⁰² whose musicians were ‘part of an exceptionally lavish musical establishment’.³⁰³ Fanshawe, of Ware Park, Hertfordshire, and Warwick Lane, London, was a ‘great lover of music, and kept many gentlemen that were perfectly well qualified both in that, and in the Italian tongue, in which he spent some time’.³⁰⁴ Owning many musical instruments, including a viol and an organ, in his will, Fanshawe left Ward all of his musical instruments ‘except the greate Wind Intrument in my howse in Warwyck Lane’.³⁰⁵ He was the father of Thomas (later Viscount Fanshawe) and Sir Richard, poet, translator, diplomat, musician and Catholic recusant, and was patron to poet and dramatist George Chapman, who translated Homer.³⁰⁶ Wotton, in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651), praises Fanshawe’s gardens at Ware Park for their ‘fruits, flower, and herbs’, describing them as “a delicate and diligent curiosity, surely without parallel among foreign nations” (Wotton, 196)³⁰⁷ Wotton was popular with Prince Henry, and friends with antiquary William Camden, collecting everything from coins to musical instruments.³⁰⁸ It is believed that Ward later became an attorney under Wotton’s son, Thomas, a post he occupied near St. Paul’s

³⁰² Sybil M. Jack, "Fanshawe, Sir Henry (1569–1616), exchequer official", *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 10 August 2021].

³⁰³ Peter Davidson, ‘Fanshawe, Sir Richard, first baronet (1608-1666), diplomat and translator’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁰⁴ Pamela J. Willets, ‘Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell’, in *Music & Letters* 49.1 (1968), 36–42 (pp. 40-41 n. 1).

³⁰⁵ E. H. Fellowes, ‘John Ward’, in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, M.A., 3rd ed., 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1929), V, 627-628 (p. 627).

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ Jack.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Cathedral, another tie to Donne.³⁰⁹ There, among London musicians, Ward began to compose consort music and ‘set texts of high poetic quality including poems by Sidney and Drayton’. Among his musical works were madrigals, in print and in manuscript (1613, dedicated to Wotton), ‘sacred music (with and without viol accompaniment) and much music for viols’.³¹⁰ ‘A characteristic feature of Ward’s work is his use of suspensions . . . suspended dischords of all kinds’.³¹¹ He wrote ‘Fantazias’ and ‘Fancies’ for viols and ‘pieces for the virginal’.³¹²

One of the sources in which Ward’s sacred music survives is in St. Paul organist Thomas Myriell’s *Tristitiae remedium* (1616); he also had two unaccompanied pieces in Leighton’s *Teares or Lamentaciones* (1614), which also included songs by other Donne composers.³¹³ Widely known during his lifetime, ‘Ward was at his best when writing in five and six parts’, and most of these were ‘composed before 1619, when Francis Tregian, the copyist of one of their sources (*GB-Lbl* Egerton 3665) died’.³¹⁴ Ward ‘always sought to portray the text in the true Italian madrigal tradition, at times creating word-painting of the most obvious and naïve kind; sometimes, however, it makes his music profoundly expressive, as in *Come, sable night* and *If the deep sighs*’.³¹⁵ ‘His use of dissonance was most distinctive’ and ‘there are no instances of extreme chromaticism’; but the quality of his work sets his name closely on par with Byrd,

³⁰⁹ Michael W. Foster, et al., ‘Ward, John’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ Fellowes, ‘John Ward’.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ Foster.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* Egerton MSS 2010 and 2013 contain Donne musical settings.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Gibbons and Tomkins,³¹⁶ all associates of Donne. Perhaps the dissonance in Ward's music reflected Donne's poetry.

In MS 39554 (vol. 5, Bassus), the names 'Donne', 'Donne 2d' and 'Dunn' are written on John Ward's 'Fancies' [for 'voyces and viols' (viola de gamba)], in the measures of the scores, and under 'Exam.' [Examined] at the bottom, lower right corner of the pages.³¹⁷ These names are also written in several of the other volumes. Possibly, the Donnes had one or two music books that Nicholas LeStrange acquired, because it appears he also acquired music from 'Drury', 'Gibbs' (Orlando Gibbons?), 'Couzens' (Benjamin Cosyns?), 'Mr. Fanshawe' ('score') and others. There is no way of knowing if 'Donne' was John Donne, or if the others listed were his friends, Sir Robert Drury, Gibbons and Fanshawe; however, the time frame of the composition and those involved fit within the context of Donne's musical framework, especially since Ward was the retainer of Henry Fanshawe. Andrew Ashbee dates the Le Strange Manuscripts from 1 June 1629, when LeStrange was 'created a baronet', 'married (26 August 1630) and set up house'.³¹⁸ 'The Hunstanton accounts show that there was a good deal of purchasing and refurbishing of musical instruments, apparently for Nicholas, during 1629-1630'.³¹⁹ It is possible LeStrange acquired music manuscripts from the Drury and Donne families after the deaths of Sir Robert Drury (1615) and John Donne (1631).³²⁰ If that music belonged to the Donne family, it would be the first found bearing Donne's name as owner, confirming his

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ See photograph in Appendices, Vol. II.

³¹⁸ Andrew Ashbee, '[24] A Further Look at Some of the Le Strange Manuscripts', in *Chelys: The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, 5.4 (1973-4), 24-41 (p. 33).

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ It is possible any Donne musical manuscripts could have belonged to Donne's mother, Elizabeth Heywood Donne, or his wife, Ann, since the documentary evidence shows both women were musically trained.

musicality, and showing music to be a vital part of his social and cultural context. Chapter Five, Donne 'Songs' and Composers: (Early Seventeenth Century), focusses on Donne's life between 1607 and 1614, years that would prove to be crucial in the growth of his musicality.

CHAPTER FIVE

Donne 'Songes' and Composers (Early Seventeenth Century)

This chapter continues to examine the poems in the Clitherow manuscript, musical references in Donne's poetry and prose, and musicians and composers of the musical settings of Donne's poetry (Coprario) whom he knew at Court, in the households of his friends, through his patrons and through the church. Gardner argues that the period 1607-1614 would see Donne writing 'love poems again, . . . developing into highly original lyrics which combine dramatic feeling and the vigour of speech with the music of song'.¹ During these years, Donne's verbal and melodic lyrics appear to transpose into an expanded metaphor, elevating Donne's poetry into a musical, metaphysical conceit.

5.1 Giovanni Coprario: 'The Message'

The second song in the Clitherow MS, 'The Message' (Send home my long straid eyes to me'), was written by Englishman John Coprario (1570-1626).² Based on its grouping with 'Breake of Daye' and 'The Baite' in so many manuscripts,³ it is likely it appeared around the same time as they (1612), certainly before 1626, as it is listed in numerous manuscripts under the title, 'Songs which were made to certaine Aires that were made before'.⁴ Found in MS Tenbury 2019, f. 1v, (before 1650) by Souris and reprinted by Gardner (p. 241), 'it is obvious this lyric was intended

¹ *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. lxi-lxii.

² Coprario went by several names: John Cooper, John Coperario, John Coprario, Giovanni Coprario.

³ See *Outline of Donne Musical Settings and Musicians in the Context of His Life* in the Appendices, Vol II.

⁴ John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 220.

for performance to entertain young men,' at Lincoln's Inn'.⁵ It is believed that Donne wrote 'Epithalamium Made at Lincoln's Inn' in 1594-1595, when he was a student there,⁶ as 'there is no evidence that *Lincoln* was composed for a real marriage'.⁷ Examples of Donne's use of musical references in his Epithalamic songs are numerous. In the sixth stanza of *Epithalamium* (ll. 63-65), Donne implores 'Angels' in 'prayses' (ll. 15-17), 'Musitians' and 'Dauncers':

.6. The amorous euening Star is rose
 Why should not then our amorous Star enclose
 Herselfe in her wish'd bed: release your Strings
 Musitians; and Dauncers take some truce
 With these your pleasing Labors; for great vse
 As much wearines as perfection brings.⁸

At Lincoln's Inn, Donne knew music well enough to use musical notation as a poetic device. In line six of 'Elegy 4. *Jealousy*', Donne uses the *crochet* to describe a musician playing an instrument: Donne refers to the husband 'Drawing his breath as thick and short as can | The nimblest crocheting Musician' (ll. 5-6), imagerially spewing out vomit like a song, and 'His Soule out of one hell into a new, | Made deafe with his poore kindreds houlings cryes,' (ll. 8-9).⁹ Robbins notes that 'crocheting' means 'rapid playing', as 'crochets are relatively short musical notes'.¹⁰ Specifically, 'Crochet' is a reference to a 'musical symbol for a note of half the value of a minim, made in the form of a stem with a round (formerly lozenge-shaped) black head; a

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.77. Bald confirms that the 'first two Satires, nearly all the Elegies, and an uncertain number of the "Songs and Sonets"', as well as 'many verse letters' and an 'Epithalamion', 'belong to Donne's Lincoln's Inn days'.

⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 618.

⁸ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 8, *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and Miscellaneous Poems* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1995), p. 88.

⁹ Ibid., 2, p. 98.

¹⁰ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 311.

note of value'.¹¹ In seventeenth-century musical notation, a crochet is similar to a quarter note, held one beat; the minim is a half note, held two beats; an eighth note is a quaver, held for one eighth the duration of the semibreve;¹² and a semiquaver is a sixteenth note, held for one half the duration of a quaver. It is unlikely someone unfamiliar with music would be modifying musical terminology into a simile. As in this example, musical metaphorization is used to connect Donne's physical and spiritual worlds. Donne also references 'Sembriefe' and 'Crochets' when questioning *Why Puritans Make Long Sermons* in Problem XV, stating, 'Nor does all of them use the long Sembriefe Accent, some of them have Crochets enough' (ll. 2-3).¹³ The semibreve, held four beats (*tactus* or counts), was the longest musical note in use during the seventeenth century. The *tactus* of the period is believed to be a much longer amount of time than we would perceive it today. Fast and slow movements are not seen in musical forms until the late seventeenth century. In 'Satyre 4', Donne cites the semibreve again; Donne recalls a painful, protracted conversation with a pretentious courtier who 'tells many a ly' (l. 96). The courtier asks: '. . . what newes?' Donne answers, 'I tell him, of new playes. | He takes my hand, and as a Still which staves | A sembriefe twixt each dropp, . . . (ll. 93-95).¹⁴

Like Donne, Coprario was employed in a variety of venues and practiced his art in numerous ways, but he was connected to all of the musical settings of Donne's poetry and to many of Donne's personal friends during his lifetime. Coprario's given name was John Cooper, who,

¹¹ 'crotchet, n.1.', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, March 2021) [accessed 21 April 2021].

¹² The semibreve is a whole note, held four beats (*tactus*) or counts.

¹³ John Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. with introduction and commentary by Helen Peters, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 43.

¹⁴ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 3, *The Satyres* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2016), p. 137

‘having Italianised¹⁵ his name during a sojourn to Italy continued the use of it after his return to England’.¹⁶ Willets acknowledges:

Details of the lives of seventeenth-century musicians are notoriously hard to come by. Official records give the bare facts of appointments and payments and there are gaps in these. It is astonishing, for example, how rarely the name of Coperario occurs in the Lord Chamberlain’s records even though he was a composer to Charles I’. Dedications to published works are our most extensive source of information; composers sometimes give a few personal details among the flattering remarks addressed to their patrons.¹⁷

The Lord Chamberlain’s records at Court offer a window into Coprario’s life and his association with it. John Irving relates that Sir Robert Cecil paid Coprario £3 in connection with travel to the Low Countries in April 1603, and following his elevation to an earldom in 1605 (and subsequently to the position of lord treasurer) he became Coprario’s regular patron, tasking him with giving music lessons, ‘repair and maintenance of stringed instruments’, ‘setting of musick’, and hiring musicians for entertainments.¹⁸ Frances Clifford, earl of Cumberland, and Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, were also patrons.

¹⁵ John Irving, ‘Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004) [accessed 16 January 2023].

¹⁶ *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1889) by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign with Illustrations and Woodcuts in Four Volumes*, ed. by Sir George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1899), p. 398.

¹⁷ Pamela J. Willets, ‘Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell’, in *Music & Letters* 49.1 (1968), 36–42 (p. 36). Willets states, ‘The accounts of musicians by antiquaries such as Anthony Wood and Roger North were written, mostly from hearsay, many years after the events described; the information they provide is invaluable but needs careful sifting. To supplement these deficiencies more information than is sometimes realized can be derived from a close study of the music manuscripts themselves.’

¹⁸ Irving, ‘Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician’; R. Charteris, *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction* (New York, 1977); L. Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590–1640’, PhD diss., U. Lond., 1993.

In ‘The Message’,¹⁹ with lute tablature, Coprario’s melodic line follows the accent patterns of the lyric.²⁰ Jameson feels that the poem ‘has so much more harmony and elegance’ than other Donne poems.²¹ Gooch observes that Gardner and Duckles find ‘The Message’ and Anonymous’s ‘Goe and Catch a Falling Starre’²² ‘over-rhetorical’—‘there is less evidence of the principles of the *Seconda Practica*, particularly word-painting (e.g., *anabasis*, *catabasis*, *hyptyposis*, etc.) than one might expect, given the prevalence of Italian influence and the difficulty of musical-linear treatment of some of Donne’s lines’.²³ However, ‘there is a genuine attempt to let the music express the words, and the musical idiom is, in its way, as new and urgent as Donne’s verbal one’.²⁴

Morris states, ‘The opening, with its slow rising melodic line, sets the “recitative” tone’ . . . The measured language, the almost reproving attitude of the poem, is finely caught in the setting of lines 3-5, with its rising semiquavers on “learnt” and its rhythmic emphasis (echoing a speech emphasis) on “forc’d” and “false”’.²⁵ Coprario builds the melodic line to a climax on the run placed on the word ‘learnt’, stressing that the speaker of the poem has not only learned the true nature of the woman of the poem but that he has learned his lesson and expresses ‘resentment of

¹⁹ Unfortunately, an analysis of every Donne musical setting cannot be included because of the word limit of the thesis; therefore, I have chosen to analyze ‘The Message’ because it incorporates many of the stylistic techniques of composers of settings for Donne lyrics and seventeenth-century declamatory music.

²⁰ Recordings in the Appendices, Vol. II.

²¹ Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson, *The Loves of the Poets*, 2 vols (London: Coburn, 1829), Vol. 2, p. 108.

²² Bryan N. S. Gooch, ‘Music for Donne’, *JDJ*, 15 (1996), 171-88 (p. 176). Gooch reminds us that ‘Goe and catch a falling starre’ has companion pieces by Ford, Hume and Campion.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

²⁴ Brian Morris, ‘Not, Siren-like, to tempt: Donne and the Composers’, in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 219-58 (p. 230).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

amatory failure'.²⁶ The lute accompaniment forms the framework of the bass upon which Coprario's harmony, the 'inner notes' introduced at the discretion of the lutenist, serve as Duckle's 'chord-filling material'.

The highest note in the first line of 'The Message' foregrounds the speaker's 'eies'. 'Too long haue', and the repetition of 'which, o, which, o', emphasize the length of time he has wasted on the 'wretched creature' about whom he sings. The minims on the words 'such ill', and the use of alliteration, assonance, and tone painting ('forced fashions' and 'false passions') underscore the repellent behavior of his mistress.²⁷ When sung with three notes, 'passion' sounds French. Combined with 'fashion', this may indicate that the woman is French. The discordant run on 'good' is reflective of their inharmonious relationship, for 'good', the lady is not. Ending the phrase with two minims elongates the emphasis on 'sight'. This brings full circle the focus on 'eies' at the beginning of the song/poem, for he now 'sees' her for what she is and is aware of what she has done. Coprario concludes with a commanding 'keepe', the vocalist dramatically holding the note at length, signifying his ocular disassociation. The song ends on what appears to be a semibreve 'still', emphasizing the desire for his lover to still her actions, acknowledging the end of their relationship.²⁸ The switchbacks between 'sharp and flat' throughout are a familiar device of seventeenth-century music. The techniques of composition certainly prove Professors Duckles and Zimmerman's point that 'melodic lines take their shape from the accent patterns of the text'.

²⁶ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 220.

²⁷ In the song, 'false' precedes 'forced', whereas in the poem, 'forced' precedes 'false'. This could be a mistake on the part of the composer, liberties taken with the wording to accommodate the vocalist, or the deliberate attempt to accent the 'falseness' of the person in question.

²⁸ 'Still' also signifies the 'stillness' of the vocalist, having come to the end of the score.

Along with other composers of Donne musical settings, Gibbons, Ferrabosco, Coprario and Ford were among '17 musicians who formed the nucleus of the prince's [Henry] musical establishment. A number of them had served in the slightly smaller musical establishment of Prince Henry'.²⁹ Holman (1993) observes that 'what was to become the Caroline court orchestra was formed in the prince's household at this time . . . Coprario and Gibbons collaborated in composing for the ensemble'.³⁰ Coprario's work 'seems to have been particularly important'. Musicologists Gerald Hendrie and Thurston Dart believe Coprario's songs 'foreshadow "recitative music"'.³¹

Coprario played and composed music for the lute and viol da gamba, wrote 'fantasias', 'featuring the continuo bass, which had recently emerged in Italy'.³² 'He was clearly familiar with a good deal of published Italian madrigal repertory from the end of the sixteenth century' . . . and had learned the declamatory style; his 'fantasia-suites' broke 'new ground'. A 'composer of instrumental consort music, he also produced many secular vocal pieces' . . . 'instrumental madrigals' (from the Italian madrigal repertory), . . . 'three-part villanellas', . . . and contributed songs to 'Campion's *Masque of Squires* (*The Earle of Somerset's Masque*) (1613)'.³³

Chief among Coprario's patrons, however, was Charles, prince of Wales (later Charles I).

According to Sir John Hawkins's *A General History of the Science and Practice of*

Music (1776) he was the music teacher of the children of James I; Charles Burney's *A*

²⁹ Peter Le Huray, revised by John Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 30 August 2021].

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ John Coprario, *The English Lute-Songs*, transcribed and edited by Gerald Hendrie and Thurston Dart, First Series, Vol. 17 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1959), p. ii.

³² Irving, 'Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician'.

³³ *Ibid.*

General History of Music (1776) specifies that he taught the future Charles I to play the viol. This much is speculative, though in 1618 Coprario received of Charles the sum of £50, evidently in recognition of musical services rendered, and on 25 March 1622 there began a series of annual stipendiary payments to Coprario as one of the “musicians-in-ordinary” to the prince of Wales.³⁴

In 1606, Coprario published ‘Funeral Teares for the Death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Devonshire’.³⁵ Beginning at Court, in a variety of ways, Donne was well acquainted with Charles Blount, 8th Baron Mountjoy and 1st Earl of Devonshire, KG (1563-1606)³⁶ and his mistress (later wife), Lady Penelope Devereux Rich.³⁷ Having a ‘retiring disposition and a proclivity to immerse himself in study’, Blount was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth I’s because of his charming good looks;³⁸ Donne had served with him in the Azores. ‘Lady Rich was a fascinating and forceful woman. Having been educated by tutors at home and then under the guardianship of Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, after her father died, living at the house in Leicestershire, she knew French well and her talents in languages and music were later praised, as was her beauty’.³⁹ Alison Wall relates, ‘In January 1581 Penelope arrived at court to

³⁴ *Grove*, p. 398.

³⁵ *Ibid.* This ‘figured in seaven songes, wherof sixe are so set forth that the wordes may be exprest by a treble voice alone to the Lute and Base Violl, or else that the meane part may be added, if any shall affect more fulesse of parts’. The seaventh is made in forme of a Dialogue and can not be sung without two voyces’.

³⁶ Donne certainly would have emulated a courtier like Mountjoy. Charles being nine years his senior, the two had much in common. He had ‘studied at Oxford but failed to attain a degree. Instead, he travelled to London to study law and entered Clifford’s Inn, transferring to the Middle Temple on 20 June 1579.

³⁷ Christopher Maginn, ‘Blount, Charles, eighth Baron Mountjoy and earl of Devonshire (1563–1606), soldier and administrator’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) [accessed 14 December 2019].

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Alison Wall, ‘Rich [née Devereux], Penelope, Lady Rich (1563–1607), noblewoman’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 14 December 2019].

become one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, [...] when James I ascended the throne, she escorted his queen from the border, and performed in court masques by Samuel Daniel and Inigo Jones alongside Queen Anne'.⁴⁰ Coprario and Campion championed Penelope in song and verse,⁴¹ as did Byrd.⁴² Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* includes a dedication to Rich's sons.⁴³

Lady Rich and her son, Robert, 'were (like Lady Bedford and Lady Alice Egerton) prominent in the Queen's masques, Jonson's *Of Blackness* (Twelfth Night, 1605) and *Of Beauty*'.⁴⁴ Donne wrote a verse epistle to her daughter, Lettice Rich, 'To the Honourable Lady the Lady Carey', when he was in Amiens with Sir Robert Drury in Jan.-Feb. 1612, the same year many of his musical settings were being printed. Sir Robert Rich, the younger, was waiting there to 'join Wotton's embassy to the Court of Savoy, which reached Amiens on 27 March /6 April 1612 [...] The Drury party had left Amiens for Paris in early March 1612'. Robbins states that Rich was 'at least five times as wealthy as Sir Robert Drury'.⁴⁵ Perhaps Donne was courting another patroness who could put in a good word for him at Court.

5.2 'Goe and catch a falling starr' and John Playford

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. She was celebrated by other writers besides [Sir Philip] Sidney [as Stella in *Astrophil and Stella.*]: in dedications, in panegyrics, in sonnets by Henry Constable, in songs and sonnets by Coprario as "the starre of honor, and the sphere of beautie", [...] In 1595 Thomas Campion wrote an outline in Latin for a poem touching "stella Britanna, Penelope, Astrophili quae vulta incendit amores" ("the British star, Penelope, who sometime kindles the love of Astrophil").

⁴² Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 60.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁴ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 713.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 712.

In ‘A New Reading of John Donne’s “Song. Goe, and catche a falling starre”’, David Travis Newton argues that Donne obviously knew of Lady Penelope Devereux Rich well enough to mock her in a ‘Song.’ ‘Goe and catch a falling starr’ is the ninth song in the Clitherow manuscript; the musical setting is in MS 2013 by Anonymous.⁴⁶ In this song, ‘keepe of Enuyes stinging’ sounds ‘off’ and odd; it does not fit in with the rest of the melody, as Donne tries to find ‘What wind | Serues to advance an honest minde’ (ll. 7-9);⁴⁷ Newton feels that Donne is ‘intentionally mocking the Petrarchan poetry popular during the day and its idealization of woman’.⁴⁸ If Penelope Rich was the subject of “Goe and catch a falling starr’, Donne was certainly not idealizing her.

Brian Morris describes MS 2013 as an ‘insensitive setting’: ‘the only rhythmic characteristic of the piece is the dotted quaver-semiquaver figure which appears in the first bar, cutting the urgency of the speech rhythm and deadening it completely’.⁴⁹ The musical reference ‘Teach mee to heare Mermayds singing’ (l. 5)⁵⁰ and ‘Lines 1-4, 10-18 were first printed in *A Helpe to Memory and Discourse* (1621) (p. 143).⁵¹ MS *Dolau Cothi* includes this poem in its section

⁴⁶ Recording in Appendices, Vol. II.

⁴⁷ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.2, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), p. 74.

⁴⁸ David Travis Newton, “‘A New Reading of John Donne’s “Song. Goe, and catche a falling starre”” (unpublished Master’s thesis, North Carolina State Univ., 2003; abstract in *NC State Theses and Dissertations* (2010), etd-12112003-154106) <<http://www.lib.ncsu.edu/resolver/1840.16/2585>>. ‘Additionally, Donne’s poem is a reaction to the Protestant campaign of promoting their religio-political agenda, by using the heroic death-in-battle of Sidney along with the publication of his works to fashion a Sidney legend, setting him up as the ideal English Petrarchan gentleman, courtier, and Protestant warrior. In ‘Song’, Donne undermines this movement by pointing out the irony of Sidney’s selection of Lady Penelope Rich, a known adulterer, as the idealized subject of Astrophil and Stella. Donne points to Sidney as his subject through a numerological code in the poem and through poetic allusions to the life and works of Sidney and the elegists’.

⁴⁹ Morris, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁰ *Variorum*, 4.2, p. 74.

⁵¹ See Appendices, Vol. II.

“Songs which were made to certain airs that were made before”⁵² ‘The Broken Harte’, the fifth song in the Clitherow MS, is also included in *A Helpe*.⁵³ John Playford⁵⁴ wrote an analogue to ‘Goe and catch a falling starr’, ‘On Womens Inconstancy’,⁵⁵ in *The Treasury of Musick Containing Ayres and Dialogues to Sing to the Theorbo-Lute Or Basse-Viol / Composed by Mr. Henry Lawes ... and Other Excellent Masters; in Three Books* (1669). Playford (1623-1686/1687) was an ‘English publisher, bookseller, and vicar-choral of St. Paul’s Cathedral’ who ‘dominated the music publishing trade in London from 1651-84’.⁵⁶ Playford was ‘highly esteemed by poets and musicians’; he wrote ‘theory of music and lesson books’, ‘collections of songs and instrumental pieces; psalms, psalm paraphrases and hymns’.⁵⁷ Playford was yet another composer and music publisher associated with St. Paul’s who had been influenced by Donne.

5.3 Music Tutors and Ministerial Musicians

Court musicians and composers who were associated with Donne and his circle of friends, and wrote musical settings of Donne’s poetry, often collaborated with one another or were music tutors in the homes of Donne’s patrons. Music tutor, Giovanni Coprario, and Thomas Campion

⁵² Ibid., p. 194.

⁵³ See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁵⁴ Margaret Dean-Smith, and Nicholas Termperley, ‘Playford, John (i)’, *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 30 December 2023]. John Playford (b. Norwich, 1623; d. London between Dec. 24, 1686 and Feb 7, 1687).

⁵⁵ John Playford, ‘On Womens Inconstancy’ in Henry Lawes, 1596-1662. *The Treasury of Musick Containing Ayres and Dialogues to Sing to the Theorbo-Lute Or Basse-Viol / Composed by Mr. Henry Lawes ... and Other Excellent Masters; in Three Books*, London, 1669, p. 11. See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁵⁶ Margaret Dean-Smith, and Nicholas Termperley, ‘Playford, John (i)’.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

would collaborate again, with Coprario writing the music for several masques that were performed at Whitehall, one with words written by Campion.⁵⁸ In 1613, Coprario and the harpist, Daniel Callinder, attended the Duke of Lennox to Heidelberg,⁵⁹ after the wedding of Princess Elizabeth.⁶⁰ Coprario attended Frederick and the princess on their journey to Heidelberg, following their marriage; Donne composer, Orlando Gibbons, is also believed to have been among the ‘Heidelberg entourage, as an attendant of the Earl of Arundel’.⁶¹

He [Coprario] contributed three of the songs to the masque performed at Whitehall on St. Stephen’s Night, 1614, and supplied the whole of the music in “The Masque of Flowers” presented in the same place on Twelfth Night in the same year, both masques being given in honour of the marriage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard. He composed a set of Fancies for the organ for Charles I, the manuscript of which is still extant, and numerous Fancies for viouls. He contributed two vocal pieces to “The teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule,” published by Sir William Leighton in 1614.⁶²

According to Grove, Coprario, ‘the master of Henry and William Lawes’,⁶³ wrote ‘a short musical treatise’, *Rules how to compose*, about 1617 to ‘instruct the young William Lawes, whom the earl of Hertford had taken “from his Father, and bred him of his own cost . . . under

⁵⁸ Maginn. ‘He composed the music to “The Masque of the Inner Temple and Graye’s Inn,” performed at Whitehall, Feb. 20, 1612. In 1613 he published “Songs of Mourning bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry. Worded by Thom. Campion and set forth to bee sung with one voice to the Lute or Violl”’.

⁵⁹ Peter Le Huray, revised by John Harper.

⁶⁰ Irving, ‘Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician’. Following their marriage, Coprario had ‘composed some music for Thomas Campion’s *The Lord’s Masque*, performed on 14 February that year, for which he was paid £20’.

⁶¹ Peter Le Huray, revised by John Harper.

⁶² *Grove*, p. 399.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

his Master Giovanni Coperario” (Ashbee and Lasocki)”.⁶⁴ This treatise ‘(which has occasional correspondences of detail with Campion’s *A New Way of Making Fowre parts in Counter-point*) survives in a holograph manuscript that belonged to John Egerton, apparently before he was created Earl of Bridgewater in 1617’.⁶⁵ The Lawes brothers set four of Donne’s poems to music. William Lawes wrote Donne’s ‘The Apparition’ (1649-1652), the fourth song in the Clitherow MS, and ‘Wherfore Peepst Thou’ (analogue to ‘The Sun Rising’) (1650s); Henry Lawes composed ‘Sweet, stay awhile’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) (1626-1662), the first song in the Clitherow manuscript, and ‘Wherfore peepst thou enuious day’ (analogue to ‘Ad Solem’ ‘The Sun Rising’) (1626-1662). ‘Wherfore peep’st thou’ can be found titled as ‘A Lover on the day-break’ in *The Academy of Complements* (1663).⁶⁶ William Lawes wrote analogues to Donne’s ‘The Good Morrow’,⁶⁷ the eighth song in the Clitherow manuscript.

In January 1617, the earl of Cumberland ‘paid Coprario £11 . . . following his return from Dubrovnik, for which records show that he was granted a permission “to goe unto forraigne partes for one yeare about dispatch of his private occasions”’.⁶⁸ The Earl and Countess of Cumberland, Margaret Russell Clifford, could link Coprario with the More family because poet, dramatist and

⁶⁴ Irving, ‘Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician’. A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols (1998). Irving states, ‘There is a strong similarity between Coprario’s “Rules” and Campion’s “A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counter-Point” (1613-1614), though which had the priority is unclear’.

⁶⁵ Christopher D. S. Field, ‘Coprario [Coperario, Cooper, Cowper], John [Giovanni]’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 17 January 2023].

⁶⁶ John Gough (fl. 1640), *The Academy of Complements Wherein Ladies, Gentlewomen, Schollers, and Strangers may Accomodate their Courtly Practice with Gentile Ceremonies, Complemental, Amorous, High Expressions and Forms of Speaking, Or Writing of Letters most in Fashion / a Work Perused, Exactly Perfected, Everywhere Corrected and Enlarged, and Enriched by the Author, with Additions of Many Witty Poems, and Pleasant Songs...*, London, 1663, p. 154

⁶⁷ See Dubia in Appendices, Vol. II for additional analogues by William Lawes.

⁶⁸ Irving, ‘Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician’.

statesman, Thomas Sackville, 1st Earl of Dorset, wrote to Sir George More in April 1607, requesting his assistance with the countess in arranging the marriage between ‘that virtuous young lady the Lady Anne’ and his grandson, Richard.⁶⁹ Coprario was possibly at Knole, the home of Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset, and the multi-talented Countess Anne Clifford, when Donne visited in July 1617 during a journey to his parish at Sevenoaks,⁷⁰ since there is documentary evidence that the earl had paid Coprario just six months prior. In her diary, Anne records that ‘on 20 July, “Dr *Donne* came hither”, and that on the 27th “I went to Church (being Sunday) forenoon and afternoon, Dr. *Donne* Preaching and he and the other strangers dining with me in the great Chamber”’.⁷¹

In 1622, ‘a small group known as “Coprario’s music” was established within Charles’s household, probably for the express purpose of performing Coprario’s consort fantasias.’⁷²

When he became king in 1625, Charles made Coprario his composer-in-ordinary, but this appointment, the climax of his career, was short-lived. He was replaced by Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger in July 1626 ‘in the place of John Coprario deceased’ (Charteris, *John Coprario*): his death, in London, must have occurred about June of that year.⁷³

Quoting Arthur Wilson’s *History of Great Britain* (1665), Philip J. Finkelpearl uses the

⁶⁹ Woking, Surrey History Centre, *The Loseley Manuscripts: Records of the More and More Molyneux Family of Loseley Park*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 7th Report, (London, 1879)

⁷⁰ Bald, p. 324.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 324 n. 1. ‘*The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed V. Sackville West, 1923, p. 74’. This visit and Lady Anne’s musicality were discussed previously.

⁷² Irving, ‘Coprario, John (*d.* 1626), composer and musician’

⁷³ *Ibid.* R. Charteris, *John Coprario: a thematic catalogue of his music with a biographical introduction* (New York, 1977).

marriage of Somerset and Lady Frances to elucidate King James VI & I's 'lavish entertainments' with Coprario, Gibbons, and other court musicians'.⁷⁴ 'Those high-flying celebrations were created by many of England's greatest writers, eager to keep James floating in the empyrean whence his bounty could rain down upon them'.⁷⁵ Finkelppearl speaks with disdain of how Jonson, 'amoral professional that he was', had written the masque *Hymnaei* (1606) for Frances's marriage to Essex, then wrote two more pieces for her new marriage'.⁷⁶ Campion, 'unwittingly implicated in the murder plot against Overbury, wrote a wedding masque', as did Thomas Middleton; even George Chapman, finding himself in 'desperate financial straits,' wrote a 'nauseating', 'celebratory poem "Andromeda Libera"'.⁷⁷

Somerset's exposure to music and entertainments from a young age at Court in Scotland and later at James VI & I's Court, extended to the Courts abroad. 'His beautiful wife [...] danced as the 'Nymph of Lee' on 5 June 2010 at Whitehall in the masque *Tethys' Festival*, to celebrate the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales'.⁷⁸ Frances's mother, Catherine Knyvett (also a beauty and secret agent of the Spanish government) was twice a Howard; her husband, Thomas Howard, was 1st Earl of Suffolk and she was a descendant of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Philip J. Finkelppearl, 'The Fairies' farewell: The Masque at Coleorton (1618)', *RES*, 46.183 (Aug. 1995), p. 348 [accessed 8 May 2020]. 'During the lavish entertainments that surrounded the marriage ceremony, the strange King was in a state of unending rapture: "The glorious Days are seconded with glorious Nights, where Masks and Dancings had a continued Motion; the King naturally affecting such High-flying Pastimes and Banquettings, as might wrap up his Spirit, and keep it from descending towards Earthly things"'.
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49.
⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 349. Bacon, too, 'subsidized one of the marriage masques, and Donne, already patronized by Somerset, wrote an 'Eclogue' and an 'Epithalamium' for the occasion'.
⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
⁷⁸ Alastair Bellany, 'Carr [Kerr], Robert, earl of Somerset (1585/6?-1645), favourite of James I', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) [accessed 21 August 2021].
⁷⁹ Nicola Clark, 'Introduction: "anobull house"', *Gender, Family, and Politics: The Howard Women, 1485-1558*, *OED online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 September 2018) [accessed 17 May. 2020].

The Howard family was replete with musical women as evidenced by Anne Boleyn (second wife of King Henry VIII), Katherine Howard,⁸⁰ (King Henry VIII's fifth wife), and Elizabeth I, Queen of England (King Henry VIII's daughter).⁸¹ Katherine was accused of having an affair with her virginals tutor, Henry Manox, and Anne, with hers.⁸² 'The favourite of Mary Queen of Scots, the musician-secretary David Riccio, was also readily perceived as adulterous in the jealous eyes of Lord Darnley'.⁸³

Musical skill was so fashionable in Tudor England that 'private music tutors enjoyed a booming business'.⁸⁴ Music tutors played a prominent role in Court and family life, where they (like Donne's grandfather) tutored children at Court and parents and children in the great houses of the land. 'Professionally, they occupied a nebulous space somewhere between the gentleman and the lowly "minstrel"⁸⁵—respectable enough for the household mistress to consider romantically, but still undeniably mere employees'.⁸⁶ 'Since a tutor's precise "place" in the world was undefined, it had to be continually negotiated, and in the music room roles and

⁸⁰ Katherine Howard was the granddaughter of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk.

⁸¹ Anne Boleyn was the granddaughter of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk and Elizabeth I, Queen of England, was his great-granddaughter.

⁸² Katie Nelson, 'Love in the music room: Thomas Whythorne and the private affairs of Tudor music tutors', in *Early Music*, Vol. 40, 1 (February 2012), 15–26, (p. 24 n. 6). E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 367-8. 'The unfortunate musician Mark Smeaton was selected as a likely candidate to provide "evidence" against Anne Boleyn. The son of a carpenter, Smeaton overestimated the social capital he could claim by music, failing to see that flirting with the queen was far too bold an attempt to 'compete above his station'. 'Given his intimate access to the queen, this made him an easy target, upon whom suspicion might easily be heaped'.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, n. 47. 'R. K. Marshall, "Riccio, David", *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23475, accessed 22 February 2010); J. Goodare, "Mary (1542–1587)", *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18248, accessed 22 February 2010)'.
⁸⁴ Katie Nelson, p. 15.

⁸⁵ Chandley. 'The standard place that a musician stood in the social strata was below a cook, but above the footman who would load the luggage on a carriage. This perception would change a little bit through the ages; but, as a general rule, that is where musicians were placed in society'.

⁸⁶ Katie Nelson, p. 18.

relationships were defined: power, money, religion, sex, music and perhaps even love were all intricately intertwined'. 'Long standing relationships like Thomas Robinson's with the Cecil family reveal that, for musicians, life in household service could offer, as Thomas Whythorne states, "security and stability"'. However, these relationships could turn complicated and deadly if they became too intimate. Nelson describes the role of music tutors as being 'something quite distinct from court musicians', as the music tutor 'manoeuvred dangerously, making his own place in the world':⁸⁷ Power, sex, love and intrigue combined with music's power to arouse passions in the sometimes isolated music room, creating the setting for a romantic gamble that could result in triumph or despair. A tutor could circumnavigate the accepted forms of courtship and go straight to his mistress's heart, and perhaps even her marriage bed.⁸⁸

Similarly 'complicated' was the intimacy that developed between Donne and Ann due to Donne's presence in the Egerton household as secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton. 'He must have cut a dashing figure in the eyes of an adolescent girl, herself being groomed for the world of the royal Court'.⁸⁹ Although the exact nature of Donne's employment with Egerton is unclear due to the absence of his name 'on any document mentioning or listing Egerton's paid employees between 1599 and 1601', Ann likely would have been impressed by one who 'had been born into a family with a history of Court connections, was highly educated and widely traveled, had recently returned from foreign wars at sea, was reputed an astonishing poet, and was obviously one of the most brilliant young men of his generation'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 20, 19, 24.

⁸⁸ Ibid., author abstract.

⁸⁹ *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. with an Introduction by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 11.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

‘Power, sex, love and intrigue’⁹¹ would have provided tempting scenarios for young Donne’s amorous desires, for ‘Elizabethan gallants believed the feminine heart was peculiarly subject to the softening influence of melody’.⁹² ‘Scholars have labelled such songs as mere “convention”’: they are, it is argued, not indicative of actual events or relationships, but simply a framework used in a public courtly game’.⁹³ ‘In the context of a large courtly audience, these songs may seem bold but mostly playful and generic in their expressions of desire’. However, if we look at the ‘erotics’ of the ‘private and isolated music room’, with an unmarried man and woman singing or playing a musical instrument together, ‘these songs can hardly be seen as harmless convention’.⁹⁴ In that light, we can imagine Donne using music to ‘impress’ and as a ‘means to an end’. The lute ‘brought men and women together and could even persuade young lovers to suspend consideration of the differences in their social status’.⁹⁵ For, ‘who shall silence all the airs and madrigals, that whisper softnes in chambers’?⁹⁶

Equally ambitious, the Carr/Ker couple continued to be indulged by James VI & I and enjoyed every advantage of the Jacobean court, participating in masques and entertainments. ‘Eclogue and Epithalamion on the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset, 1613, December 26’,

⁹¹ Katie Nelson, author abstract.

⁹² Willa McClung Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 3.

⁹³ Katie Nelson, p. 22.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 20.

⁹⁶ John Milton, *Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Vnlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of England* (London, 1644), p. 16.

Donne's poetic 'sacrifice', is a song to celebrate the lavish Court marriage of 'King James I's favourite, Robert Carr, made Viscount Rochester 1611, Earl of Somerset 3 Nov. 1613':⁹⁷

Reade then this Nuptiall song, which was not made
Eyther the Court or mens harts to inuade,
But since I'm dead and buryed, I could frame
No Epitaph which might aduance my fame
So much as this poore song, which testifies
I did vnto that day some sacrifice. (ll. 99-104)

After 'Church rites' and 'Angel's blessings', 'dance and revells', 'Masques and Banquets', the bride awaits the bridegroom in bed amidst metaphors of astrology, exploration, Court and King. Donne, still pandering to 'possible patrons' and looking for work, 'flatters their taste for treatment as gods on earth', by promising to go back to Court and 'lay it on | Such Altars as prize your deuotion' (ll. 234-235):⁹⁸

This is Ioyes bonfire, then, where loues strong Arts
Made of so noble Indiuiduall parts
One fire of 4 enflaming eyes, and of 2 louing harts.

As I have brought this Song, that I may doe
A perfect Sacrifice, Ill burne it too. (ll. 223-225)⁹⁹

Robbins states that omitting the name of the bride in the title (the divorced Countess of Essex) 'veiled the questionable nature of the proceedings'.¹⁰⁰

After Donne's pursuit of 'a grant of some sort of income through the good offices of the King's favorite, Somerset',¹⁰¹ these pursuits would soon come to an end, with Overbury's

⁹⁷ *Variorum*, 8, p. 135.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 649, 655, 658, 661-662

¹⁰⁰ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 638.

¹⁰¹ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 22.

murder and the couple's subsequent conviction. Quoting Arthur Wilson's malefic account,¹⁰² Finkelp pearl sums up the entire affair: 'the marriage became a living exemplum of Shakespeare's account of "lust in action"'.¹⁰³

Despite these tragic associations, many of the friendships Donne made while at Court he had maintained throughout his life. Thomas Myriell (b. c. 1580; d 1625) was another 'minister musician' like George Herbert. Described as 'one of the most dedicated music lovers in Jacobean London',¹⁰⁴ Lein relates that Myriell was 'a zealous compiler and arranger of late Elizabethan and Jacobean vocal and instrumental music. Musicologists have long known of his famous anthology of more than 200 compositions' (1616),¹⁰⁵ and that Myriell 'enjoyed extensive connections within London's musical communities'.¹⁰⁶ *Tristitiae remedium* is 'a major source for anthems, motets and madrigals by English composers of the period' . . . and 'is a good, early, and in some cases unique, source for the works of Thomas Tomkins,¹⁰⁷ Peerson, Ward,¹⁰⁸ Lupo, Ferrabosco (ii) and John Milton senior'.¹⁰⁹ Tomkins' brother, John, worked with Peerson and Donne at St. Paul's, and Ward, who worked for Sir Henry Fanshawe's son, wrote music near St. Paul's. 'Myriell's friendship with Tomkins is confirmed by the latter's dedication to him of

¹⁰² Anonymous, *The Five Years of King James* (London, 643), p. 46.

¹⁰³ Finkelp pearl, p. 349.

¹⁰⁴ Clayton D. Lein, 'Donne, Thomas Myriell, and the Musicians of St. Paul's', *JDJ*, 23 (2004), 215-47 (p. 222).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. '*Tristitiae remedium. Cantiones selectissimae, diversorum tum authorum, tum argumentorum; labore et manu exaratae* THOMAE MYRIELL. A.D.) 1616, now in the British Library'.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Pamela J. Willets, 'Myriell, Thomas', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 22 February 2024]; [*Och* (Oxford, Christ Church Library)] 'The manuscript *Och* 67 also contains two items in the hand of Thomas Tomkins, and *Och* 44 music in the autograph of Benjamin Cosyn.'

¹⁰⁸ John Ward's 'Fancies' in MS 39554 (Vol. 5, Bassus) bear the names 'Donne', 'Donne 2d' and 'Dunn'.

¹⁰⁹ Willets, 'Myriell, Thomas'.

When David heard in the *Songs* (London, 1622).¹¹⁰ ‘Other scribes in *Och* 61-7 (Oxford, Christ Church Library) are reexamined by Payne;¹¹¹ one appears to be John Ward’. Ward was in the famous ‘Sixth English School’, along with fellow madrigalists Thomas Weelkes and John Willybe (at St. Paul’s). Interestingly, a ‘manuscript of songs and motets, chiefly by English composers, in Brussels (*B-Br* II 4109, formerly Fétis 3095) bears Myriell’s signature as owner’.¹¹² This is noteworthy since so many of Donne’s Catholic family fled to Brussels. Myriell is linked to Coprario through Egerton MS 995, a collection of madrigals mainly by Italian composers but to English words,¹¹³ and Gibbons through a manuscript written by the same hand who wrote *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612), whom Willets asserts to be Ward.¹¹⁴ Gibbons is also linked with composer Bull through London composer Benjamin Cosyn, at the Charterhouse and as organist of Dulwich College.¹¹⁵

Lein thinks that Donne was not only friends with Myriell through ‘clerical circles’ at court, since James Mountague, Bishop of Bath and Wells and Dean of the Chapel to James VI & I was his patron, but also through George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury [1611], as Myriell was his chaplain.¹¹⁶ ‘The presentation of Sevenoaks to Donne on 7 July 1616’ was by the

¹¹⁰ Ibid. ‘Other manuscripts partly written by him [Myriell] are *Och* 44, 61-7, 459-62’.

¹¹¹ I. Payne, ‘The Handwriting of John Ward’, *M&L*, 65.2 (1984), 176-88.

¹¹² Willets, ‘Myriell, Thomas’.

¹¹³ Pamela J. Willets, ‘Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell’, in *Music & Letters* 49.1 (1968), 36–42, p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 41 n. 12. Willets says this is not conclusive based on her examination of the single signature of Ward which has come to her notice in British Museum, Add. 41,578, f. 101. However, her belief stands based on a reexamination by I. Payne: ‘The Handwriting of John Ward’, *ML*, 65 (1984), 176–88, in Pamela J. Willets, ‘Myriell, Thomas’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Lein, pp. 220-1.

Archbishop.¹¹⁷ Lein expands this association between the Archbishop and Donne when he ‘comments with respect to secret correspondence in 1617, that it “looks [...] as if [Donne] worked more closely with Archbishop Abbot than has usually been assumed,” activities which continued until at least 1623’.¹¹⁸ Donne ‘may also have met Myriell in the company of a fellow chaplain to the king during his early years in the ministry’,¹¹⁹ again proving an association to the Court and referring to Donne’s role as a royal chaplain to James VI & I, preaching at Court each year during Lent.

These ‘associations’ Lein feels ‘predate’ Donne’s tenure at St. Paul’s Cathedral and Myriell and Donne’s friendship there, even though Myriell’s ‘connections to Donne are thus likely to have been quite varied’.¹²⁰ Although Donne’s relationship with Abbot is well known, this strengthens the argument that Donne’s friendship with Myriell began much earlier than previously posited. We know Donne’s friendship with Myriell dated back to when Myriell was Rector of St. Stephens, Walbrook (1616-1625), but the dates of Donne musical settings by Ferrabosco (1609), Peerson (1609-1612), Coprario (1612) and Gibbons (1612) indicate the possibility of an even earlier association.¹²¹ If Donne were at Cambridge(?) in 1588-1589, as Bald speculates, he would have known Myriell there when Myriell was elected Fellow of

¹¹⁷ Bald, p. 317.

¹¹⁸ Lein, p. 221 n. 20.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 221-22.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 224.

¹²¹ The musical association of these men, supported by the musical settings of Donne’s poetry by Ferrabosco (1609) and Peerson (1609-1612) predates Lein’s time frame.

Pembroke College. Willets cites two examples of proof that Myriell was at Cambridge at the same time as Donne.¹²²

Myriell's friendship with Donne is noteworthy because Myriell is a minister musician he may have known at Cambridge,¹²³ and at Court, with ties to Court musicians who set Donne's poetry. 'But, the most important dimension of Myriell's musical associations with Donne concerns his wide-ranging relationships with musicians associated with St. Paul's Cathedral, associations likewise dating from the second decade of the seventeenth century.'¹²⁴ Donne's friendship with Myriell and Myriell's musical friends, inside and outside of St. Paul's, might have facilitated the connection between Donne and Gibbons, since we know that Thomas Myriell's friend, Thomas Tomkins, 'served with Orlando Gibbons and Nathaniel Giles'¹²⁵ in August, 1621 when he 'became organist of the Chapel Royal',¹²⁶ where he had previously been a choir member. Myriell's musical abilities were well known, as were his musical manuscripts, 'many of which contain unique copies of works by leading composers of the period, including versions of compositions clearly antedating their first publication'.¹²⁷

¹²² Willets, 'Myriell, Thomas', p. 38 n. 5.

¹²³ Peter Le Huray, revised by John Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'. The youngest son of William, Orlando was the younger brother of Edward (b. 1568; ?c 1650), 'master of the choristers at King's College, Cambridge (1592-8), and later lay vicar and (by dispensation) succentor of Exeter Cathedral, being appointed "teacher of the choristers" in 1608, a post he held until the Interregnum (1649). Under his brother, Orlando was listed as a chorister and entered the university in 1598; from 1603, he was a musician in the Chapel Royal until his death. He received his MusB from Cambridge in 1606 and was thought to have received a DMus from Oxford in May 1622, but that is now in doubt'. Myriell could have known the Gibbons brothers at Cambridge.

¹²⁴ Lein, p. 224 n. 24.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 224 n. 27.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 224.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 222.

5.4 Orlando Gibbons: 'Ah, deere hart'

'In 1657, a book of lessons was published by Bull, Gibbons, and others. While music for all other instruments was so easy and simple, it is not a little singular that this book contained music more difficult to perform than any which was published for the harpsichord or organ for the next hundred and fifty years'.¹²⁸ This statement gives some indication of the musical talent of Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), composer of Donne madrigal 'Ah, dear, heart' (analogue to 'Break of Day', 'Sweet, stay awhile') (1612) in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612)¹²⁹ and 'leading composer of vocal, keyboard and ensemble music in early 17th century England'.¹³⁰ In *Poems* (1669), 'Sweet, stay awhile' was printed as the first stanza of 'Break of Day' (p. 35).¹³¹ For 'viols and voyces' meant madrigals could either be sung in the ordinary way or else treated as songs without words and played on viols'.¹³² Composed at the 'height of his powers',¹³³ Myriell's madrigals were of a very 'individual nature and of a special type not found in the work of any of his contemporaries'; they showed 'a deep indebtedness to Byrd'.¹³⁴ His 'Fantasias for strings' are said to be the 'first music printed in

¹²⁸ Joseph Bird, *Gleanings from the History of Music: The Earliest Ages to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Metcalf, 1849), p. 209.

¹²⁹ Recording in Appendices, Vol. II.

¹³⁰ Le Huray, revised by Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'.

¹³¹ John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 134 n 5; 'The poem resembles one beginning "'Tis true, 'tis day", by John Donne, and is ascribed to him in some manuscript sources. A version is prefixed to "'Tis true" in the edition of Donne's poems printed in 1669; but the couplets concluding Donne's stanzas are pentameters, not tetrameters as in the verses set by Gibbons and Dowland. Gibbons set one stanza of the poem; Dowland's song has two stanzas, and begins "Sweet, stay awhile, while will you rise?".

¹³² Edmund Horace Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 89.

¹³³ Harley, p. 77.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84, 77.

England from engraved plates'.¹³⁵ The title states, 'Cut in Copper, the like not heretofore extant. London: At the Bell in St. Paul's Church Yard'.¹³⁶ His madrigals and motets 'requires the employment of counter-tenor, or male alto voices for satisfactory interpretations', which can be played on string instruments when male voices are not available.¹³⁷ In his string and vocal music, 'overlapping' and 'irregular rhythm' 'abound freely'¹³⁸ and 'his work as a whole is of a bold and fertile innovator'.¹³⁹

A 'master of serious polyphonic music', Gibbons's full anthems 'attracted particular praise'.¹⁴⁰ 'No substantial sacred work by Gibbons was published in his lifetime', but he contributed to William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soule* (1614) and George Wither's *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623).¹⁴¹ By 1611, Gibbons was considered to be the 'best organist in England'.¹⁴² 'From 1613', he 'was the most talented keyboard player and keyboard composer available to the court'.¹⁴³ Gibbons' music exhibits the multiple characteristics of modern seventeenth century music utilized in Donne settings: 'the wit and vitality, the responsive, declamatory treatment of text, even in a contrapuntal idiom, and the use of rhythmic figures and periodic harmony'. LeHuray and Harper state that 'the absence of

¹³⁵ Orlando Gibbons, *The English Madrigalists: The First Set of Madrigals and Motets (1612)*, ed. by Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. by Thurston Dart (New York: Stainer & Bell, 1963), Preface to Vol. V., n.p.

¹³⁶ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 91.

¹³⁷ Gibbons, *The English Madrigalists: The First Set of Madrigals and Motets (1612)*.

¹³⁸ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 95.

¹³⁹ Harley, p. 78.

¹⁴⁰ Le Huray, revised by Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 37.

¹⁴³ Le Huray, revised by Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'.

chromatic harmony and decoration, . . . even in the melancholy texts of the *Madrigals and Mottets*, . . . is part of the harmonic plan'. *Madrigals and Mottets* contain most of Gibbons's 'secular vocal music' . . . 'completed before he was 30', showing his 'affinity with Byrd'.¹⁴⁴ He uses 'madrigal' to describe the lighter songs and 'motet' to describe the more serious ones.¹⁴⁵ *Musica Universalis* is employed when Gibbons states in his dedication: 'It is a proportion that beautifies everything, this whole Universe consists of it, and Musicke is measured by it'.¹⁴⁶ 'The seriousness of the whole collection may have been affected by the prince's death as much as the pervasive spirit of Jacobean melancholy typified by Walter Raleigh's *What is our life*' [a familial connection to Donne], also set by Gibbons.¹⁴⁷ His madrigal 'What is our life' is considered to be 'amongst the very finest secular things ever written in the polyphonic manner'; 'this madrigal alone would have qualified Gibbons for a select place in the highest rank of the polyphonic composers'.¹⁴⁸

In Gibbons' music, there is 'no constraint on expressiveness, whether in the polyphonic intensity of *O Lord, in thy wrath*, the dramatic declamation of *Glorious and powerful God*, or the exuberance of *O clap your hands*'.¹⁴⁹ Gibbons 'introduces 'far fewer homophonic sections than perhaps any other Tudor composer' in his anthems—'at no point throughout the anthem do all the four parts come together with the same word until the final cadence'.¹⁵⁰ Charles Burney

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Harley, p. 134.

¹⁴⁶ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁷ Le Huray, revised by Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'.

¹⁴⁸ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁴⁹ Le Huray, revised by Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'.

¹⁵⁰ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 58.

states that ‘purists’ of the day ‘pronounced the style “vicious”’. This ‘vicious’ confusion of all parts singing different words at the same time reflects the challenges posed to readers by Donne’s lyric, for in order to sing Gibbons’s music, the vocalists must give ‘special care to the selection of the syllables and notes that should be stressed with varying degrees of intensity’.¹⁵¹ The difficulty of the music reflects the difficulty of Donne’s rhythm and metre. Gibbons ‘plays off the rhythms of speech against the metre of his verse. There is tension between the length of syllables in the words and the length of the notes given to them, and between the movement of the verse and that of the melody’.¹⁵² He utilizes ‘both tonality and counterpoint’. Gibbons had a wide musical range, writing fantasias for viols, violins, and wind instruments: ‘a work performed with wind instruments in the Chapel Royal may have been performed with organ in a provincial cathedral, or with viols in a domestic setting’. Possessing ‘Italianate techniques’,¹⁵³ his use of the ‘chord of the augmented fifth’, ‘with special effect’ on the word ‘death’ in several of his madrigals,¹⁵⁴ compares with the holding of the word ‘death’ longer than any word in all of Donne’s musical settings, emphasizing through word painting that death is infinite.

In Holmes’s marvelous article, ‘Refiguring mimesis: Representation in early modern literature’, Litha Efthymiou observes that Gibbons, on the line, ‘Ah, deere hart, why do you rise?’, in ‘Ah, deere heart’ in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612), ‘writes the melody in such a way that it rises by step from F to A’:¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Harley, p. 139.

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 146, 135.

¹⁵⁴ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁵ Holmes, Jonathan, ““There must be something heard”: John Donne’s aural universe’, in *Refiguring Memesis: Representation in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), pp. 183-207 (p. 193).

More tellingly, in the next line, “The Light that shines comes from your eyes”, the melody rises abruptly by a minor sixth interval on the word “comes”, before descending by step down to note A, from where it began. This interval is heard again on the word “come” in the first tenor’s imitation in bar nine, the alto in bar ten and the soprano in bar eleven. Such a striking interval has the almost comic effect of sexual climax through the sudden rising sixth and subsequent slow descending step motion, an innuendo entirely consistent with Donne’s punning style in the poem.¹⁵⁶

One of seventeen musicians who formed the nucleus of the Prince Charles’s musical establishment, Gibbons was sworn in as Gentleman of the Chapel Royal 19 May 1603. These musicians included Donne composers Ferrabosco, Ford and Coprario, ‘performers as well as composers’, all receiving an ‘annual salary of £40’. Later in his career, Gibbons was to ‘attend the royal privy chamber as virginalist at £46 per annum from Michaelmas 1619’.¹⁵⁷ ‘It is likely that much of the dance music—both for keyboard and for strings—was written after his appointment in 1619 as a musician of the Privy Chamber, for dancing was much in vogue at court and dance-music was enjoyed also in its own right’.¹⁵⁸ His *Fantasies of Three Parts* was dedicated to Edmund Wray, protégé of George Villiers, royal favourite.¹⁵⁹ In 1625, Gibbons was senior organist of Chapel Royal and Thomas Tomkins was junior organist. At the death of James VI & I in March 1625, Gibbons was also listed as organist of Westminster Abbey where he shared duties as master of the choristers. He wrote fourteen hymn tunes that were published in Wither’s *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623)’, designed ‘for congregational use’.¹⁶⁰ After the death of Prince Henry, ‘Gibbons was the most junior of the contributors to *Parthenia*

¹⁵⁶ Le Huray, revised by Harper, ‘Gibbons, Orlando’.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Gerald Hendrie, ‘The Keyboard Music of Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625)’, in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89 (1962), 1-15 (p. 1).

¹⁵⁹ Le Huray, revised by Harper, ‘Gibbons, Orlando’.

¹⁶⁰ Harley, p. 153.

(1613), written to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, to Frederick, Elector Palatine’, a high honor bestowed by Bull and Byrd.¹⁶¹ ‘The pavan and galliard “Lord Salisbury”, the wedding anthem *Blessed are all they* (1613) for the Earl of Somerset, and anthems associated (in *GB-Och* Mus 21) with senior clergy who held royal chaplaincies (Godfrey Goodman, William Laud, and Anthony Maxey) imply that he was well connected in court circles’.¹⁶²

Since the multiple connections between Gibbons, Donne, Court composers and friends have already been established, I turn my focus to a connection previously unnoted, and, again, to Gibbons’s madrigal ‘Ah, dear, heart’. Dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton II, this madrigal connects Donne, Wotton, Fanshawe, Ward, Coprario, Ferrabosco, Ford and Byrd. Hatton’s wife was sister to Sir Henry Fanshawe; Gibbons claims he composed his works in *Madrigals and Motets* in Hatton’s house.¹⁶³ Fellowes states, ‘It may be inferred that Hatton selected the words for Gibbons’, choosing the poet’s lyrics.¹⁶⁴ Hatton and Gibbons lived close to one another in Westminster. Byrd’s ‘Songs of Sadnes’ (1588) was dedicated to Christopher’s father.¹⁶⁵ The Oxford part-books of *Madrigals and Mottets*¹⁶⁶ were probably presented to Hatton because ‘each book has the Hatton crest embossed in gold on its leather binding’.¹⁶⁷ Harley conjectures that Hatton ‘held musical gatherings at his house near St. Bartholomew’s, conceivably under

¹⁶¹ Le Huray, revised by Harper. Le Huray and Harper state that Gibbons and Coprario were among the Heidelberg entourage.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons and his family: The Last of the Tudor School of Musicians*, p. 80.

¹⁶⁵ W. B. S., ‘William Byrd’, in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, M.A., 3rd ed., 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1929), 1, 509-14, p. 510.

¹⁶⁶ See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁶⁷ Harley, p. 38 n. 5.

Gibbons' direction'. 'Is it possible that Gibbons ceased to write songs after 1612 because the gatherings were suspended when Hatton began living in Westminster?'.¹⁶⁸

In May 1625, while preparations were being made to receive Henrietta Maria (whom Charles I married by proxy in Paris), Gibbons was suddenly taken ill with a brain hemorrhage while on his way with the Chapel Royal; he died on Whitsunday in Canterbury, where he was buried in the Cathedral.¹⁶⁹ The inscription on his monument tells us that 'he was of upright character and possessed charm'.¹⁷⁰ The 'evolution of his work shows a mind that was at once enquiring and imaginative'; his 'increasingly cultivated forms and means of expression' were 'new and personal'.¹⁷¹ Given Orlando Gibbons's personality, talent, and shared Court associations, an association between Donne and Gibbons is highly plausible.

5.5 Thomas Campion and Thomas Ford: 'The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius'

Of Irish descent and Catholic,¹⁷² Gray's Inn [and Cambridge?] fellow,¹⁷³ Thomas Campion's (1567-1620) literary and musical skills link him not only to Donne, but to four other composers of musical settings of Donne's poetry (Dowland, Ferrabosco, Coprario and Gibbons). Living and working in London and being a parishioner at St. Dunstan-in-the-West, Campion was friends

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Le Huray, revised by Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando'.

¹⁷⁰ Harley, p. 76.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁷² Christopher R. Wilson, 'Campion [Campian], Thomas', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Wilson states, 'His will studiously avoids any indication of his religious views, a precaution that was not uncommon in those days of bitter persecution, but this very omission may be taken as a further confirmation that he was a Catholic'.

¹⁷³ Vivian, pp. xv, 33.

with Donne, with the musicians at both churches and the musicians at Court with whom he had collaborated.¹⁷⁴ Immersed in the sacred music of the church, in the secular music and drama of the Court, and in the preaching of Donne, Campion had the best of artistic worlds. Donne's musical settings and Campion's music simultaneously influenced one another and the genres of music, literature and drama.

W. H. Grattan Flood reiterates Edmond Gosse's opinion that Campion, 'at his best in his own kind has few rivals', and that he was 'one of the most original and dulcet of Elizabethan lyricists, or lutanists'.¹⁷⁵ During his lifetime, Campion wrote over one hundred lute songs,¹⁷⁶ numerous masques¹⁷⁷ and a recognized treatise on music. 'From 1607 Campion was among the poets and composers who supplied texts and music from the lavish masques and entertainments presented at the royal court, most often before the king and queen in the Banqueting House at Whitehall'.¹⁷⁸ In 1611, Coryate's *Crudities* appeared with his prefatory Latin epigram. In 1612, both Campion and Donne wrote elegies on the untimely death of Prince Henry. Donne includes musical references in his 'ELEGIE On the vntimely Death of the *incomparable Prince, HENRY*' (Nov. 1612-1613): And could *Grief* gett so high as Heav'n, that Quire | Forgetting This, their new Ioy would desire | (With grief to see him) *Hee* had staid belowe, To rectifie Our *Errors*

¹⁷⁴ Donne owned a copy of Campion's *Poemata. Ad Thamesin. Fragmentum Umbrae. Liber Elegiarum. Liber Epigrammatum*, London, 1595, 8 vols [STC 4544]. It is now held in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Keynes, p. 266).

¹⁷⁵ W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Thomas Campion: Irishman and Catholic', *The Irish Monthly*, 50.583 (1922), 17-21 (p. 17).

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁷⁷ Wilson.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

They foreknowe' (ll. 58-60) (p. 161); 'So, much as *You Two mutual heauens were here*, I were an *Angel singing what You were*' (ll. 97-98) (p. 162).¹⁷⁹

'Up to 1614 Campion could be regarded as second only to Ben Jonson as a writer of masques . . . his skill in musical matters gave his works an emphasis and importance not found in Jonson's masques'. Campion's final masque, (the *Somerset or Squires*), performed at Whitehall on 26 December 1613 for the 'politically contrived marriage' of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard, 'contains attributed music by Lanier and Coprario, printed in *The Description [of The Lord's Maske]*, together with Campion's "Wooe her and win her" from *The Lord's Maske*'.

'Campion's collaboration with [Giovanni] Coprario 'resulted in the writing of his music treatise *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counter-Point*', with 'important similarities and comparisons' to Coprario's treatise, *Rules how to Compose*, both probably published in 1614.¹⁸⁰ Exhibiting 'examples of a perfect union of music and poetry', . . . 'he wrote both words and music to all his songs, except the music for Coprario's *Songs of Mourning* (1613) and some masque songs', . . . 'accepting that his ayres may be either sung or read'. Campion stated in *Two Bookes [of Ayres]I*, 'Short ayres . . . are like quick and good epigrams in poesy'; his ayres are 'relatively short, well-fashioned, (both melodically and harmonically) and . . . mainly eschewing the rhetorical gestures (localized repetition and intrusive word-painting) of the madrigal'. Introduction of 'disjunct movement into a melody of conjunct intervals', in keeping with

¹⁷⁹ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 6, *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 161-62.

¹⁸⁰ Wilson.

Daniel's assertion that Campion was the 'enemy of rhyme', appears to parallel the disjointed, irregular roughness/rhythm and prosodic innovations of Donne's poetry.¹⁸¹

Donne and Campion's celebratory epithalamions of the weddings of Princess Elizabeth to the Count Palatine and of Robert Carr, 1st Earl of Somerset to Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, their mutual associations with Court musicians who wrote Donne musical settings, and Campion's musical skill and the roughness of his verse, show there is credible evidence to suggest that throughout their acquaintance, Campion and Donne influenced one another artistically, impacting multiple genres. Robbins describes how the 'treaty for the match of James I's daughter (b. Aug. 1596) was concluded in May 1612', giving 'special interest to Donne's visit to the Elector in Heidelberg with the Druries in the spring of 1612'; Donne 'would have had plenty of time in which to conceive his tribute for the solemnization of the marriage'.¹⁸² Masques for the occasion were 'provided on three consecutive nights by Campion, Chapman and Beaumont (with Bacon)' and the festivities consisted of 'bells, bonfires, fireworks, a naval battle on the Thames with thirty-eight warships, . . . processions with princes, ambassadors, and nobility, dances, feasts, reels, races, and masques . . .'.¹⁸³ The 'crude popular music with which weddings were celebrated' were predicated upon the 'doctrine that the spheres which bore the stars round the earth in the classical system produced a celestial harmony'.¹⁸⁴

In *Epithalamion Vpon Frederick Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth married on St. Valentines day*, Donne incorporates musical metaphor, imagery, and allusion to illustrate the

¹⁸¹ Wilson.

¹⁸² Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 627.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 223 n. 22.

effect music had on his writing. ‘Epithalamion’, by definition, is ‘a nuptial song or poem in praise of the bride and bridegroom, and praying for their prosperity’.¹⁸⁵ Donne uses the motif of ‘singing birds’, that he refers to as ‘chirping Queristers’:¹⁸⁶

Hayle Bishop Valentine whose day this is
All the Ayre is thy Diocesse
And all the chirping Queristers
And other birds ar thy parishioners. (ll. 1-4)¹⁸⁷

St. Valentine is metaphoric ‘Bishop’ to his singing fowl--‘Queristers’ (‘Choirsters’, ‘Choristers’¹⁸⁸) and ‘parishioners’.¹⁸⁹ Donne thus describes the ‘Queristers’ as: the ‘Lyrick Larke’, the ‘graue whispering Doue’, the ‘Sparrow that neglects his life for loue’, the ‘Blackbird’, the ‘Goldfinch or the Halcyon’, and the ‘Husband Cock’ and ‘wife’.¹⁹⁰

The fact that Donne differentiates between bird species (each with their unique song) and compares them to the individual voices of church choir members and singing ‘parishioners’ shows an awareness of the aesthetic properties of music (lyricism, harmony, playfulness, colour, emotiveness). The expressed, romantic emotion of lyricism,¹⁹¹ is conveyed by Frederick, Elizabeth and the birds of the poem. Their song arouses ‘intense feeling’ (emotiveness) as the ‘tonal quality’ (colour) and beauty of the song/voice of each bird/human creates a melody, ‘a succession of pitches which form a continuity and create a sense of self-contained

¹⁸⁵ ‘epithalamium, n.,’ *OED* online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 13 March 2017) [accessed 16 March 2023].

¹⁸⁶ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 629-30.

¹⁸⁷ *Variorum*, 8, p. 108.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Byrnside, Ron, *Music: Sound and Sense*, 2nd edn (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1985), p. 406.

completeness'.¹⁹² The individual pitches of the melody of each bird's/human's song, create 'chords', or harmony of sound. Harmony can be used here in the context of concord or accord in the universe and could also be a religious allusion to the four Gospels. These contrapuntal melodies, comprised of the counterpoint of each bird's/human's vocalizations, unite in chorus, providing harmony and texture to the musical fabric of the universe. Like the 'Phænix lovers' on their wedding day, English Skylarks, symbolic of a fertile, faithful and joyous marriage, sing in flight 'having notably clear and musical voices'.¹⁹³ The alliteration and consonance of Donne's 'Lyrick Lark' shows his awareness of 'playfulness', as the sound of his words make his poetry 'come alive'¹⁹⁴ in onomatopoeic expression of the birdsong of the lark. 'Since 'every winged bird is symbolic of spiritualization',¹⁹⁵ 'Queristers' and parishioners, both human and fowl, praise God, venerate the bride and groom and celebrate their marriage.¹⁹⁶ The elevation of the couple to the status of 'Phænix' is taken to a higher level through the religious imagery of the bride and groom becoming immortal, 'resurrecting' and rising from the ashes of their love. Music could not only tame the sensual nature of man, but nature itself.¹⁹⁷ These examples support Donne's ability to metaphorize his musical knowledge, expanding the musical metaphysical conceit.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Thomas C. Gannon, *Skylark Meets Meadowlark: Reimagining the Bird in British Romantic and Contemporary Native American Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 234 n. 61.

¹⁹⁴ Byrnside, p. 406.

¹⁹⁵ J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, 2nd edn (USA: Barnes and Noble, by arrangement with Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1995), p. 27.

¹⁹⁶ *Variorum*, 8, p. 108.

¹⁹⁷ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourse, Sites and Identities* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 22-25.

United in a chorus of melodic praise, Donne begins by ‘multiplying loues’, coupling the single birds into ‘Two Larkes, two Sparrows, or two Doues’, and, finally, the married couple into ‘two Phænixes’.¹⁹⁸ St. Valentine marries the singing love birds and they fly into bed in the sixth and seventh stanzas, ll. 79-88:

But now Shee’s layd; What though Shee bee?
Yet there are more delayes, for, where is hee?
Hee comes, and passes through Spheare after Spheare
First her Sheetes, then her Armes, then any where.
Oh let not this day but this night bee thine.
Thy day was but the Eue to this ô Valentine.

Heere lyes a Shee-Sunne, and a Hee-moone there
Shee giues the best light to his Spheare
Or each is both, and all, and so
They vnto one another nothing owe.¹⁹⁹

An example of *Musica Universalis*, or Music of the Spheres, the lovebirds are in orbital motion as the Sun and Moon, in harmonic rhythm, passing through ‘Spheare after Spheare’ as they make love between the sheets. This philosophy’s idea of stars having voice, harmonious, through the song of the bird-bride, moving in circles, is reflected in the third stanza when the ‘fayre Phænix-Bride’ makes herself a bejeweled ‘Constellacion, becoming a ‘new Starre’.²⁰⁰ It may be important to note the movement of flying Cupid on Valentine’s Day and the humming sound of the flying ‘bee’, a possible pun on ‘Bee’ in lines 39 and 40, an extension of the humming of the planets in their orbit. Pythagoras’s ‘Star’ rises as well in lines one and two of the sixth stanza above.

¹⁹⁸ *Variorum*, 8, p. 110.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Donne again employs the ‘Musicke of Spheares’ in Paradox VI, *That the guifts of the body are better then those of the mind or of Fortune*, feeling his mistress is ‘often solaced with beutyeyes’ when ‘she sees through myne eyes, and Musicke which through myne eares she heares’ (ll. 16-17); but, ‘she can neyther teach my indisposd parts her facultyes, nor to the parts best disposd shew that beauty of Angels or Musicke of Spheares, wherof she boasts the contemplation’ (ll. 21-22).²⁰¹

Donne would have been familiar with Boethius’s *De institutione musica*,²⁰² which divided music into three parts: *musica mundana* (abstract eternal numbers), *musica humana* (the music of the soul), and *musica instrumentalis* (practical or audible music played by men), reflecting the resplendence of the Creator.²⁰³ *Musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis* stemmed from Ptolemy’s *Harmonics*, where he distinguished between cosmic and psychic harmony.²⁰⁴ Later, ‘Jewish belief in angelic habitation of the universe, coloured by Gnostic angelology and given canonic standing in the 6th-century Dionysian hierarchies of angels [...] led to a belief in *musica celestis*’.²⁰⁵ *Musica celestis* was the ‘angelic music seen in countless medieval and Renaissance

²⁰¹ Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, p. 11-12.

²⁰² James Haar, ‘Music of the spheres’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 16 June 2021]. Basing his work *Musica* (c. after 1503) on Euclid’s *Elements*, Erasmus of Höritz broke from Boethius, becoming the first to ‘apply Euclidian geometry to solve problems in music theory’.

²⁰³ Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 8 n. 1 (p. 256).

²⁰⁴ Haar.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

paintings and combined with *musica mundana* in the blazing vision of light and sound of Dante's *Paradiso*'.²⁰⁶ Musick is heaven and 'heau'n is musick'.²⁰⁷

In *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, 8. Prayer in 8. Meditation ('*The King sends his owne Phisician*') Donne refers to the word 'instrument' four consecutive times. Expanding his conceit of 'instrumentation', he begins his analogy by referring to himself as an '*Instrument*' of God, possessing 'different' instruments.²⁰⁸ First, Donne 'humbly, and thankfully' acknowledges that 'thy blessed *spirit* instructs mee, to make a difference of thy blessings in this world, by that difference of the *Instruments*, by which it has pleased thee to derive them unto me'. Donne continues with an obvious reference to 1st Corinthians 13:12, 'As we see thee heere in a *glasse*, so we receive from thee here by *reflexion*, & by *instruments*'. Speaking of '*Fortune*', '*Nature*', '*Industry*' and '*Friends*' as '*instruments*', Donne says, 'Of all these thy *instruments* have I received thy blessing, *O God*', but the 'greatest' is 'my portion, not only in the hearing, but in the *preaching of thy Gospel*'. Donne ends his expanded metaphor, "Humbly beseeching thee, that as thou continuest thy wonted goodnes upon the whol world, by the wonted meanes, & instruments, the same *Sun*, and *Moon*, the same *Nature*, and *Industry*, so to continue the same blessings upon this *State* and this *Church* [...]'.²⁰⁹

'Instruments', musical (voice, organ, bell, trumpet) and non-musical, are controlling metaphors throughout Donne's work. His repeated use of 'instrument' as a literary and

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Thomas Campion, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie. Wherein it is Demonstratiuely Prooued, and by Example Confirmed, that the English Toong Will Receiue Eight Seuerall Kinds of Numbers, Proper to it Selfe, which are all in this Booke Set Forth, and were Neuer before this Time by any Man Attempted* (London, 1602), p. 31.

²⁰⁸ John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 44.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

rhetorical device ranges from ‘instrument of God’ and God-given ‘instruments’, to the ‘world’ and ‘spheres’ as musical instruments, to actual musical instruments. *Paradoxes and Problems*, XI: *Why is Venus star multinominous and called both Hesperus and vesper?* provides an early example of Donne’s ruminations about the origins of music and musical instruments. Donne cites *Lactantius*, Christian author and advisor to Constantine I, saying Venus was the ‘Inventer of Musicke’ (l. 8), having ‘first invented *Artem meretriciam*’ (ll. 5-6).²¹⁰ He compares Venus to the mother of Jubal, using ‘meretriciam’ [meretricious-having no value; befitting a prostitute²¹¹], because ‘Lactantius believed Venus first instituted the art of prostitution’²¹² and because Adah ‘invented the takeinge of another husband’ (ll. 9-10).²¹³ Lamech and Adah’s son, Jubal, was considered to be the ‘father of all musicians’ (particularly, those who play the harp and organ).²¹⁴ Donne states Jubal ‘invented *psalterium et citharam*’ (ll. 8-9).²¹⁵

In Sermon 9, ‘A Lent-Sermon February 12, 1618’, Donne views ministers as harmonious, tuned, musical instruments, believing a minister should ‘become *Carmen musicum*, a musical and harmonious charmer’, ‘musick and harmony’, ‘*musicum carmen*, musick, harmony to the

²¹⁰ John Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. with introduction and commentary by Helen Peters, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 36.

²¹¹ ‘Having no value; befitting a prostitute’; see ‘meretricious, adj. and n.’, *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, March 2021) [accessed 21 April 2021].

²¹² Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, p. 109.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* The *psalterium* is a ‘stringed lute-like instrument’ and the *cithara* is ‘an ancient Greek and Roman stringed instrument similar to a lyre’.

soul . . . ’, ²¹⁶ ‘a love song (as the text speaks) in proposing the love of God to man.’ ²¹⁷ Donne states that the minister should ‘sing’ and ‘play well on an instrument’:

[...] not that the congregation shall be his instrument; but as *S. Basil* says *Corpus hominis, Organum Dei*, when the person acts that which the song says; when the words become works, this is a song to an instrument; for, as *S. August* pursues the same purpose, *Psallere est ex preceptis Dei agere*; to sing, and to sing to an instrument, is to perform that holy duty in action, which we speak of in discourse: And God shall send his people preachers furnished with all these abilities, to be Tubæ, Trumpets to awaken them; and then to be *carmen musicum*, to sing Gods mercies in their ears, in reverent, but yet in a diligent, and thereby a delightful manner; and so to be musick in their preaching, and musick in their example, in a holy conversation [...].²¹⁸

Donne alludes to ‘*Soloman’s* Song of Songs’ as ‘a heavenly Song of his [God’s] owne making . . . that he was sure they would remember. So the Holy Ghost hath spoken in Instruments, whom he chose for the penning of the Scriptures, and so he would in those whom he sends for the preaching thereof: [...] *Musicum carmen in modo*, musick to the soul, in the manner of our preaching . . . ’.²¹⁹ In ‘A Lent Sermon February 12, 1618’, Donne refers to ministers as ‘*musicum carmen*, music and harmony, *in re & modo*, in matter and in manner: [...] that he shall have a pleasant voice, that is to preach first sincerely . . . acceptably, seasonably, with spiritual

²¹⁶ John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by Peter McCullough, (gen. ed.) Peter McCullough, (deputy gen ed.) David Colclough, Vol. I, *Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts, 1615-1619* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 115.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

delight, . . .'.²²⁰ Ministers must be 'Musicke both these ways, in matter and in manner, [...] to have a plea-sant voice: *Thou art a lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voyce*'.²²¹ Like John the Baptist, '*The voice of him that cryes in the wilderness . . . the Minister is Vox, voice;*²²² not A voice, but The voyce, the voice of that word and no other'.²²³ 'Musick, in fitting an instrument to the voyce, that is, their Lives to their Doctrine . . . so, we may not onely be to you, *as a lovely song*, sung to an Instrument; nor you onely *heare our words*, but *doe them*'.

Accepted by humanists throughout the Renaissance, *musica universalis* (universal music/music of the spheres/harmony of the spheres) was a 'Pythagorean doctrine postulating harmonious relationships among the planets governed by their proportionate speeds of revolution and by their fixed distance from the earth'.²²⁴ Pythagorus was the first to discover the relationship between the length of a string and the pitch of a musical note and he 'developed a series of analogies between musical consonances' and 'natural phenomena'.²²⁵ James Harr explains that the belief that the universe was 'ordered by the same numerical proportions that produce musical harmonies' dates back to pre-Socratic Greek philosophers who 'attributed ideas about a harmonious universe to the "Chaldean" or Babylonians, from whom Jewish beliefs about

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 119

²²² Jonathan Goldberg, *Voice Terminal Echo: Postmodernism and English Renaissance Texts* (New York and London: Methuen, 1986), p. 8. Goldberg states that 'No one can write about the voice without taking into account Derrida's deconstruction of the metaphysical claims of phonocentrism' (For a discussion of Derrida's phonocentrism, see pp. 103-7). Jennifer Richards explains that phonocentrism is the 'belief that speech has more presence and greater signifying possibilities than written language' (See *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, p. 23).

²²³ *OESDJ*, I, p. 119.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

an orderly cosmos hymning the praises of its Creator (expressed in the Psalms, the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, and the Talmudic treatise *Yoma*) may also have been derived’.

In Plato’s *Timaeus*, the ‘cosmic scale’ is not actual music but the ‘foundation for the Greek science of harmonics.’²²⁶ ‘In the myth of Er (*Republic*, 617b.4–7) Plato described the universe as a set of concentric rings (planetary orbits) on the surface of each of which a Siren sits singing; together they form a harmonious sound’.²²⁷ ‘The music of the soul is the set of proportions in which, Plato believed, a human being is composed’ and, if discomposed (discordant), ‘they can be reharmonized by music’. ‘The charms of music can therefore heal both body and soul’,²²⁸ thus creating ‘perfect harmony’. Ben Jonson states, “Every soul in the world is allured by musical sounds . . . for the soul carries with it into the body a memory of the music which it knew in the sky . . . Thus every disposition of the soul is controlled by song’.²²⁹

The Ptolemaic cosmic map corresponds with the Pythagorean musical scale, in which only fourths, fifths and octaves are considered consonant; but Kepler [*Harmonices mundi*, 1619] understood the universe as sun centered and believed that the cosmos corresponded with the “just intonation” of polyphony; that is in a heliocentric universe, his measurements of the relations of the planets corresponded with the mathematical proportions in which thirds and sixths are most consonant.²³⁰

²²⁶ Ibid. In *Timaeus*, the creation of the World-Soul, a model for the physical universe, is accomplished through the use of Pythagorean proportions; duple and triple geometric series are filled in with arithmetic and harmonic means, as a result of which one can see “the whole heaven to be a scale and a number” (Aristotle, *Metaphysics*). The musical scale thus produced is that of Pythagorean tuning, and the World-Soul is created through a kind of celestial monochord.

²²⁷ Ibid. After Plato’s time, this ‘harmonious sound’ was ‘interpreted literally as the music of the spheres’, ‘audible but unnoticed by mortals because they hear it from birth’, a theory rejected by Aristotle.

²²⁸ McColley, pp. 8-9

²²⁹ Daniel Fischlin, *In Small Proportions: A Poetics of the English Aire 1596-1622* (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1998), p. 140 n. 2.

²³⁰ McColley, p. 8 n. 3.

For Kepler, ‘music imitates God’. The divine order of the universe was ‘eight spheres and the earth; in music theory, the eight notes of the octave, which, . . . are themselves divided into the trinity (the perfect third) and the fifth (representing the five wounds of Christ)’.²³¹ ‘The planetary harmony of the Sirens was conflated with the Timaeus scale’ in Neoplatonic commentaries, ‘particularly those on Cicero’s *Sominum Scipionis* (itself derived from the myth of Er)’.²³² Haar states, ‘Aristides Quintilianus extended cosmic harmony to include the sublunary elements (fire, air, water and earth), the seasons, the tides, the growth of plants, and—as a microcosmic mirror of the universe—man’s growth and behaviour’. ‘Pythagorean ideas about cosmic harmony continued to be elaborated by Neoplatonists from Carolingian times until the end of the Renaissance. These ideas strongly influenced astronomers and astrologers, physicians, architects, humanist scholars and poets’ utilizing ‘occasional musical representations of planetary harmony’.²³³

In ‘Mummye’ (‘Loues Alchemy’) (1590s?), Donne ‘Wold sweare as iustly that he heares | In that dayes rude hoarse Minstrellsey the Spheares’.²³⁴ In ‘The Letanye’, Donne begs:

23. Heare vs, O heare vs Lord; To Thee
 A Sinner ys more Musique, when he prays,
 Then Spheares, or Angells prayes bee,
 In Panegyrique Alleluiaes; (ll. 199-202)²³⁵

24. That Musique of thy Promises
 Not threates in Thunder, may,
 Awaken vs, to our iust Offices;
 What in thy Booke, thou dost, or creatures say,

²³¹ Holmes, p. 203.

²³² Harr.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.3, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022), p. 68.

²³⁵ Ibid., 7.2, *The Divine Poems* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), p. 76.

That wee may heare, Lord heare Vs, when wee pray. (ll. 212-216) ²³⁶

In ‘Good friday Made as I was Rideing westward, that daye’ (2 April 1613),²³⁷ Donne’s man on horseback, believed to symbolize ‘rational control over the lower passions’,²³⁸ needs ‘turning’/’tuning’, whereas the music of the spheres does not. The two reins of the harness are a metaphor for the double strings of a lute course, in need of constant ‘tuning’/’turning’, symbolic of heart strings.

Let Mans soule bee a Sphere [...] (l. 1)
Could I behold those hands, which span the Poles
And turne all Spheres at once pierc’d with those holes?’ (ll. 21-22) ²³⁹

The music of the spheres did not require tuning ‘since they possessed tones from the beginning, but they did need constant tuning about the axis running between the Poles, a motive force supposed in medieval Christianity to be supplied by angels’.²⁴⁰ Donne repeats this theme in ‘The Extasie’ (ll. 51-2) ‘where they are made analogous with the lovers’.²⁴¹

But oh, Alass, soe long, soe farre
Our bodies why doe wee forbear?
They’re ours, though they’re not wee, wee are
Th’Intelligences, they the Spheare. (ll. 49-52) ²⁴²

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 77.

²³⁷ Ibid., pp. 114-15.

²³⁸ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 562 n. Heading.

²³⁹ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 114.

²⁴⁰ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 565 n. 22.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 181 n. 76.

²⁴² *Variorum*, 4.3, pp. 106-8.

Most scholars believe that ‘The Extasie’ was not written to or about Ann Donne, but when viewed from a musical perspective, a fresh interpretation may be plausible, for musical imagery and metaphor abound. Carey felt that use of the word ‘her’ (l. 16) showed that the poem was addressed to a third person, and Gardner and Grierson believed it was linked with a ‘fellow intellectual (like Edward Herbert) with a male point of view’.²⁴³ Donne could have written this poem about Ann, or to her, while she was pregnant. If this poem was written between 1605 and 1613, by 1613, Ann would have been pregnant nine times. If not pregnant, possibly Ann was holding and playing the lute and Donne was reminded of what she looked like while she was pregnant.

Where, like a pillowe on a bed
 A pregnant banck swell’d vp to rest
 The violettts reclyning head
 Satt wee twoe, one anothers best (ll. 1-4)²⁴⁴

When a lute is held, it looks like ‘a pillowe on a bed | A pregnant banck swell’d vp to rest’ (ll. 1-2). The shape of a lute makes the lutenist appear pregnant when playing it. The phallic imagery (‘So long, so far’) of the lute neck attached to the curvaceous lute/female ‘body’, also called ‘ribs’²⁴⁵ is ‘compos’d and made’ (l. 46) one ‘newe soule’ (l. 45), or instrument.²⁴⁶ ‘Because such fingers need to knitt | That subtile knott which makes vs man’ (ll. 63-4), is again phallic imagery and the allusion to the music being played; sounds being made by the bodies of the lovers over the ‘knott’, or ‘rose’, of the lute, where the music is ‘created/born inside’ of the lute. The music being created inside of the lute is a metaphor for the baby growing inside of Ann, soon to be born

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 173 n. 16; pp. 169-170.

²⁴⁴ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 106.

²⁴⁵ Ribs is a biblical reference to woman being taken from the rib of Adam.

²⁴⁶ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 107.

for everyone to hear and see; Anne Prescott speaks of ‘spirits derived from blood link the senses to the mind, spirit and soul’.²⁴⁷ ‘The violet’s reclining head’ (l. 3) could refer to the peg box that hangs down from the end of the neck of the lute, with each peg carved in the shape of a violet, presenting a bouquet to the player and listener. Violet is a derivative of the Old French word ‘violete’; its diminution is viol, or viola da gamba, musical instruments known to have been in the possession of the More family.²⁴⁸ Violets are symbolic of love and the flower is ‘an image or a symbol of sweetness or chastity; also used as an epithet for Jesus’.²⁴⁹ Read this way, ‘The Exstasie’ becomes a love poem addressed to the musical, and perpetually pregnant, Ann, who may have lovingly sung to her progeny.

Donne’s displays his knowledge of the lute in ‘The Exstasie’, Sermon 9 and Satire 4. In Sermon 9, Donne translates his own version of *Eris illis vox suavis* (‘you shall be to them a sweet voice’) and *Eris illis vox d Citharam* (‘you shall be to them a voice to a lute’).²⁵⁰

Eris illis carmen musicum: from thee they shall accept that musick, the orderly application of Gods mercies, by visible and outward meanes in thy Ministry in the Church. *Ellis illis vox suavis*, they shall confess thy preaches true Doctrine, and appliest it powerfully to their consciences; and *Eris illis vox ad Citharam*, thou shalt be a voice to an Instrument; they shall acknowledge thy life to be agreeable to thy Doctrine.²⁵¹

This is ‘further metaphorical elaboration’ of his text:²⁵² In Satyre 4 (March-April 1597?), Donne

²⁴⁷ Anne Lake Prescott, ‘Forms of Joy and Art: Donne, David, and the Power of Music’, in *JDJ*, 25 (2006), 3-36 (p. 7).

²⁴⁸ ‘viola’, *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, March 2021) [accessed 27 Oct. 2021].

²⁴⁹ ‘violet’, *Middle English Compendium*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2021) [accessed 27 Oct. 2021].

²⁵⁰ John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by Mary Ann Lund, (gen. ed.) Peter McCullough, (deputy gen ed.) David Colclough, Vol. XII, *Sermons Preached at St. Paul’s Cathedral, 1626* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 272 nn. 329 and 331.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 272 nn. 329 and 331.

mocks the ‘boring pretentious courtier’²⁵³ at Court with a simile when he compares him, and his shrill tone of voice, to a lute:

He like to’ a high stretchd Lute String squeakd, Oh sir,
Tis sweete to talke of Kings. (ll. 73-74)²⁵⁴

Unless Donne played, was around others who did, or could make the causal connection upon hearing, how else would he know that a lute string that is wound and stretched too tightly around the tuning pegs on the pegbox would produce a high-pitched squeak rather than a melodic sound?²⁵⁵

In Donne’s view of the world as a musical instrument in *Sermon ii*, he speaks of the ‘highest strings being disordered first,’ putting the ‘instrument (world) out of tune’.²⁵⁶ Donne’s obvious knowledge of the lute is again apparent because lutes are notoriously known for quickly becoming out of tune, the ‘highest strings’, the ‘trebles’, first. This theme is repeated when Donne states, ‘Heaven and earth are as a musical Instrument; if you touch a string below, the motion goes to the top: any good done to Christs poor members upon earth, affects him in heaven’.²⁵⁷ ‘Angels and Men put this instrument out of tune. God rectified all again, by putting a new string, *semen mulieris*, the seed of the woman, the *Messias*: And onely by sounding that

²⁵³ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 403.

²⁵⁴ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 3, *The Satyres* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2016), p. 136.

²⁵⁵ Renaissance readers familiar with the instrument would readily understand this comparison, especially those who either played the lute themselves or frequently heard lutes being played. Donne obviously knew this musical instrument well enough to make this assessment. Lute strings were usually made from gut, the small intestine of a sheep. Pitch changed with the humidity, and it was in constant need of tuning.

²⁵⁶ Alexander M. Witherspoon and Frank J. Warnke, eds., *Seventeenth-Century Poetry and Prose*, 2nd edn. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), p. 108.

²⁵⁷ John Donne, *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George Reuben Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62), III, p. 13.

string in our ears, become we *musicum carmen*, true musick, true harmony, true peace to you'.²⁵⁸ God adds the 'strings' of 'Reprobation', 'creation', 'sin', and 'disabling' to facilitate recovery, lastly, 'adding another string, of creating Man'; but, 'there is no musick in all this, no harmony, no peace in such preaching'.²⁵⁹ But, when God 'takes this instrument' and 'tun'd it the second time, in the promise of a *Messias . . .*' offering 'the love & mercy of God to all that will receive it in him . . .'²⁶⁰ the instrument [Donne] becomes 'Song-Musicke':

. . . then we are truly *musicum carmen*, as a love-song, when we present the love of God to you, and raise you to the love of God in Christ Jesus: for, for the musick of the Sphears, whatsoever it be, we cannot hear it; for the decrees of God in heaven, we cannot say we have seen them; our musick is onley that salvation which is declared in the Gospel to all them, and to them onely, who take God by the right hand, as he delevers himself in Christ.²⁶¹

In 'Spring',²⁶² Ann becomes Donne's 'heaven',²⁶³ the centre of Donne's world, 'unifying it, as in the Ptolemaic system'.²⁶⁴ 'If as in water stirr'd more Circles bee | Produc'd by One, love such Additions take; Those, like to many spheares, but one heaven make, For they are all concentrique vnto Thee' (ll. 21-24).²⁶⁵

²⁵⁸ *OESJD*, I, p. 117.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

²⁶² A musical setting by John Wilson of 'Love bred on glaunces' (MS Stowe 961 and MS Dobell Eng. 966.4) is titled 'Spring' 'Love's Growth' in MS Mus. b. 1 (1650-1656). See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁶³ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 25.

²⁶⁴ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 245.

²⁶⁵ *Variorum*, 4.3, p. 25.

In 'Valediction of the Booke', Donne and Ann are again 'Instruments' ('Loues Clergye') being taught 'Spheares Musicke, Angells Verse'.²⁶⁶

Wee for Loues Clergye only are Instruments;
When thys Booke ys made thus,
Shold agayne the rauenous
Vandalls, and Gothes invndate vs,
Learning weare safe; In thys our Vniverse
Schooles might learne Sciences, Spheares Musicke, Angells Verse. (ll. 22-27)

'Philosophical institutions such as universities' will teach angels 'how to make lyrics despite their experience in hymning their Maker'.²⁶⁷

The two lovers 'meete' again between the 'Sheetes' as 'Spheares',²⁶⁸ in *Epithalamium*, while Angels sing their 'prayse', and thus brings in dual musical elements,²⁶⁹ with, again, the reference to 'spheare' and 'dauncing iolityes' (ll. 49-54).²⁷⁰ Not only does Donne make a pun of the Sun (Son=Bridegroom), another sphere in love's cosmos (l. 54), but he also ends the poem declaring his and God's love for Ann: 'This Sun will love so dearly | Her rest, that long, long, we shall want her sight. (ll. 93-93)'²⁷¹

In Plato's *Republic*, a 'discomposed' or 'discordant' Donne could be healed and reharmonized by music. Donne's inner conflict between body and soul, physical versus spiritual (love of God/woman/world), could be 'composed' into a 'perfect harmony', a human reflection of the harmony/music of the spheres within the harmonization of the universe. Castiglione

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁶⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 271 n. 27.

²⁶⁸ *Variorum*, 8, p 87.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 88.

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 89.

affirms, ‘The Philosophers, the most severe Censors of things, believe the whole Fabrick of the World to consist in musical proportion; that the Movements of the heavens comes a Consort, our Soul to be Harmony, and then to erect itself, and know its Power as often as it hears Musick, as a nature familiar to itself’.²⁷² Donne uses musical terminology to question ‘the harmony of the world out of tune’.²⁷³

Two words and themes figure predominantly in Donne’s musical settings, in his poetry, in his life and in seventeenth-century music: harmony and discord. ‘*Eris illis carme musicum*, by thy preaching they shall come to confess, *That God is a God of harmony and not of discord . . .*’.²⁷⁴ In ‘A Hymn to Christ at the Author’s last going into Germany’, Donne ‘divorces’ himself from the discordant ‘loves’ of his youth [‘fame, wit and hopes’ (false mistresses) (ll. 25)] and declares of God, ‘Nor thou nor thy religion dost control | The am’rousness of a harmonious soul; (ll. 15-16).²⁷⁵ ‘As Nature frames and conserves greate Bodyes of Contraryes’ (ll. 34-35),²⁷⁶ harmony and dischord, good and evil, obedience and sin, and physical vs. spiritual love identify as life-long struggles for Donne; however, the ultimate struggle was with his faith and religion, ‘conveyed in a song’:²⁷⁷ ‘ALL the words of *God* are alwayes sweete in themselues, sayes *Dauid*; . . . but, sweetes of all, where the Holy Ghost hath beene pleased to set the word of God to

²⁷² Castiglioni, p. 82.

²⁷³ Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, p. 41.

²⁷⁴ *OESJD*, I, p. 120.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 585.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, *Paradoxes and Problems*, pp. 32-33; Problem XI: *Why Have Bastards Best Fortunes?*

²⁷⁷ *OESJD*, I, p. 118.

Musique, and to conuay it into a Song' . . . ²⁷⁸ Following this precept, Ford composed a 'three-part musical setting of the first two stanzas' of Donne's 'The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius'²⁷⁹ and Michael Drayton 'put Book 5 into English fourteeners' in *Harmonie of the Church* (1591).²⁸⁰

Thomas Ford (b. 1580-d. London, bur. 17 November 1648), composer of ayres and anthems, was a lute and viol player, and contemporary of Donne's. Ford was appointed as a musician at Court to Prince Henry in 1611.²⁸¹ After the prince's death, Ford became 'one of the lutes and voices to Prince Charles, serving him after his coronation and up to the Civil War in 1642'. Granted gifts from the King and a pension for life, Ford was listed as 'one of the first two wardens (the second being Jerome) with the authority to administer the "corporall oaths" in the 15 July 1635 charter of the Corporation of Musick in Westminster', giving 'the king's musicians authority over the training and performance of musicians in the capital and its immediate environs'.²⁸² At Ford's death, 'he was apparently enjoying double place, both as "composer to

²⁷⁸ Ibid., *Four Sermons Vpon Speciall Occasions. (Viz.) 1. A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse. 2. To the Honorable, the Virginia Company. 3. At the Consecration of Lincolnes Inne Chappell. 4. The First Sermon Preached to K. Charles at St. Iames, 1625. by Iohn: Donne. Deane of Sainte Pauls, London. London, Printed for Thomas Iones, and are to be sold at his shop in the Strand at the Blacke Rauen neere Saint Clements Church*, pp. 1-2.

²⁷⁹ *Variorum*, 7.2, pp. 36, 34, 40. [63. 'I am their song, whether they rise, or sitt' (l. 265); ['14. I with my people, was | All the day long, a song and mockerye' (ll. 194-195); 14. Elders, the gates; youth did their songs forbear, 15. Gone was our ioye, our daunceings mournings were' (ll. 375-376).

²⁸⁰ Ibid., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 603, 589.

²⁸¹ C. R. Joby, 'A Dutchman Abroad: Poetry Written by Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) in England', in *The Seventeenth Century*, 28. 2 (2013), 187-206, in *ProQuest* [accessed 23 April 2020] (p. 192).

²⁸² Ibid.

the private musick” and as “a vial, among the lutes and voices” at a combined yearly salary of £80 plus liveries’.²⁸³

Although Donne constructs his poetry using the ‘chords’ of harmonic expression, often appearing to be dissonant or discordant, the result is a lyrical product. ‘Discordant’ comes from the Latin word meaning ‘cord’ (chord) or ‘string’, a reference to the strings of ancient instruments such as the lyre or, in Donne’s case, the lute.²⁸⁴ The aesthetic properties of Donne’s recondite syntax can appear to be harsh and jarring to the steady rhythm of verse, intentionally non-harmonic/dissonant, much like ‘the single wrong note or harmony heard in the middle of a performance’ or ‘discordant tones coming from a poorly tuned instrument’.²⁸⁵ Johnson avers, ‘In part because of Donne’s many nonce verse forms, the temporal correspondences between rhyming words are unpredictable—their “distaunces” in flux, to borrow terms from Puttenham, causing the ear to “loose the tune”’.²⁸⁶ Hollander asserts, ‘Grierson, writing before 1912, would find it necessary to apologise for “a poetry, not perfect in form, rugged of line and careless in rhyme” as being yet “a poetry of an extraordinary arresting and haunting quality, passionate, thoughtful and with a deep melody of its own”’.²⁸⁷ Citing Lawes’s ‘The Apparition’, Low

²⁸³ Joby, p. 192. ‘Although Ford’s work in the context of his time has not yet been authoritatively assessed, it is possible to say that the music merits better than its present relative obscurity. Hsieh has written of the anthems—perhaps the least well-known works—that some “are equal to the works of the most eminent composers of the period”. The lute-songs, such as the delicately elegant *Since first I saw your face*, rank with the best in a genre not lacking in great works. The lyra viol duets are so finely idiomatic as to suggest that Ford must have been an excellent performer; the depth of expression and originality of one like the *Pauin, M. Maynes Choice* show him to have been a composer of true inspiration’.

²⁸⁴ *Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 5th edn (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam, 1946), p. 178.

²⁸⁵ Joby, p. 178.

²⁸⁶ Kimberly Johnson, ‘Donne’s Poetics of Obstruction’, in *John Donne in Context*, ed. by Michael Schoenfeldt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 50-57, p. 52.

²⁸⁷ John Hollander, ‘Donne and the Limits of Lyric’, in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 259-72 (p. 259).

argues that it was ‘precisely this quality’ of harshness and unconventionality that gave ‘interest to musicians at this particular time, when chromatic harmony and dissonance were increasingly popular’.²⁸⁸ Holmes states:

Donne’s idiosyncratic metre and rhyme schemes in fact come into their own when framed by a strong musical time signature and emphasized by the techniques of fugal imitation and counterpoint central to the Renaissance air and madrigal: Dowland and Gibbons both place what in Donne are irregularly stressed words in perfect counterpoint between three or more voices, thus drawing a listener’s attention to them easily and simply. When this is combined with techniques of word-painting . . . the result is a convention of textual emphasis just as effective as any used by the poet.²⁸⁹

Donne’s verse is contrapuntal: he uses musical texture to produce counterpoint and create a countermelody of thought, which the musical settings of his poetry reflect. ‘Many of Donne’s major lyrics embody a constant process of dialectic between modalities, conducted by an ingenuity masked as a reality principle, juggling hyperbole and abuse, insisting that the truest tenderness is the most feigning, that the most faithful caresses are those of wit and will combined’.²⁹⁰ ‘He cultivated disjunction and junction equally and at the same time’ . . . ‘friction within unity’.²⁹¹ This ‘dialectic between modalities’, is evident in a unique prosody that creates playfulness and timbre. Donne’s ‘duality’ coalesces in music: ‘Compact’ and ‘concentrated’;²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Anthony Low, *Love’s Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. 31.

²⁸⁹ Holmes, p. 191.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

²⁹¹ John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 262.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

like love, music combines the physical and the spiritual: body (music/score), soul (lyrics/Word), and spirit (sound), heard not seen. All forms of Love, like the sacrament, are transubstantiated in music. Musical metaphor, imagery and allusion embellish this ‘interplay of matter and spirit’²⁹³ to make ‘that which was nothing’ become ‘All’.²⁹⁴

The ‘interplay of matter and spirit’ existed in many forms in Donne’s life, particularly his friendships. In ‘To Sir H. G.’, Donne tells Cambridge fellow, Goodyer, ‘It should be no interruption to your pleasures, to hear me often say that I love you, and that you are as much my meditations as my self:’ (ll. 1-4).²⁹⁵ Sir Henry Goodyer/Goodere/Goodyere (bap. 1571-1627) was one of Donne’s closest friends beginning from his days at university. John Considine states, ‘By 1602 he had formed an important friendship with Donne, which continued until his death’.²⁹⁶

Henry Goodyer, the youngest son of Sir William and Mary Goodyer (daughter and heiress of Christopher Wren), of Monk’s Kirby, ‘matriculated as a fellow-commoner of St. John’s’ in Michaelmas term 1587,²⁹⁷ and ‘was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1589; he married Frances, his first cousin, and daughter of his uncle, Sir Henry Goodyer, in 1593,²⁹⁸ from whom they inherited Polesworth.’²⁹⁹

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 264.

²⁹⁵ John Donne, ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘It should be no interruption’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 14 March 2022].

²⁹⁶ John Considine, ‘Goodere, Sir Henry (bap. 1571, d. 1627), landowner and courtier’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 Sep. 2004) [accessed 9 January 2022].

²⁹⁷ Bald, p. 47.

²⁹⁸ Nicholas Palmer on behalf of Polesworth Parochial Church Council, The Church of England, Birmingham, ‘3. History of the site and buildings’, 27-76, in *Polesworth Abbey-A Conservation Management Plan, Version 1.0*, 1-241 <<https://abbeypcc.weebly.com>> [accessed 3 Nov. 2021], p. 47.

²⁹⁹ Palmer states that the estate was ‘encumbered with debts and their inheritance was challenged by another brand of the family, litigation continuing until 1606, by which time Frances was dead or dying, leaving five small

Numerous examples of Goodyer's musicality exist. Knighted by the earl of Essex in Ireland (1599), after becoming a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1603, he 'became a figure at court taking part in a number of masques',³⁰⁰ including 'the masque for new year's day 1604'.³⁰¹ 'In January 1606 he was one of the richly accoutred champions who fought at barriers as part of Ben Jonson's masque *Hymenaei*'.³⁰² Goodyer³⁰³ was 'pleasure-loving and easy-going'. . . hospitable and generous to the point of extravagance'.³⁰⁴ In 'To my very worthy friend George Gerrard' ('This is the fourth of this moneth'), Donne refers to 'Sir Henry Gooderes parties'.³⁰⁵ Music at Polesworth was well established, for the poet Michael Drayton had been a page there and referred to their entertainments in his *Works*. In 1619, Drayton dedicated his '*Lyrick Pieces*' to Goodyer, 'recalling his hospitality and the music of the harper, "which oft at *Powlsworth* by the fire Hath made us gravely merry"',³⁰⁶ in an ode.³⁰⁷ Drayton had benefitted

children'. In *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899), I, Edmund Gosse states that Goodyer's mounting debts were always of great concern for Donne, leading him to advise his friend in 1608, to 'make . . . to yourself some mark, and go towards it alegrement', imploring his 'constancy' (p. 192) In R. C. Bald, *John Donne A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, Bald states that Goodyer 'made loans of money to Donne' and 'went surety for him as well' (p. 164).

³⁰⁰ Palmer.

³⁰¹ Considine. In 1605, Goodyer attended the earl of Hertford on his embassy to Brussels at the same time Donne and William Chute were in Europe.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Sir Tobie Matthew, *Sir Tobie Matthew, A true historical relation of the conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew to the Holy Catholic faith: with the antecedents and consequences thereof*, ed. by A. H. Mathew (London: Burns & Oates, New York: Benzinger, 1904), p. 86. Sir Tobie Matthew said of Goodyer that 'he was ever pleasant and kind, and gave me much of his sweet conversation' [...] 'But if his constancy had been as great as his nature was good, he had been much happier in both worlds'.

³⁰⁴ Bald, pp. 164-65.

³⁰⁵ John Donne, 'To my very worthy friend George Gerrard' (This is the fourth of this moneth'), 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023).

³⁰⁶ Palmer.

³⁰⁷ Considine. See M. Drayton *Works*, 1931-41.2.344.

from the patronage of Goodyer's uncle at Polesworth, who had helped Drayton acquire the patronage of the Countess of Bedford, patroness of Donne and Goodyer's, both also under the patronage of Lady Huntingdon. Along with Donne and Goodyer, Drayton contributed to Coryat's *Crudities* (1611)' and they 'met regularly at the Mitre Tavern'.³⁰⁸

Goodyer wrote the preface for Drayton's *Matilda* (1594), and 'court related verse': 'an elegy on Prince Arthur (1613); epithalamia for Princess Elizabeth (1613) and the Marquess of Buckingham (1620) and poems on Prince Charles' journey to Spain in 1623 and one addressed to the Marquess of Hamilton'.³⁰⁹ Donne wrote his epithalamion to the Princess Elizabeth and 'A Hymne to the Saynts and To the Marquesse Hamilton' (1625),³¹⁰ after Hamilton had become 'one of the company of heaven'.³¹¹ In it, Donne laments, 'The Houshold widdowd, and the Garter slack. The Chapell wants an Eare, Counsell a tongue | Story a theame, and Musick wants a song' (ll. 14-16).³¹²

The theme of angels of 'God's music' is repeated throughout Donne's poetry and sermons. In 'The Second Anniuersarie of the Progres of the Soule' (Nov. 1611-Jan. 1612), Donne refers to

³⁰⁸ Ibid. Gosse also states, 'The two men corresponded frequently—between 1608 and 1613 Donne seems to have been writing Goodere weekly letters and receiving at least as many as he wrote—and intimately. Goodere's side of the correspondence is lost, but about forty-eight of Donne's letters survive. From these we know that Goodere read a number of Donne's poems in manuscript, including the lost Latin epigrams, together with at least some of the *Problems*, a sermon, some of the notes for *Pseudo-Martyr*, and a lost collection of cases of conscience; apparently he also lent Donne books, perhaps a good number of them, as a letter of Donne's written about 1608 refers to 'my study (which your books make a pretty library)' [...] Part of an important extant manuscript of Donne's poems was copied by him' (Gosse, I, p. 195).

³⁰⁹ Considine.

³¹⁰ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary Stringer, vol. 5, *The Verse Letters* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), p. 220.

³¹¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 813.

³¹² *Variorum*, 5, p. 220.

himself as ‘The Trumpet, at whose voice the people came’ (l. 528)³¹³ to praise and eulogize young Elizabeth Drury. The trope of the trumpet is reprised repeatedly throughout Donne’s work. In his poem (8) ‘At the round Earths imagind corners’, Donne states, ‘At the round Earths imagind corners blow | Your trumpets Angels, and Arise Arise | From Death you numberles infinities | Of Soules and to your scattered bodyes go!’ (ll. 1-4).³¹⁴ In a letter to Martha Garet, Donne’s compares his thoughts of her to the sound of a trumpet: ‘As sometimes by the changing of the winde, you begin to hear a Trumpet, which sounded long before you heard it; so are these thoughts of you familiar and ordinary in me, . . .’ (ll. 18-22).³¹⁵ In his sermons, Donne preaches, ‘God shall send Prophets, Trumpets, and Trumpetors, that is, preachers of his word, and not the word of men; . . .’³¹⁶ God will send ‘Prophets that shall be Tubæ, Trumpets, and not onely that, but speculatores’,³¹⁷ whose ‘holy duty’ (l. 111) to his congregation is to ‘awaken them, and so bring them to some sence of their sins’ (ll. 119-120).³¹⁸

After Elizabeth Drury’s death, Donne refers to her in ‘The First Anniuersary: An Anatomie of the World’ (Mar.- Oct. 1611),³¹⁹ as now ‘both of the Quire, and Song’ (l. 10), ‘singer and subject

³¹³ Ibid., 6, p. 37.

³¹⁴ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary A. Stringer, Vol. 7.1, *The Holy Sonnets* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 14.

³¹⁵ John Donne, ‘To Martha Garet.’ (‘Though there be much merit, in the’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 14 March 2022].

³¹⁶ *OESJD*, I, p. 117.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ *Variorum*, 6, p. 7.

of praise'.³²⁰ Donne 'claims an authoritative precedent'³²¹ in the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy:³²²

Vouchsafe to call to mind that God did make
A last and lasting'st piece a song: he spake
To Moses to deliver unto all
That song because he know they would let fall
The law, the Prophets, and the History,
But keep the song still in their memory: (ll. 461-464) ³²³

In 'Hymne to God, my God. In my sicknes' (1623), 'I shall be made thy musicke, as I come, (l. 3),³²⁴ recalls Plato's *Timaeus* (47d), *Phaedo* (85e-95a) and *Republic* (4: 441e-3d) as sources of the idea of 'harmonizing the soul'.³²⁵ Donne 'uses imagery drawn from the realm of the performing arts to articulate the claim that illness can both bring one closer to God and also help one prepare for that encounter':³²⁶ Elizabeth's soul is now in 'harmony' in heaven:³²⁷

Whom had that Ancient seen, who thought soules made
Of Harmony, he would at next haue said
That Harmony was shee, and thence infer,
That soules were but Resultances from her, (ll. 311-314) ³²⁸

³²⁰ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 816 n. 10.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 813.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 859 n. 461-66.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 195.

³²⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 610 n. 3.

³²⁶ John N. Wall, "'That Holy roome": John Donne and the Conduct of Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral' in *Renaissance Papers 2005*, ed. by Christopher Cobb and M. Thomas Hester (Suffolk: Camden House, 2005), 61-84 (p. 61).

³²⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 847-48.

³²⁸ *Variorum*, 6, p. 14.

This concept stems from the ‘world-soul’, cited by Aristotle, and passed down by Plato and Aristoxenus, which led to Hippocrates’s (*Regimen*) belief that the soul was composed of the elements of fire and water whose proportions should be in the harmonic ratios of fourth, fifth, or octave.³²⁹ ‘Galen, *De Humoribus*, (*Opera* 19.491), thought that health seemed to be attributable to equality and symmetry of the four humours’.³³⁰ ‘Music affected the humours in a real, physical and physiological sense’.³³¹ Sickness was ‘man out of tune, but music itself could act as a physic’.³³² Augustine (19.13, p. 769) (1610) blends Hippocrates and Galen: ‘The body’s peace, therefore, is an orderly dispose of the parts thereof; the unreasonable soul’s, a good temperature of the appetites thereof; the reasonable soul’s peace a true harmony between the knowledge and the performance’.³³³ Donne cites his soul’s harmony in heaven: ‘Vp, Vp, my drowsie soule, where thy new eare | Shall in the Angels songs no discord heare;’ (ll. 339-40).³³⁴

‘Harmony of the soul’ describes Drayton’s devotion to Goodyer’s sister-in-law, Anne Raynesford, known for her musical talents. The first literary reference to the orpharion, a wire-strung plucked instrument similar to the lute,³³⁵ was in a poem by Drayton in 1590, probable

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 847 n. 311-12.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Willis, p. 31.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 847 n. 311-12.

³³⁴ *Variorum*, 6, p. 32.

³³⁵ Ian Harwood and Lyle Nordstrom, ‘Orpharion’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). The orpharion was a ‘wire-strung plucked instrument of the Bandora family, of similar scalloped shape but smaller and tuned like the lute [...] It was mentioned with increasing familiarity and was listed in household inventories so frequently that it must have been played almost as widely as the lute’. Because of the identical tuning, there is nothing to distinguish music for orpharion from that for lute; indeed, the two instruments were largely regarded as interchangeable, as is made clear by the title pages of many of the English books of ‘lute’ songs published between 1597 and 1622.

evidence of the musical instrument at Polesworth.³³⁶ Other instruments are alluded to in letters to Goodyer. In ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘I Am not weary of writing’), where Donne compares himself to an organ: ‘It is not perfectly true which very subtil, yet very deep wit Averroes says, that all mankind hath but one soul, which informes and rules us all, as one Intelligence doth the firmament and all the Starres in it: as though a particular body were too little an organ for a soul to play upon’ (ll. 14-20).³³⁷ He continues, ‘Heaven is expressed by singings, hell by weeping’ (ll. 104-105).³³⁸ In ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘You husband my time thriftily’),³³⁹ Donne’s bell, and Donne as bell, peals his appeals (prayers) for Goodyer’s daughters: ‘If my Bell were tolling, I should pray for them,’ (l. 2).

The omission of words in Donne’s 1608 letter from Mitcham to Goodyer is an oddity, for it occurs when Donne appears to be discussing a song that he wrote. It is obvious that something has been left out (or deliberately removed?) and the lines are not complete.³⁴⁰ John Hayward’s *John Donne Dean of St. Paul’s Complete and Selected Prose* (1929) records ‘[blank space in text]’³⁴¹ and *Digital Donne: The Online Variorum* shows the following hyphens where the words have been omitted:

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ John Donne, ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘I Am not weary of writing’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 4 January 2024].

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ John Donne, ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘You husband my time thriftily’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 14 March 2022].

³⁴⁰ John Donne, ‘To all my friends: Sir H. Goodere’ (‘I AM not weary of writing’). The only other letter where words have been omitted in this way is ‘To all my friends: Sir H. Goodere’. In this letter, Donne is speaking of ‘jolity’: ‘(for upon that word I durst---- | --And certainly despair is in- | finitly worse, then presumption:’ (ll. 017.L54.98-101). He goes on to speak of ‘curb[ing] bestial affections’.

³⁴¹ John Donne, *John Donne Dean of St. Paul’s Complete and Selected Prose*, ed. by John Hayward (Bloomsbury, London: The Nonesuch Press, 1929), p. 453.—‘And certainly despair is infinitely worse then presumption:’ (ll. 017.L54.98-101).

. . . I writ to you last
 week that the plague increased; by which
 you may see that my Letters---
 ---opinion of the
 song, not that I make such trifles for praise;
 but because as long as you speak compara-
 tively of it with mine own, and not abso-
 lutely, so long I am of your opinion even at
 this time; when I humbly thank God, I ask
 & have, his comfort of sadder meditations;
 I doe not condemn in my self, that I have
 given my wit such evaporations, as those, if
 they be free from prophaneness, or obscene
 provocations. Sir you would pity me if you
 saw me write, and therefore will pardon
 me if I write no more: my pain hath drawn
 my head so much awry, and holds it so
 that mine eie cannot follow mine hand: . . . (ll. 119-136) ³⁴²

Donne appears to be asking Goodyer what he thought of his song and calls it a ‘trifle(s)’. It has always been assumed the ‘song’ to which he refers is ‘A Litany’ (August 1608?), for it is a ‘song’ and a ‘meditation’. A clue that it was written to be sung is its numbered verses. Donne’s use of the word ‘evaporations’ certainly implies singing or song. Yet, he appears to fear *his* ‘litany’ may cause offense and he reluctantly approves its dissemination. If we re-examine Donne’s letter in the context of its date, his diction, and the possibility that Donne’s words (and the song to which Donne refers) may have been deliberately deleted, a different interpretation unfolds.

The context of the date of Donne’s letter is important because Ferrabosco’s ‘The Expiration’ was printed in 1609; Peerson’s ‘The Primerose’ and Farnaby’s ‘Loth to departe’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’) appear in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612). Other settings of ‘Loth to departe’ by Dowland occur earlier in the *Holmes Consort Books* (1600-1615) and in the

³⁴² John Donne, ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘This letter hath more merit, then on’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 3 February 2022].

Euing, Board, and Pickeringe manuscripts.³⁴³ Also, a ‘Loth to departe’ (c. early 16th c.) madrigal is attributed to Thomas Ravenscroft.³⁴⁴ Lyrics to this madrigal are found in a play by Thomas Middleton; therefore, it may be unlikely that these settings are analogues to ‘Breake of Daye’. However, the presence of a musical setting of ‘Lady, the silly Flea’ in Giles Farnaby’s *Canzonets to Four Voices* (1598) strengthens the possibility that Farnaby’s ‘Loth to departe’ in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1609-1612) is a setting of a Donne ‘songe’. Lye still my Dear’ and ‘Break of Day’ are printed under *Two, loath to depart* in *Wits Interpreter OR Apollo and Orpheus: Several Love-Songs, Drollery, and Other Verfes* (1655) (pp. 118-119), and again under *Two, loth to depart* (pp. 130-131). They are also found in John Gough (fl. 1640), *The Academy of Complements*. By 1612, six more Donne musical settings were in print and in manuscript by Dowland, Corkine, Gibbons and (possibly) Bateson and Farmer.

The 1608 song to which Donne refers was, in his own words, an example of his ‘wit’, an ‘evaporation’. He seems almost embarrassed by it, yet he is keen to hear Goodyer’s opinion. Upon close reading, Donne has changed the subject—he has moved on from the discussion of his meditations to the plague and to his Letters. He states, ‘I doe not condemn in my self, that I have given my wit such evaporations, as those, if they be free from prophaneness, or obscene provocations’ (ll. 129-132). The omission of words precisely where Donne is discussing his ‘song’ is curious, as is the word ‘evaporations’ (‘emitting breath’, ‘vapour’).³⁴⁵ It is almost as if someone is trying to conceal that Donne was writing lyrics that could be set to music. Whether

³⁴³ There are musical settings (Galliards) of ‘L[o]th to d[epar]te’ by John Dowland in MS Dd. 2. 11 and Dd. 9. 33, and possibly in Nn. 6. 36 and MS Dd. 5. 78. 3, in the Holmes Consort Books (1585-1605). Musical settings (Galliards) of ‘L[o]th to d[epar]te’ by John Dowland also occur in Euing 28/2 & 31/3, Board 7v/2 and Pickeringe 33/2.

³⁴⁴ ‘Loth to departe’ by Thomas Ravenscroft could have been written earlier.

³⁴⁵ ‘evaporations’, *OED* online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, December 2023) [accessed 9 May 2024].

Donne is referring to 'A Litany' or another poem cannot be determined; however, it is irrefutable that Donne wrote a 'song' (l. 123) and he sought Goodyer's opinion of it (l. 122).

Robbins states that Donne 'visited Sir Henry at his home, Polesworth, Warwickshire³⁴⁶ after 14 February 1613 (wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palantine).³⁴⁷ In 'A Lettre written by Sr. Henrye Goodier and Iohn Dunne: alternis vicibus',³⁴⁸ while at Polesworth in March-April 1613, Donne refers to the song of the Nightingale: 'Heere in our Nightingales, wee heare yow sing | Who so doe make the whole yeare through a spring | And saue vs from the feare of Autumn's stinge. (ll. 22-24).³⁴⁹ Leaving Polesworth (c. 2 April 1613), Donne wrote, 'Good Friday Made as I was Rideing wesward, that daye'.³⁵⁰ 'Riding, I had you, though you still stayd there, | And in these thoughts, allthough you neuer stirre, | You came with mee to Mitcham, and are here' (ll. 46-48).³⁵¹

'Sensitive and well-read', 'warm-hearted and sympathetic',³⁵² Goodyer enjoyed music, evinced by the musical entertainments at Polesworth. The documentary evidence supports his musicality through his participation in masques, his musical instruments (harp and orpharion), the musicality of his verse, the musical references written to Goodyer in Donne's letter and their mutual association with poet musician Michael Drayton.

³⁴⁶ Considine. Ben Jonson also visited Polesworth and 'commemorated Goodere's hawking (to which Donne also refers several times) in one epigram, and his library in another'.

³⁴⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 56.

³⁴⁸ Considine. The verse letter, in alternating stanzas, is believed to be the best-known piece of Goodyer's poetry.

³⁴⁹ *Variorum*, 5, p. 402.

³⁵⁰ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 562.

³⁵¹ *Variorum*, 5, p. 230. 'To Sir Henry Goodyere'.

³⁵² Bald, pp. 164-65.

Friends, family and patrons remained a source of moral and financial support to Donne as he maintained his efforts to find employment. Chapter Six, Donne 'Songs' and Composers (Mid-Seventeenth Century), demonstrates how musicians within his social circle, at Court and in the theatre, continued to compose musical settings of his poetry, promoting and securing his name and lyrics in seventeenth-century music.

CHAPTER SIX

Donne 'Songes' and Composers (Mid-Seventeenth Century)

This chapter resumes discussion of the association between Donne, the composers of the musical settings of his poetry (Henry and William Lawes, and John Wilson) and his social milieu from 1614 onward. The chapter explores musical analyses of their songs, musical references in Donne's writing and the importance of the Stoughton manuscript are explored.

6.1 Henry and William Lawes: 'Sweet, staye awhile', 'Wherfore peepst thou' and 'The Apparition'

In 1602, Thomas Lewes/Lawes, became lay vicar at Salisbury Cathedral and raised his sons, William and Henry Lawes, at Sarum Close; they sang as choristers in the Cathedral, along with their other brother, John, also a musician, who later became a 'singing man' at Westminster Abbey.¹ Henry Lawes (b. Jan. 1596; d. 21 Oct. 1662), singer and composer of songs and sacred music (many of which are still used as hymn tunes), was employed by Donne's friend, John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, and his wife, Frances Stanley Egerton, daughter of Alice Spencer Stanley Egerton. He was hired to teach their daughters music 'as early as 1615 or possibly after 1622'; 'there is some evidence that he may also have been patronized by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, whose house at Wilton was within a few miles of where Lawes was born'. He entered the Chapel Royal in 1626 and was one of Charles I's 'lutes and voices' by 1631.² He took place in various court masques of the 1630s, including Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), Davenant's *The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour* (1636), Strode's *The Floating Island* (1636),

¹ Ian Spink, 'Lawes, Henry', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 13 March 2022].

² Ibid.

Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* (1636), and Milton's *Comus*. (1634).³ Lady Alice played the part of the Lady and John Milton and Lawes collaborated on *Arcades* (1634), written for the dowager Countess's 75th birthday. Lawes dedicated his first book of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) to the daughters of the old Earl of Bridgewater, "most of them being Composed when I was employed by Your ever Honor'd Parents to attend Your Ladishipp's Education in Musick".⁴ Spink argues that Lawes's compositional style saw a transition from 'unsophisticated solemnity' to 'freer settings with wonderfully flexible declamation and great subtlety and variety of feeling', which show his 'maturity' and dated 'from the years following his appointment as a musician to the king in 1631, when he came into contact with the circle of court poets'. Since his focus was mostly on Carew, Herrick, Lovelace and Suckling during this time, he might have composed some of his Donne settings earlier, possibly when he was under the tutelage of Coprario. Lawes was a much sought-after teacher for the "Voyce and Viole"; among his pupils were Mary Harvey (Lady Dering) and the singer Mary Knight'.⁵ Henry Lawes's settings of Donne's poems to music include 'Sweet, stayer awhile' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (the first of the songs in the Clitherow manuscript), 'Sweet stay a while why doe you Rise' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') and 'Wherefore peepst thou envious day' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising').⁶

³ Ian Spink, 'Lawes, Henry'. See Appendices, Vol. II. William Strode and Donne are believed to be the authors of 'Goe and Count her better hours' 'A Watch borrowed of Ms. E. K. [Elizabeth King] and sent home wrapt in these verses by Will S.' in the Stoughton MS, set to music by John Wilson MS Mus. b. 1 (f. 57r) (1650-1656), Bodleian Library, Oxford.

⁴ Ibid. Milton wrote a sonnet to Henry Lawes after Lawes had published settings of Sandy's metrical psalms and *Choice Psalmes* (1648). These psalms were very different from Sandy's, as this vocal chamber music was written in a 'pseudo-declamatory imitative style supported by basso continuo', the new style of seventeenth-century musicians.

⁵ Ibid. 'Fashionable concerts were held at his house: the Duchess of Newcastle "went with my Lord's brother to hear music in one Mr. Lawes his house, three or four times". His circle seems to have included aristocrats and intellectuals, among those associated with the poet Katherine Philips ("the Matchless Orinda"), as well as pupils past and present'.

⁶ 'Sweet, stayer awhile' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye'), MS 53723 (mid-17th century); 'Sweet stay a while why doe you Rise' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') F-Pn Rés. 2489 (MS Conservatoire Rés 2489) (c. 1660); and 'Wherefore

Between 1630-1645, Henry Lawes's younger brother, William (b. May 1602) (d. Sept. 1645), was 'equally the leading composer of dance, and of music for drama (including the masque)'.⁷ Honoured with the title the "Father of Musick" by Charles I, William was more versatile than Henry. William's forte was vocal music and 'innovative chamber works, especially those for viols or violins with continuo'.⁸ William Lawes musical settings of Donne's poetry, including 'Wherefore peepst thou envious day' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising') (or Anon.), 'The Apparition', 'Good morrow' (analogue to 'The Good Morrow') and 'Good Morrow unto her' (analogue to 'The Good Morrow').⁹

William Lawes's talent 'was early recognized by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who had him apprenticed to John Coprario. At the earl's Wiltshire estates nearby in Amesbury, Lawes could have encountered Alfonso Ferrabosco (ii), who was an honoured visitor'.¹⁰ 'Early on he was friendly with, or influenced by, musicians of St. Paul's Cathedral such as John Tomkins'. Associated with Donne composers and friends, Lawes was believed to have been in the King's Musick as early as 1623 and replaced John Laurence on the lute in 1635. After the death of Coprario (1626), Lawes was involved in 'adding new dances' to 'Jacobean fantasy repertory';

peepst thou envious day' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising') MS 53723 (Mid-17th c.). Other settings include 'Sweet staie awhile' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (Anonymous) MS 29481 (f. 9) and 'Sweete staye://;', n. vi. (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') Drexel MS 4175 (Not present in manuscript as it exists but listed in Table at the back of the manuscript.). Recordings in Appendices, Vol. II.

⁷ David Pinto, 'Lawes, William', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 18 January 2021].

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ 'Wherefore peepst thou envious day' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising') (William Lawes (?) or Anon.) in MS Mus. d. 238 (1650s); 'The Apparition' (composed before 1645?) in MS Mus. d. 238 (1650s) and MS D.C. I.69/MS D.C. 1.1 (1649-1652); 'Good morrow' and 'Good morrow unto her' (analogue to 'The Good Morrow') in MS D.C. I.69/MS D.C. 1.1 (1649-1652) and 'Good morrow' and 'Good Morrow unto her' (analogue to 'The Good Morrow') in MS Mus. d. 238 (c. 1650s).

¹⁰ Pinto, 'Lawes, William'.

around 1630, Lawes gained a reputation for ‘performance on the new 12-course theorbo’, which ‘led to the renown later recalled by poets’, such as John Milton, and musical tributes from Jenkins, Wilson, and Henry. He was selected with Simon Ives to compose for ‘James Shirley’s prestigious masque mounted by the Inns of Court to demonstrate loyalty to the crown, *The Triumph of Peace* (1634)’. He continued to compose chamber works, while being involved in court masques and writing ‘play songs for royal troupes in the theatres at Blackfriars and at the palaces, in chief at Whitehall’s Cockpit-in-Court’, by the King’s Men and Queen Henrietta’s Company.¹¹

William Lawes had also written an allemande to a known masque tune by Orlando Gibbons’, copied by Benjamin Cosyns,¹² English organist and composer (b. c 1580; bur. London, Sept. 14, 1653). Cosyns (spelled Couzens) is listed with ‘Donne’, ‘Donne2d’ [*sic*] and ‘Dunn’ in the Southgate Collection, Add. MS 39550-4 (vols 1-5, 5 parts). ‘Cosyn’s reputation rests primarily on his role as a collector and scribe of contemporary keyboard music in two important manuscripts’, the ‘Cosyn Virginal Book’ (1620) and an autograph index (1652); these works contain not only his own works but also music by Tallis, Byrd, Bull, Gibbons, Weelkes and Myriell.¹³ The work that brought Lawes the ‘widest notice in his lifetime, *The Royall Consort*, circulated in accurate manuscript copies until 1680, at which point it finally succumbed to the decisive shift in fashion towards the Italianate high Baroque’.¹⁴ William Lawes’s declamatory solo songs and other works show a compositional style that parodies the extremes of Donne’s

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ John Caldwell and Orhan Memed. ‘Cosyn [Cosens, Cousins, Cowsins], Benjamin’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 4 January 2024].

¹⁴ Ian Spink, ‘Lawes, Henry’.

writing style. Pinto describes it as ‘wilful angularity’, having ‘dramatic effect’ and ‘vivid expression of extreme emotional states’. It ‘flouts strict contrapuntal imitation, linked to an additional dissolution of polyphonic norms by free admittance of a discord created by irregularly resolved or even unresolved harmonic progression, or by dissonant auxiliary notes’, parodying Coprario and Monteverdi.¹⁵ He also incorporated the French suite-form.¹⁶ His ‘forthright, extroverted style’ is related to Wilson and Lanier; his theatre work ‘bespeaks a sardonic temperament akin to Cavalier poets like Sir John Suckling, to whom working conditions brought him close, and whose quick wits were similarly not drawn to fine delineation of internal states of mind’.¹⁷

The analogues of ‘The Good Morrow’¹⁸ provide insight into which version (Group I, II, or III) the poem best fits. ‘Wherfore peepst thou envious day’ (analogue to ‘The Sun Rising’) (William Lawes (?) or Anon.) in MS Mus. d. 238 (1650s), imitates his brother’s musical setting, with the run up of the sun ‘rising’ on ‘golden ray’ to the highest note; it is a lilting, joyful tune. Henry Lawes’s ‘Wherfore peepst thou’ sounds much more ominous and serious than William’s and ‘Sweet, staye’s’ sombre tone gives it a pensive, haunting quality.¹⁹ Separate verses of ‘The Apparition’ (composed before 1645?) in MS Mus. d. 238 (1650s) and MS D.C. I.69/MS D.C. 1.1 (1649-1652) reveal a much more difficult and dissonant piece, word painting ghostly qualities.²⁰

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁹ Recordings in Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁰ Peter Walls, “‘Music and Sweet Poetry’? Verse for English Lute Song and Continuo Song’, *M&L*, 65.3 (1984), pp. 250-51. Walls indicates that it is difficult to join the Cantus I part of what was originally a three-part setting

‘Lawes uses an imitative texture in which the horrors of the text are illustrated with chromaticisms and, vertically, tritones’.²¹ ‘The opening, “When by thy scorne, fowl murderess, I am dead”, is solo declamation with an expressive fall of a seventh on to “dead”’.²² The use of these types of compositional stylistic devices by William and Henry Lawes exhibits the brothers’ creativity, innovation and musical acumen, skills early learned from Donne composer, Giovanni Coprario.

6.2 John Wilson: ‘Wherfore/Wherefore peepst thou’, ‘A Watch borrowed of Ms. E. K. and sent home Wrapt in these Verses, by Will. S.’ (‘Goe and count her better hours’) and ‘Love Bred on Glaunces’

Like the Lawes brothers, lutenist, singer, and professor of music at Oxford, John Wilson (1595-1674) also set ‘Wherfore/Wherefore Peepst thou enuious day’ (analogue to ‘Ad Solem’) and ‘Stay o stay why dost thou fly me’ (analogue to ‘Breake of Daye’). He composed ‘A Watch borrowed of Ms. E. K. and sent home Wrapt in these Verses, by Will. S.’ (‘Goe and count her better hours’) (poem attributed to Strode and Donne, written to Elizabeth King) and ‘Love Bred on Glaunces’. More Donne musical settings by Wilson are found in manuscripts than any other composer (except Anonymous). Donne had ties with Wilson through Henry King, William Strode, Ben Jonson, and William and Henry Lawes. The Lawes brothers were lifelong friends of Wilson (who was born within a year of Henry). Henry Lawes ‘praised Wilson’s integrity, his

(MS D.C. I.69/MS D.C. 1.1) with Cantus II (MS Mus. d. 238). Even though both extant part-books have an instrumental bass line, it ‘does not look (as it sometimes does) as if it might have doubled the vocal line’.

²¹ Ibid., p. 251.

²² Ibid.

“true and honest heart”, and “his great art, which I but dully understand”²³ Strode (1601?-1645) was one of the chaplains and King (1592-1669), his bishop at Christ Church, Oxford.²⁴ ‘Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies* (1662) records that Henry King “delighted in the studies of *Musick and Poetry*’, and his musicianship is reflected in his will, where he bequeaths to a friend’s wife his ‘small cabonett organ made by Cradocke’, the King’s organ-maker’.²⁵

Born near Canterbury, Wilson was ‘probably involved in the musical life of the court and the London theatre from an early age, apparently 1614’; he was ‘writing songs for Shakespeare’s theatrical company, the King’s Men (though the Bard had retired by then)’, by 1614,²⁶ and ‘songs survive for plays put on by them’ until 1629.²⁷ It is possible, given his move to London in ‘adolescence or young manhood’, and his succession of Robert Johnson as principal composer for Shakespeare’s theatrical company,²⁸ that he knew Donne early in his career.

It is likely that Wilson would have fit in with Donne’s group of friends, though he was some twenty years younger than Donne. He ‘sang in a revival of *Much Ado About Nothing*’²⁹ and,

²³ Arthur Jacobs Sabol and John Cunningham, ‘Jonson, Ben’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 20 August 2020]

²⁴ Christopher Burlinson, ‘Richard Corbett and William Strode: Chaplaincy and Verse in Early Seventeenth-Century Oxford’ in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 141. Christopher Burlinson observes that ‘Christ Church, Oxford—college and cathedral—was home in the first half of the seventeenth century to a succession of poets who were or would become, chaplains, . . . bishops, either in Oxford or beyond, . . . or churchmen of some other rank’. ‘The careers of chaplaincy and poetry, then were tightly entwined at Christ Church’, and coincided with ‘promotion’.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

²⁶ Ian Spink, ‘John Wilson, (English composer, lutenist and singer)’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) [accessed 13 February 2022].

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ David Mason Greene, *Greene’s Biographical Encyclopedia of Composers* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1985), pp. 178-79.

²⁹ Ian Spink, ‘John Wilson (English composer, lutenist and singer)’.

‘using the name of “Jack Wilson”’, he ‘was already winning a reputation as a clown, albeit probably not a professional one’. Prior to joining Henry Lawes as a member of the King’s Musick in 1635 ‘among the lutes and voices’, in 1622, Wilson ‘became a town musician, or “wait”, to the city of London’,³⁰ serving as one of the ‘Servants of the City for Music and voice’, a position he still held in 1641.³¹ Wilson ‘so dazzled Anthony à Wood that he pronounced Wilson “the best at the lute in all England” and “the greatest judge of music that ever was”’.³² Donne likely would have known Wilson through the theatre and Shakespeare, as ‘wait’, and through their mutual friends and composers. He would have been particularly empathetic to Wilson’s becoming a widower³³ in 1624, when ‘his wife Jone, died, leaving him presumably with the daughter remembered in his will fifty years later’.³⁴

‘Wilson’s *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads* (1660) proclaims itself “the first Essay (for ought we understand) of printing Musick that ever was in Oxford”’. Spink states that ‘Wilson’s most important works are his songs’ [...] ‘his handling of the declamatory style is often clumsy and shows little of Henry Lawes’s sensitivity’; however, there are ‘successes, especially among songs lying between the extremes of tuneful balladry and doctrinaire declamation’. Perhaps Spink refers to MS Drexel 4175, ‘Wherefore peepst thou’, which was much more disjointed and difficult to sing than the same melody appearing in later manuscripts. I argue this may have been intentional, as Wilson may have been trying to parody Donne’s rhythmic roughness, especially

³⁰ Arthur Jacobs Sabol and John Cunningham.

³¹ Ian, Spink, ‘John Wilson (English composer, lutenist and singer)’.

³² Arthur Jacobs Sabol and John Cunningham. Ben Jonson ‘inscribed a set of his works to him’.

³³ Ian, Spink, ‘John Wilson (English composer, lutenist and singer)’. Wilson remarried in 1670/71 at age 66, died at 78 and is buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

³⁴ Ibid.

since it appears in an early manuscript (1620-1630), as opposed to the more legato versions that appear in mid-century manuscripts. Except for MS Drexel 4175, I have not found Wilson to be ‘clumsy’ or ‘insensitive’; his Donne melodies are among the ones I enjoy singing the most. Wilson’s psalms in *Psalterium Carolinum* (1557 and 1660) ‘are comparable in style with Henry and William Lawes’s *Choice Psalms* (1648) and William Porter’s *Mottets* (1657), essentially devotional music’. ‘More interesting are his pieces for 12-course lute (or theorbo, Bodleian Library Mus.B.1), which are in the nature of preludes written in all the major and minor keys’, a hallmark of seventeenth-century compositional style.³⁵

Although Strode and King would have been associated with music through the church, Mary Hobbs helps to explain Dr Henry King’s (and Donne’s) musical connection with John Wilson and Henry Lawes:³⁶ ‘His acquaintance with Wilson may well have begun at informal gatherings of poets and musicians, common at that period, and not just through King’s attendances at Court as a Royal Chaplain’.³⁷ ‘Some of the ‘anonymous lyrics found both in *SM* [Stoughton Manuscript] and in Wilson’s book, as well as others in *SM* not used by Wilson, also appear with (xvi) musical settings by the Court composer Henry Lawes (1595-1662), in his autograph songbook (British Library Add. MS 53723). Indeed, the Stoughton group of manuscripts helps to confirm that Lawes copied out that volume in chronological order’.³⁸

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Henry King, *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle, circa 1636, A facsimile edition with Introduction and Indexes by Mary Hobbs* (Hants: Scholar Press, 1990), pp. xvi-xvii. Others of *SM*’s lyrics can be found, chiefly in anonymous settings, in song miscellany manuscripts, some of them kept by musicians such as Edward Lowe (c. 1610-82), who succeeded Wilson as Heather Professor and was made a canon of Chichester Cathedral by its bishop, Henry King, at the Restoration. Lowe shows, by a note at the side of a song in one of his manuscript collections (British Library Add. MS 29390, f.76), that he also kept a ‘Pocket Manuscript’ of verses to work evidently a miscellany of the same kind as the *SM* group’.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. xvi, ix, xix.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. xvi-xvii.

Within the Stoughton MS, stamped 1628, and dating from no later than 1636,³⁹ are poems by Edward Herbert, Ben Jonson, William Strode, Thomas Carew, and fellow lawyers, Henry Blount, and John Vaughn, tying the manuscript to the Inns of Court and its ‘circle of wits’,⁴⁰ including King who was ‘an honorary member of Lincoln’s Inn from 1619’.⁴¹ The Stoughton MS is housed with Rosemary Williams (London) and is a 247 page ‘folio miscellany of some 133 poems, including 55 poems by Henry King and nineteen by Thomas Carey’.⁴² ‘The popular view is that Carew gave his poems as he wrote them to Henry Lawes to be set to music’ and ‘the existence of a musical setting, is found for most of them, however, only in comparatively late manuscripts’.⁴³ Donne may have done the same, especially during the years before taking orders, and later when he gave ‘Hymne to God the Father’ to be set.

Hobbs points out that ‘one unusual feature’ of the Stoughton MS is ‘shared by only a small related group of manuscripts’⁴⁴: lyrics found in John Wilson’s songbook (MS Mus. b. 1), the Skipworth MS 25707 (which is ‘next closest in content’), and Cambridge MS 423 (St. John’s College), ‘once owned by John Pike’, [...] share ‘twenty song-texts almost exactly, much in the

³⁹ Ibid., pp. xvi, ix, xix. The Stoughton MS is comprised of two parts: ‘The first section is a verse miscellany of 78 poems (pp 1-[122]), similar in contents to other verse miscellanies in common circulation. It is unique among such manuscripts, however, in its close relationship to . . . well-known poet of the time, Henry King (1592-1669), whose own poems make up the second part of the manuscript (pp. [123-247])’. ‘The miscellaneous section of *SM*, which depends so much on song-lyrics, draws on the most beautiful minor poetry of the period, some of it unpublished even today’.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. xiii.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² *Catalogue of Early Literary Manuscripts (1450-1700)*, ed. by Peter Beal (created 2005-2013), is the expanded and updated online version of the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (4 vols in 9 parts) ed. by Peter Beal (London: Mansell Publishing, 1980-1993); <<https://celm.ms.org.uk>>.

⁴³ King, p. xviii.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. xv.

same order as they occur in both *SM* and John Wilson's songbook'.⁴⁵ Hobbs's argument that the poems in the Stoughton manuscript had musical settings⁴⁶ connects King, Wilson, William and Henry Lawes, Jonson and Herbert musically (because their musicality was well known). Lara Crowley's argument that Donne wrote 'Psalm 137'⁴⁷ is also supported since the musical score of 'Psalm 137', written by Martin Peerson (who wrote the musical setting of Donne's 'The Primrose') and transcribed by Thomas Myriell (Donne's friend), appears in the Skipworth manuscript, which shares twenty songs exactly, in the same order, as the Stoughton manuscript.

At Donne's death, King, along with John Mountfort, were named executors of Donne's will. Going back to their first association at Christ Church, Oxford and their clerical association (King becoming Canon in 1624), Donne's friendship with Henry included poetry and musical ties. Until now, librarians and archivists⁴⁸ have been unaware of any musical association between Donne and King in Henry's papers or books; however, it is now apparent that the Stoughton manuscript links them musically since Wilson set eight of King's poems to music, four of Donne's, and Donne composer Henry Lawes composed and included musical settings of the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xv-xvi. Hobbs notes that other MSS. in this group include Folger Library MS V. b. 43, Harley MSS 6917/8. BL Add MS 58215 owned by Thomas Manne (scribe of the Hannah MS), Sloane MS 1446, and Folger MS V.a.125. 'Almost all the anonymous poems in *SM* are found set to music (in the same textual versions and in roughly the same order as they occur in *SM*) in the manuscript songbook copied for the Bodleian Library (MS Mus.b.l) about 1651 by John Wilson, a member of the King's Musick and first Heather Professor of Music at Oxford. *SM* and those manuscripts closely related to it have brought to light a hitherto unnoticed fact: that Wilson's book incorporates at least one earlier collection of his songs which must have circulated separately. Wilson, used as a source by Margaret Crum, set only eight of King's poems to music. However, his manuscript contains 27 other songs whose texts are found in the first section of *SM* and a number of others whose lyrics appear elsewhere only in one or other manuscript the small Stoughton group'.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁴⁷ Psalm 137 is the only poem to appear in all seven seventeenth-century printed collections of Donne's verse; yet, it is excluded from his current canon.

⁴⁸ John Ross Milsom (Christ Church, Oxford), 'John Donne and Music' (E-mail to Mary Elaine S. Nelson, 30 January 2019); Richard Hance (Cathedral Library, Chichester), 'Henry King's Books, John Donne and Music' (E-mail to Mary Elaine S. Nelson, 6 November 2018)

Stoughton manuscript's poems in his autograph songbook (British Library Add. MS 53723). The musical link between Donne, Wilson, King, and Henry Lawes in the Stoughton Manuscript⁴⁹ demonstrates that there often existed a direct relationship, in the seventeenth century, between musicians and the poets whose verse they set.⁵⁰ This has important implications for our understanding of Donne's relationships with composers who set his poems to music. Donne's friends, family, literary and musical associations would sustain him during the years he took holy orders and expanded to include more church musicians. During this time, Donne's verbal and melodic lyrics continued to evolve, fusing into a musically transcendent and spiritually transformational, art form.

⁴⁹ My appreciation is extended to fellow Donne scholar and University of Birmingham colleague Charles Adam Greene for referring the Stoughton MS to me.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. xvii.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Musicality Refined: Donne's Ministry

Chapter Seven begins with Donne's ministry, references to music in Donne's writing, and Ann's death. The focus then shifts to Donne's involvement in worship and music at St. Paul's, with church musicians, and with Donne's musical and artistic circle of friends and foreign dignitaries. References to music in Donne's sermons, the composers (Hilton and Humphrey) of the musical settings of Donne's hymns, and analyses of their music are discussed. The chapter ends with examples of Donne's musicality.

7.1 'Deerest/Sweetest loue, I doe not goe'

After years of seeking preferment and income to support his growing family, Donne accepted 'the inevitable course before him, the only means by which he and his family were to thrive in the vicious world that centered in the Jacobean Court',¹ the ministry. After his ordination as deacon and priest of St. Paul's on 23 January 1615 (by Bishop John King, the father of his friend and fellow poet and priest, Henry King²), Donne was appointed a royal Chaplain and attended James VI & I to Cambridge where he was made an honorary D.D. (1615).³

During this time, John and Ann Donne had two more daughters, Margaret (1615) and Elizabeth (1616). After becoming Divinity Reader for Lincoln's Inn at the end of 1616, 1617 would be a pivotal year for Donne, for his beloved Ann would give birth to a still-born child (10 August) and

¹ John Donne, *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. with an Introduction by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 23.

² See Appendices, Vol. II. Song 'Goe and Count Her Better Hours' by John Wilson; poem believed to be written by Donne and William Strode to Henry King's daughter, Elizabeth.

³ R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 539.

die (15 August).⁴ In ‘The Dissolution’, Donne laments, ‘Shee’s Dead, and all which dye, To their first Elements resolute, And wee were mutuall Elements to vs | And made of one another; (ll. 1-4)⁵ Ralph Houlbrooke states that ‘after conception, both the man and woman had to prepare for the possibility that the mother could die in childbirth, . . . ‘.⁶ ‘Pregnant women needed to constantly prepare their souls for death and husbands | fathers needed to prepare themselves for the possibility of losing their wives’.⁷ This was true for the Donnes, for ‘ . . . in the hours after the “extreme danger” of one of her childbed-illnesses, he describes Ann as “she whom I should hardly have abstained from recompensing for her company in the world, with accompanying out of it”—just as he will later repeat in the closing lines of her epitaph’.⁸ Ann succumbed to “*Immani febre correptae*”—an immense, ravishing fever that seized and carried her off’.⁹ During more than fifteen years of marriage, Ann had conceived ‘twelve children, of whom three died in infancy; and two others, never baptized, were stillborn’.¹⁰ Donne never remarried.

After the death of Ann, a grief-stricken Donne immersed himself in his work, both theological and legal, raising his family and taking care of his mother. For the next thirteen years, his

⁴ Bald, p. 540.

⁵ John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Gary Stringer, Vol. 4.3, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022), p. 223.

⁶ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998), p. 2.

⁷ Vanessa Jean Wilkie, ““Such Daughters and Such a Mother”: The Countess of Derby and Her Three Daughters” (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 2009), p. 24.

⁸ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 20, n. 46; *Letters to Several Persons*, 272, 153, 137, and 147 (p. 31).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20 n. 45. ‘The birth of a third son, Francis, in January 1607, was especially harrowing; in a letter announcing the new son Donne encloses something he had written during Anne’s labor: “the saddest lucubration and nights passage that ever I had”. He describes his life as “her anguish, and my fears, and hopes” (*Letters to Severall Persons*, 147) (p. 31)’.

preaching extended throughout London, England and abroad. He preached routinely at the Courts of James VI & I and Charles I. In addition to the Chapel Royal, Donne ministered to small congregations and parish churches; he was granted rectories in Keyston, Huntingdonshire, Sevenoaks, Kent, and Blunham, Bedfordshire, and became vicar at St. Dunstan's in the West.¹¹ Bald states that Donne preached at the Inner Temple and at his beloved Lincoln's Inn, at St. Paul's Cross, at St. Clements Danes (where Ann was buried), and at St. Paul's; his preaching extended to Doncaster's embassy to Germany, to the Hague, to his aristocratic friends and even to the Virginia Company, of which he was an honorary member.¹²

Since St. Paul's had no permanent congregation, 'Donne's listeners at St. Paul's must have included courtiers, tourists to London, and the Anglican equivalent of "sermon-gadders"'.¹³ Byron Nelson argues, "It is possible that Donne preached not to a huge congregation in the nave of the cathedral but to a select group in the choir stalls; this would seem to be confirmed by his occasional complaints in the sermons about the noisy interruptions to divine service by people either walking through the cathedral or engaging in commercial transactions".¹⁴ Not even Donne's eloquence could temporarily suspend the bustling fray. 'There surely were days when no one except the members of the Cathedral's Choir and its clergy were present, but from the perspective of the cathedral and its staff, that did not matter'.¹⁵ This is supported by Mary Ann

¹¹ Bald, pp. 539-42.

¹² Ibid., pp. 539-42.

¹³ Byron Nelson, 'John Donne's Pulpit Voice' *Prose Studies* 34 (2012), 50-58 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01440357.2012.686205>> [accessed 20 October 2021] (p. 51).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ 'Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral', *Virtual St. Paul's Cathedral Project: A Digital Re-Creation of Worship and Preaching at St. Paul's Cathedral in Early Modern London* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 2021) <<https://vpcathedral.chass.ncsu.edu>> [accessed 20 October 2021]. 'The chief function of a cathedral in early modern England was to maintain the daily round of worship services according to the use of the Book of Common

Lund's view that Donne 'treated the choir of the church as both the communion of saints and a topographical prop':¹⁶

In the choir, "in which all the service of God is officiated and executed" (Sermon 6, ll. 27-8), was his auditory, many of them standing in the aisle between the choir stalls; the "Hymnes and Anthems of the Saints" (l. 30) in heaven may sound only after death, but the choir in front of him and the organ to his immediate right reinforced his point that the churches militant and triumphant were "all one House" (l. 23).¹⁷

'Participation in the worship of the Church of England¹⁸ provided layfolk with membership in a body that welcomed them and supported them communally through the most important transitions in their personal lives, from birth to coming of age to marriage to illness and finally to their deaths'.¹⁹ 'Enabled by Thomas Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer, "one use" for all England, worshippers prayed in "one voice", sought assurance of their faith in their public works of charity to one another, and were assured that their hope lay in being part of one "mystical

Prayer. Maintaining the daily round of worship was, to quote from the Book of Common Prayer, the "bounded duty and service" of the Cathedral's staff'. According to Roger Bowers: 'Those attending to the efforts of the earthly choir below were the denizens of the heavenly choir above, and that sufficed. Just as in pre-Reformation times, each service was an act of worship addressed to the Almighty, to the other Persons of the Trinity, and to all the hosts of heaven, all offered up in a manner designed also to edify and sanctify those on Earth by whom it was being performed'.

¹⁶ John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by Mary Ann Lund, (gen. ed.) Peter McCullough, (deputy gen ed.) David Colclough, Vol. XII, *Sermons Preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, 1626* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017), p. xxiii, n. 34. 'On the layout and features of the cathedral in Donne's time, see Schofield, *St. Paul's*, 184-215, and, on the medieval choir, 64-8, 124-5. As Schofield demonstrates from the archaeological evidence of the pre-Fire St. Paul's. Wenceslaus Hollar's engravings (e.g. Fig. 1) contain some inaccuracies and reconstruct features damaged or destroyed during the Civil War, and should thus not be solely relied upon for the detail of cathedral topography'.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. xxiii.

¹⁸ 'Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral'. 'The genre of the Book of Common Prayer is, of course, the *Regulum*, or Rule of St Benedict,^[1] a spiritual and theological tradition that, in the words of Harvey Guthrie, "makes it possible for the basis of the spiritual life of a community of Christian people to be the corporate, liturgical, sacramental, and domestic life of that community itself." The Prayer Book's rites enable the gathered community of believers to be formed, enabled, assured, and supported by their participation in the rites of the Book of Common Prayer'.^[1] 'The Lambeth Articles, never officially adopted by the Church hierarchy, embody Calvinist beliefs about human depravity and human dependence for hope on the eternal will of a remote and abstract God. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambeth_Articles for the full text'.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

body”’.²⁰ This ‘vocal prayer’ ‘made use of hymns, psalms and other forms of verse set to music’.²¹

Although modern scholars will, unfortunately, never have the chance to hear ‘Donne preaching’ to prove or disprove their theories about the sound of his voice, we can wonder about it and the way in which he used it. Donne’s literary voice is well-known; but a theatrical Donne in the pulpit leads one to consider how his voice was perceived. Byron Nelson thinks ‘Donne’s pulpit voice’ was ‘eclectic and idiosyncratic, variously prophetic, Augustinian, humanistic, rhetorical, liturgical, and ceremonial, and perhaps even Arminian or semi-Pelagian’.²² A. J. Smith confirms that Donne ‘became so rare a Preacher, that he was . . . admired by all that heard him’.²³

²⁰ ‘Overview’, *Virtual St. Paul’s Cathedral Project: A Digital Re-Creation of Worship and Preaching at St. Paul’s Cathedral in Early Modern London* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 2021) <<https://vpcathedral.chass.ncsu.edu>> [accessed 20 October 2021]. In ‘Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: The soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642’, in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Will Colster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), pp. 104-123, (p. 5), John Craig laments that we ‘know relatively little about the sounds of worship, how those sounds were shaped and controlled by the people, or the extent to which they defined sacred space’. However, North Carolina State University’s *Virtual St. Paul’s Cathedral Project: A Digital Re-Creation of Worship and Preaching at St. Paul’s Cathedral in Early Modern London* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 2021) <<https://vpcathedral.chass.ncsu.edu>>, led by John N. Wall, gives excellent insight into not only the physical buildings and surrounding community, but the sights and sounds of worship inside the Cathedral.

²¹ Anthony Low, *Love’s Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. 19.

²² Byron Nelson, pp. 50, 57. ‘It was the physical voice of John Donne the preacher in his pulpit at old St. Paul’s Cathedral that attracted listeners in the latter half of his lifetime’ (p. 50). ‘We can only imagine the sound of Donne’s physical voice in the pulpit of old St. Paul’s Cathedral, which was longer and narrower than Christopher Wren’s replacement, built after the Great Fire of 1666’ (p. 57).

²³ A. J. Smith, ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1975), p. 126.

One of many who was enamoured in the extreme by Donne and his preaching was the musical and artistic²⁴ Sir Constantijn Huygens, Lord of Zuilichem (1596-1687).²⁵ A Calvinist, ‘he had heard Donne preach and he had enjoyed his familiar conversation; in both situations the effect was equally striking. Huygens confirms Walton’s statement that Donne’s company was “one of the delights of Mankind”’.²⁶ One of the earliest contacts between Huygens and Donne was through Henry Wotton, ‘the English Ambassador to The Hague for several years, and a number of family members on his mother’s side, the Hoefnagels, who belonged to what Bachrach refers to as “the London Dutch”’.²⁷

Huygens had been trained in music from the age of five; he began with singing lessons, then learned the viol, the guitar, the lute, and the harpsichord, for which, in 1648, he wrote *Twee ongepaerde handen*. ‘Huygens was a gifted musician and played the lute²⁸ for King James I early in September 1618’²⁹ and at the Danish Court.³⁰ The Dutch statesman was also a prolific

²⁴ *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings III 1635-1642*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project, eds., J. Bruyn, S. H. Lewis, P. J. J. van Thiel, E. van de Watering (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1989), p. 193. contains an account of the longstanding belief a painting by Rembrandt, the *Blinding of Samson*, was owned by Constantijn Huygen’s grandfather, Constantijn Huygens, IV; but, there is no proof. It is a fact, however, that in 1639, Rembrandt had a ‘large history painting available’ that was offered to Constantijn Huygens. (Whether this painting was actually the *Blinding of Samson*, is unknown.) As a child, Constantijn benefitted from his family’s extensive art collection; he knew Rembrandt and Jan Lievens, as well as René Descartes.

²⁵ C. R. Joby, ‘A Dutchman Abroad: Poetry Written by Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) in England’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 28.2 (2013), 187-206, p. 188. Born in the Hague, Huygens was the son of Christiaan Huygens Sr., secretary of the Council of State. His mother was Susanna Hoefnagel, niece of the Antwerp painter, Joris Hoefnagel.

²⁶ Bald, p. 442.

²⁷ Joby, p. 188.

²⁸ Rudolf A. Rasch, ‘Huygens, Constantijn’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 12 August 2020].

²⁹ Joby, p. 189.

³⁰ Rasch, ‘Huygens, Constantijn’. ‘He considered music first and foremost to be a pastime; however, he also saw it as a means of promotion in both personal and professional circles. Music played an important role in his contact with several musical amateurs in high society in both the northern and the southern Netherlands, for example the

poet'³¹ and received 'a broad humanistic³² education, including languages,³³ the sciences and the arts', logic, law and music, 'as well as dancing, fencing and horseback-riding'.³⁴ 'He made visits to England on no less than seven occasions and wrote a significant body of poetry, primarily in Dutch, but also in Latin, and very occasionally in French and English, during these visits'.³⁵ Among Donne scholars, Huygens is most famously known for translating nineteen of Donne's poems into Dutch.³⁶ Out of Huygen's nineteen Donne translations, musical settings are extant (or the poems were titled 'Songe') for the following: 'Breake of daye', 'The Apparition', 'Goe, and catche a falling starre', 'The Exstasie', 'Womans Constancie', 'The Triple Foole' and 'A Valediction: forbidding mourning'. Perhaps he had acquired musical settings of these poems or wrote his own, for Huygens 'claimed to have composed almost 1,000 instrumental pieces,

Haarlem priest J. A. Ban, the Duarte family of Jewellers from Antwerp and the Orange noble man Sébastien Chièze (envoy to William III in Madrid). In his correspondence with Mersenne and Descartes, music was also touched upon frequently. His contact with professional musicians seems often to have been rather short-lived: they sought him for career advice, patronage and employment, and he sought them for musical advice and their newest compositions. Among these people were Antoine Boësset, Hayne, Steffkin, Nicholas Lanier (ii), Gobert, Foscarini Jacques Gautier, Chambonnières and Froberger. Sometimes Huygens used them as intermediaries when purchasing musical instruments; he also used his diplomatic contacts and the amateurs he had befriended for this purpose'.

³¹ Joby, p. 189. See D. W. S., '*Pathodia sacra et profana* for Voice and continuo by Constantijn Huygens and Frits Noske (Music Review)', *M&L*, 39.3 (Jul. 1958), 314-315 (p. 215). 'There must be few modern diplomats with sufficient leisure from crevasses of political intrigue to write poems in seven languages and perform on six musical instruments'.

³² Anthony Grafton, 'The New Science and the Traditions of Humanism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), p. 203.

³³ Joby, p. 187. C. R. Joby cites eight languages, stating that Huygens 'penned over 75,000 lines of verse'.

³⁴ Rasch, 'Huygens, Constantijn'.

³⁵ Joby, p. 187.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194 nn. 43-6.

probably all of which were small scale, and most of which were stylized dances, such as pavans, allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, and giges'.³⁷

In a portrait of Huygens with his wife, Suzanna, they hold a musical score that he composed, revealing music to be central to their relationship and an integral part of their lives.³⁸ According to Noske, the continuo fragment of this composition, written in the Lydian mode of F major, was chosen 'in accordance with the concept of matrimonial harmony', with a nod to the 'leadership of the husband'.³⁹ Rudolf A. Rasch says Huygens 'adhered to the traditional concept that music should be viewed as a realization in sound of the harmony present in all facets of creation'.⁴⁰ Noske, citing H. Finck and H. Powers, explains the Lydian (F major), 'corresponds with cheerfulness, friendliness, the gentler affects [...] since it pleases most of all, it averts quarrels, calms agitation, fosters peace and is of a jovial nature'.⁴¹

In the portrait, Susanna has her thumb above Constantijn's. Julius S. Held feels the placing of the two hands had 'specific significance', as 'Huygens's left hand is "below", Susanna's right higher up, just as in their joint music-making he would take the "low" line of the *basso continuo* (like the theorbo in his portrait by De Keyser [National Gallery, London]), while *she* would sing

³⁷ Rasch, 'Huygens, Constantijn'. Huygens also 'published a short treatise (anonymously) in 1641 'advocating the use of the organ to accompany psalm singing in the Dutch Reformed Church, a practice already gaining acceptance in the Dutch Republic at the time'. Rasch states that 'Huygens composed music throughout his life, but most of it is lost'.

³⁸ See Appendices, Vol. II.

³⁹ Frits Noske, 'Two Unpaired Hands Holding a Music Sheet: A Recently Discovered Portrait of Constantijn Huygens and Susanna Van Baerle' in *Tijdschrift Van De Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 42.2 (1992), 131-40, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁰ Rudolf A. Rasch, 'Huygens, Constantine'.

⁴¹ Noske, p. 138 n. 25. 'H. Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg 1556), Boo IV. See H. Powers, article 'Mode' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London 1980), Vol. 12, pp. 378-450, especially p. 399.

(or play) the high melodic lines'.⁴² Held felt this was indicative of the 'role of the *pater familias*, as the fundament of the marital concord',⁴³ like the *basso continuo* is the foundation of the music itself, the portrait being the 'visual equivalent of the pervasive theme of Huygen's great poem *Daghwerk*, where [...] the leadership of the husband is tacitly acknowledged'.⁴⁴

At twenty-two, and after a year's study at Leiden University ('the most modern university of his day'⁴⁵), Huygens set sail for England. Constantijn was 'being trained as a diplomat and administrative servant of the newly-emerging Dutch Republic. On 7 June (NS), he departed the United provinces in the company of Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador to The Hague',⁴⁶ also spending his five months in England with the Dutch Ambassador to England, Sir Noël de Caron.⁴⁷

Donne's influence on young writers extended to Huygens. In September 1618, Huygens 'wrote a Latin poem that was 75 lines long, written in Sapphic strophes, and entitled *Constantinus Huygens ex Magna Britannia Redux Patriam Salutat* (Constantijn Huygens Greeted his Fatherland on Returning from Great Britain)':

He was clearly looking forward to returning home at this point, although it would be another two months before he saw The Hague again. In the poem, he asks aloud whether his homeland will still be riven by the religious disputes which he had reflected on before he departed for England. Interestingly, on his return journey across the North Sea he

⁴² Julius Held, 'Constantijn Huygens and Susanna van Baerle: A Hitherto Unknown Portrait', *The Art Bulletin*, 73.4 (1991), 653-68, p. 663.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Noske, p. 139 n. 23.

⁴⁵ Grafton, n. 1.

⁴⁶ Joby, p. 188 n. 5.

⁴⁷ Robert G. Collmer, 'Reviewed Work: *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596-1687: A Pattern of Cultural Exchange*. by A. G. H. Bachrach', *Renaissance News*, 17. 4 (1964), 350-351.

found himself in the company of a number of English clerics on the way to the Synod of Dort, at which these religious disputes would come to a head.⁴⁸

It is possible that Huygens and Donne crossed paths when Constanjin returned home, for Huygens did not leave for The Hague until November. On 19 December 1619 ‘Donne preached at The Hague’,⁴⁹ and it is possible that Huygens heard him. If so, they met three years prior to the infamous meeting at Sir Robert Killigrew’s to which Bald refers.⁵⁰ Sir Robert Killigrew ‘had many connections with Holland and was for a brief time ambassador to The Hague’.⁵¹

During his first visit to England in 1618,⁵² Constantijn ‘found at a friend’s house an all-Italian *collegium musicum* and learned of the queen’s music and musicians, all French.⁵³ ‘He felt in his element, and soon made friends with [Nicholas] Lanier, whose masque and court music were all the rage’.⁵⁴ Huygens (and later his sons, Constantijn and Christiaan), Lanier and William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle had a musical connection through the musical Duarte family. Lanier visited the family at the Meir in Antwerp, a well-known centre for music and the visual arts, when he was in voluntary exile in the Netherlands.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 189 nn. 9 and 10. ⁹ Huygens, *Latijnse gedichten*, 346-8. Huygens was staying in South Lambeth with an old family friend, Noël de Caron, the ambassador of the States-general to the English Court; ¹⁰ Huygens, *Mijn Leven*, II, 118-119, p. 202.

⁴⁹ Bald, p. 540. Bald states that Donne was ‘presented a gold medal struck as a memento of the Synod of Dort’.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 441.

⁵² A. G. H. Bachrach delves into the myriad associations of Huygens on his trips to England (including Jonson, Donne, and others) in *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596–1687: A Pattern of Cultural Exchange*.

⁵³ D. W. S., ‘*Pathodia sacra et profana* for Voice and continuo by Constantijn Huygens and Frits Noske (Music Review),’ *M&L*, 39. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Jul. 1958), 314-15, p. 314.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Rudolph A. Rasch, ‘Duarte, Leonora’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). The Duarte children, Leonora and Diego, performed on the lute, viols and keyboard. ‘Diego set to music various poems by William

Huygens would not return to England until 1621. ‘However, one notable engagement by Huygens with English culture during the intervening period was the production of a Dutch poem based on an epigram by Ben Jonson, entitled “On Giles and lone”’.⁵⁶ ‘Huygens certainly felt a great affinity towards the literature of Donne and Jonson [...], writing 200 lines in English.’⁵⁷ Jan ten Brink (1867) argues that Donne influenced Huygens’s writing after ‘Huygens met Donne personally and the older man worked upon the Dutch boy’s unprepared spirit; moreover, since Huygens knew King James VI & I and the King favored Donne’s curious style of poetry, the King aided in foisting this influence on Huygens’.⁵⁸ Theodoor Jorissen (1871) agrees that ‘Huygens came under Donne’s personal influence; the young man was attracted to the older man because of a similarity in political and religious thought’.⁵⁹ Pattison ‘convincingly argues, it was the interaction of musicians and poets, the simultaneous development of new music and new poetry in Italy, France, and England, that was primarily responsible for the outburst of new stanza forms during the period’.⁶⁰

Bald relates that a famous meeting between Donne and Huygens is chronicled by Huygens, elucidating their musical association. ‘It is in connection with the Killigrews that we are given a

Cavendish (1650s) and later the psalm paraphrases of Godeau (1673-85), which he dedicated to Huygens. None of these works survive’.

⁵⁶ Joby, p. 194 n. 11.

⁵⁷ Ibid., ‘A Dutchman Abroad: Poetry Written by Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) in England’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 28. 2 (2013), 187-206 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2013.792156>> n. 96. Huygens, *De Gedichten*, II, 111, 11 lines; II, 206, 4 lines; IV, 27, 14 lines; V, 32, 6 lines; V, 38, 4 lines; VI, 275, 37 lines; VIII, 21, 4 lines; VIII, 146, 4 lines; VIII 346, 2 lines VIII, 349, 4 lines; VIII, 350, 8 lines; VIII, 352, 6 lines; VIII, 352, 2 lines; VIII 358, 4 lines; and IX, 5, 90 lines. Huygens also wrote many letters in English. Huygens *De Briefwisseling*, passim.

⁵⁸ Robert G. Collmer, ‘Donne’s Poetry in Dutch Letters’, in *Comparative Literature Studies*, 2.1 (1965), 25-39 (p. 35).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Low, p. 29 n. 44. ‘Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance, esp. pp. 61-88’.

glimpse of Donne as he was at this time [1622-1624]' by the 'visiting foreigner'.⁶¹ 'A Dutch embassy that was in London in 1622 and 1623 brought with it a young secretary, Constantijn Huygens. It was not his earliest visit, but the one on which he managed first to feel at home in certain English social groups',⁶² which he recounted in 1678 in a poem about his early life, *De Vita Propria Sermones inter Liberos*. Lisa Jardine states:

On his second stay in England in 1622, Constantijn Huygens struck up a lasting friendship with the well-connected, welcoming Killigrew family, who were close neighbours to his diplomatic lodgings in London. Theirs was a bustling, vibrant, artistic household, with parents and at least eight children (the eldest about seventeen), all of whom participated in well-attended musical soirees.⁶³

Lady Mary Woodhouse Killigrew (later Stafford) was a skilled vocalist, possessing an expert knowledge of musical instruments.⁶⁴ Jardine states Lady Mary and artist composer Nicholas Lanier assisted Huygens with the acquisition of 'instruments of recognized quality and workmanship'⁶⁵ and facilitated the passing of engravings of Huygens's mansion to Inigo Jones, her [and Donne's] 'close acquaintance'.⁶⁶ Lady Mary's children were equally talented, trained in

⁶¹ Bald, p. 441

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Lisa Jardine, *Temptation in the Archives: Essays in Golden Age Dutch Culture* (London: UCL Press, 2015), p. 75.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 48.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

music and the arts. In his poem,⁶⁷ Huygens describes the ‘circle he met’ at her home,⁶⁸ indicative of the gatherings Donne frequented and the entertainments that were provided.⁶⁹ Bald reveals:

The house was a hospitable one, and friends seem to have gathered there to listen to music, for Lady Killigrew [Mary Woodhouse Killigrew] and her children were accomplished performers [...] Among the guests were such men as Nicholas Lanier, musician and art connoisseur, and the French lutenist Jacques Gaultier, both of whom were in the service of the King. Huygens also mentions meeting the Dutch scientist Cornelis Drebbel and Sir Walter Raleigh’s widow, a “memorable matron” who delighted him with anecdotes of the times when the Duc d’Alençon came to England to sue for Elizabeth’s hand.⁷⁰

Elizabeth Raleigh’s brother, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was married to Ann More’s sister, Mary.⁷¹ ‘Bess’, as Queen Elizabeth I affectionately called Elizabeth, and her husband, Sir Walter, participated in court entertainments and their son, Carew, danced in Jonson’s masque *Love’s Triumph through Callipolis* (1630).⁷²

The Killigrews were long-time friends and Donne frequented their home, located near the royal palace of Hampton Court. The Donne and Killigrew families were close enough for John Donne, Jr. to bequeath Thomas his birds/doves when he died.⁷³ As previously stated, Donne, his ‘worthy friend’,⁷⁴ Sir Robert Killigrew and Peter Killigrew, ‘a young kinsman of Sir Robert, who

⁶⁷ *De Vita Propria Sermones inter Liberos*.

⁶⁸ Bald, p. 441.

⁶⁹ Anna Beer, ‘Raleigh’s history of her world’, *Women’s Writing*, 12:1 (2006), 29-42, p. 37 n. 38. ‘Printed in J.A. Worp (1898) *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters), VIII, pp. 205-209.

⁷⁰ Bald, p. 441-42.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-1.

⁷² June Davey, ‘Carew Raleigh’, in ‘History Articles’, *West Horsely Place* <<http://www.westhorsleyplace.org>>.

⁷³ Bald, p. 550.

⁷⁴ Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899), Vol, II, p. 224.

carried dispatches' accompanied Doncaster's embassy to Germany in May 1619.⁷⁵ Donne was chaplain, to 'minister to the needs of this company of Englishmen abroad', to 'establish relations with some of the main Protestant divines on the Continent and to advise the ambassador on problems of religion'.⁷⁶ Sir William Killigrew, Robert's father, leased his home, Hanworth (located near Hampton Court Palace), to James Hay, earl of Carlisle, where Doncaster 'continued his lavish entertainments for which he was famous'.⁷⁷ Donne visited Hanworth, 'the home of his friend and patron', 'frequently'.⁷⁸ In the same year Huygens met Donne at the Killigrew's, Donne preached at Hanworth 'at one of the Viscount's 'splendid entertainments'.⁷⁹ '... It would seem he had been at least once to Hanworth',⁸⁰ during his confinement with the Herberts, while waiting out the plague in 1625. Donne dates a letter of 12 July 1625 to Wotton, 'From Sir John Davers house at chelsey, of whose house, and my Lord Carlils at Hanworth, I make up my Tusculum'.⁸¹ These lavish estates outside of London were a haven for the city's elite, like the villas of Tusculum were for wealthy Romans.⁸² Perhaps all six homes of Donne's 'summer "circumference"' provided him with not only time to write, but musical entertainment as well.⁸³

⁷⁵ Bald, p. 344.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 432

⁷⁸ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 64, line 27.

⁷⁹ Bald, p. 432.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 474.

⁸¹ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 64.

⁸² Cicero wrote a series of books while living in his villa in Tusculum.

⁸³ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 64, line 26.

After the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy, Robert Killigrew's son, Thomas, became a well-known dramatist and theatre manager.⁸⁴ His bawdy, and most popular play, *The Parson's Wedding* (1637) (performed before the closing of the theatres) include speeches with prose paraphrases of Donne's poems, 'A Lecture Upon the Shadow,' 'Breake of Daye' and 'Love's Alchemy'.⁸⁵ This shows a general knowledge of Donne's poetry, and its popularity, amongst the theatregoing public, a populace likely equally aware and appreciative of their musical settings.

Jardine states, Huygens's 'surviving correspondence, and his Latin poetic autobiography, make it clear that he was emotionally involved with Lady Mary Killigrew and particularly taken with her "snow-white throat" and "divine voice" (as he later recalled them)'.⁸⁶ His autobiographical poem refers to Lady Mary's 'physical attractiveness and musical brilliance'.⁸⁷ There is also a reference to Huygens 'having owned a portrait of Mary Killigrew, which hung in his private art collection'.⁸⁸ Huygens's very close relationship with this musical family⁸⁹ and their guests gives insight into Donne's social circle and possible musical interests.

By 1622, five years a widower, Donne, would have been at liberty to attend as many social gatherings as he wished, including the one at the Killgrews' home (also located near Hampton Court Palace), where Huygens was a guest. Bald states:

⁸⁴ William R. Keast, 'Killigrew's Use of Donne in "The Parson's Wedding"', *MLR*, 45.4 (1950), 512–15, pp. 513–514.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 'A Lecture Upon the Shadow' (1598) is listed as a 'Song' in London Metropolitan Archives, MS ACC/1360/528 Clitherow and in the 1635 *Poems*. This song and the musical setting of 'Breake of Daye' were probably well-known to Thomas Killigrew's musical family since 'Breake of Day' was also included, along with 'The Baite', in Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* (1612).

⁸⁶ Jardine, p. 75–76.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75 n. 19.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51 n. 14 & p. 54 n. 21.

There is plenty of other evidence that Donne was acquainted with the Killigrews, and it is obvious that he must have known Lady Raleigh, whose brother had married one of his wife's sisters, but nothing is known from any other source of his friendship with the other members of the circle; nor, indeed, could we otherwise have been certain that Donne would have taken pleasure in the musical gatherings to which Huygens seems to refer.⁹⁰

Bald seems not to have known that Donne *was* friends 'with other members of the circle', for Jardine states that the Killigrew guest list included Ben Jonson, whom Donne knew well, and the Lord Chancellor Sir Francis Bacon.⁹¹ Lady Mary was the granddaughter of Sir Anthony Bacon; Mary's mother was Katherine Killigrew, the learned linguist, Sir Francis Bacon's aunt. There is evidence that Donne could 'have taken pleasure in the musical gatherings', at the Killigrew home, for a musical setting of 'Dearest/Sweetest loue, I doe not go'⁹² links Donne with the musically talented Lady Mary Killigrew.

Lady Mary's musical connection with Donne can be seen in the score of the ayre 'Song' ('Dearest/Sweetest Love, I doe not goe'), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 1018 (f. 44v).⁹³ The composer is anonymous.⁹⁴ Photographs show the musical score and a drawing of a

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 75.

⁹² It is placed as the third Song in Gardner's *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*.

⁹³ *Manuscripts at Oxford, English song, 1600-1675, Part I*, p. vi. Tenbury MSS. 2018 and 2019 'were formerly in the collection of St. Michael's College and are now housed at Oxford. Both manuscripts are oblong format, on identical paper, and thus probably related to each other'. Deferring to Cutts, Elise Bickford Jorgens states, 'Tenbury 2018 presents an initial challenge to the user because the compiler has written songs requiring only two staves on paper that has apparently been scored for four, five or six voices or instruments [...] being very conserving of paper [...]'. The compiler would 'start a new song immediately after the concluding flourish of the previous one, wherever it might fall', but the manuscript is 'neatly written'. 'Tenbury 2018 contains English songs for treble voice and unfigured bass intermingled with consort songs with Latin text [...] and Italian songs [...] most of them [...] by Giulio Caccini [...]'. These manuscripts represent a 'transitional period for solo song' and are examples of Caccini's influence on seventeenth century music. They exemplify the form in which Caccini's songs were known in England and provide a means for further study of the question of Italian influence on the development of English continuo song.

⁹⁴ John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 201. These lyrics are reminiscent of 'Image and Dream': 'But dearest heart, and dearer image stay'.

hand with a finger pointing to the words ‘my Lady Killigrew’ above the treble staff within the score.⁹⁵ The name is written in the same handwriting as the lyrics of the song.⁹⁶ Lady Mary Woodhouse Killigrew is likely ‘my lady Killegrewe’ and it is possible she sang this musical setting, as has previously been noted.⁹⁷ Lady Killigrew may have been one of the ‘many talented female performers, who were discouraged from practicing their musicianship outside of domestic settings’.⁹⁸ MS Tenbury 1018 is thought to date to before 1650. The melody was probably composed much earlier.

In the manuscript, the score is placed among the songs of Italian composers like Giulio Caccini, Alfonso Ferrabosco and Gulio Romano. Ferrabosco is ‘well represented . . . with four songs to Italian texts and five to English’.⁹⁹ Even though the composer is ‘Anonymous’, the handwriting is very similar to other ayres in manuscripts by Ferrabosco, the composer of other Donne settings. The drawing with Mrs. Killigrew’s name is in the same hand.

Another version of this same melody (‘Deerest.Sweetest Love, I doo not goe’), also anonymously attributed but greatly embellished and ornamented, is found in *Elizabeth Rogers hir Virginal Book*, MS 10337 (1656). This manuscript, dated ‘Februarye ye 27: 1656’, is very different from the straight melody heard in MS Tenbury 1018 due to its tone painting and irregular rhythm, although both are in F major. MS 10337 is decorated with accidentals, slides,

⁹⁵ See Appendices, Vol. II.

⁹⁶ Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 68. Trudell states that there are ‘dozens of airs dramatizing female voices and numerous tributes to female vocalists, lutenists, and Patrons’.

⁹⁷ John P. Cutts, ‘Early Seventeenth-Century Lyrics at St. Michael’s College’, in *Music & Letters* (July 1956), 221-33; and Morris, p. 220.

⁹⁸ Trudell, p. 68.

⁹⁹ *Manuscripts at Oxford, English song, 1600-1675, Part I.*, Introduction by Elise Bickford Jorgens (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1987), pp. v-vi.

melismatic vocal runs up and down the scale, and ornamental flourishes to enhance the tone painting of the text and elevate the lyric. Music follows the word.¹⁰⁰ Maynard argues that Donne seems to have written the first verse of ‘Deerest/Sweetest Loue’ ‘with a tune in mind’ since the succeeding verses turn into trochaic metre,¹⁰¹ and that the two composers made the melody for the words.

The songs in this manuscript feature an elaborate coloratura. Both songs are identical except for ornamentation.¹⁰² In MS 10337, nearly every other word is ornamentally held and embellished for emphasis and ‘might not have been performed the same way’¹⁰³ because of this. Clearly, the Tenbury MS melody was written first and the virginal book score was written later, embellishing the original melody. The swift run up on the word ‘must’ ends with its final descent on the declamatory words ‘die at last’. In every Donne musical setting, the words ‘death’ and ‘die’ are always held the longest to emphasize that death lasts forever.¹⁰⁴ In Rogers’s score, ‘death’ is held eleven beats in a semiquaver run that modulates high and low to indicate

¹⁰⁰ Willa McClung Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 13. ‘Words which can be sustained through trills, delays, suspensions, or modulations of voice, are musically pleasant and adaptable to the speaking voice. And words which must be sung rapidly to explain dramatic situation or to interpret plot, or connect links in the action, appeal to the intellect; they do not bear great verbal melody; they are akin to the words intended for the printed page.’

¹⁰¹ Winnifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 148.

¹⁰² Bryan N. S. Gooch, ‘Music for Donne’, in *JDJ*, 15 (1996), 171-88, p. 176. ‘The first is totally syllabic, in phrasing, melodic structure, and harmonic implication very much in the style of the lute song or ayre which marked the period from 1595 to 1615, though the potential shift from the major to minor dominant in m. 3. And from major to minor tonic in mm. 9-10 (see Ex. 1) tends to set it earlier rather than later. (Even so, both Humphrey and Purcell were to use such shifts late in the century.) The style is English rather than notably Italianate. As noted above the ornamentation in I. a.—in this case, virtuosic melisma rather than *hypotyposis* (except for “fained” in mm 16 and “Death” in m. 17)—is reflective of conscious artfulness’.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ This is also the case in the more contemporary ‘Death be not Proud’, by Benjamin Britten, written in 1946. ‘Death’ is held for ten, loud, monotone beats (*tactus*), and ‘die’, the last word of the song, is held a semibreve (whole note).

the ups and downs of ‘feigned’, simulated dying.¹⁰⁵ In the line, ‘Tis best to use myself in jest’, the vocalist sounds like she is laughing on the word ‘myself’ (‘mha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, hy-self’), emphasizing jesting. The modulation ‘from G minor to D minor, with the voice rising high over the accompaniment, allows the singer momentarily to retard the cadence and make a sensitive contrast . . . with its top G entry and its decisive key of E flat major’.¹⁰⁶ Donne’s lyrics (the alliterative ‘d’ in death and die, for example), easily emphasized by the composer and vocalist for dramatic effect, must have been a stylistically attractive option for the composers of Donne’s musical settings.

Another analogue to ‘Break of Day’, ‘Ly still my deare’ is also in this manuscript. The notation in this song is similar. It remains unknown whether the Donne musical settings in MSS Tenbury 1018 and 10337 were written for Lady Killigrew, by Lady Killigrew anonymously, or if she sang them. However, given her name within the musical score, her ‘divine voice’, the musical entertainments in her home (with Donne in attendance), her friendship with Donne, and Donne’s son, John’s, friendship with Thomas, it is credible. The impression that Lady Mary and Donne made upon Huygens is clearly documented. ‘But of all those he [Huygens] met at the Killigrew’s house he put Donne first, and saluted his memory in enthusiastic lines’.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: The Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 159. ‘A poet who was aware that musicians liked to treat the word ‘die’ with a long note probably accompanied with *crescendo* or *diminuendo*, would be quite capable of putting the word into a line deliberately to secure a climax. The conventions of contemporary musical style were always giving poets hints of this kind, and nearly all the poets were knowledgeable about musical requirements. There was a very general ability to imagine what lyrics would sound like when they received their musical settings. This is one of the distinguishing marks of the Renaissance lyric, and in criticizing it standards suitable for later poetry are quite inappropriate, for, without music, only half of the poets’ intentions are realized’.

¹⁰⁶ Brian Morris, ‘Not, Siren-like, to tempt: Donne and the Composers’, in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 219-58, p. 227.

¹⁰⁷ Bald, p. 442. Te maxime *Donni*,
Ominibus antefero, divine vir, optime Rhetor,
Prime Poetarum: O, quoties sermonibus illis

Equally evident, in ‘Deerest loue, I doe not goe’, in MS Tenbury 1018, there is a finger pointing to a direct musical link between Donne and Lady Mary Woodhouse Killigrew.

Knighted by James VI & I in 1622, Huygens had been at Court in January 1621 as secretary of multiple envoys of the United Provinces,¹⁰⁸ soliciting the King for support of the German Protestant Union.¹⁰⁹ ‘Huygens would remain in England for over a year and during this period made significant progress as a poet’,¹¹⁰ conceivably aided in this effort by Donne and Jonson. Jorissen states that in 1622, ‘when Huygens met Donne at the home of Sir Robert Killigrew, the twenty-four-year-old was at an especially impressionable age and at the outset of his poetic career. ‘Two earlier poems, “Voorhout” and “Costelick Mal,” fail to show Donne’s influence, but the next work published after the encounter, “Zedeprinten,” manifests Donnean traits’.¹¹¹ ‘In late May or early June 1622, Huygens wrote a 28-line Dutch verse in alexandrines, which is based on the first seven verses of the first chapter of Lamentations,¹¹² possibly inspired by Donne’s.

Aureolis, quos vel priuatos inter amicos
Vel de suggestu, Praeco facunde, serebas,
Intereram, quo me visus sum nectare pasci! (ll. 170-5)

¹⁰⁸ Joby, p. 187.

¹⁰⁹ Robert G. Collmer, ‘A. G. H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596-1687: A Pattern of Cultural Exchange, Volume 1, 1596-1619* (Leiden: The University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1962)’, *Renaissance News*, 17. 4 (1964), 350-351 <doi:10.2307/2858356> [accessed 22 April 2020] (p. 350). Bachrach states that the ‘United Provinces in the seventeenth century acted as the disseminator of English influence on the Continent’.

¹¹⁰ Joby, pp. 191-92.

¹¹¹ Ibid., n. 33. ‘Huygens, *De Gedichten*, I, 396 ff; Huygens, *Nederlandse gedichten*, II, 397-8. For a comparison of Huygens’s and Donne’s translations, see also Streekstra, *Afbeeldingsrelaties*, 199-249, p. 203.

¹¹² Ibid.

The dates of Donne's writing of his 'Lamentations' range from 1612 to 1625, therefore coinciding with many of Huygens' early visits to England. In 1623, Donne was seriously ill (November) and recovered; in 1625, Donne, ill again (June), retired to the Herbert home in Chelsea during the plague months (by 12 July).¹¹³ Scholars date composer Ford's musical setting of Donne's 'The Lamentations of Ieremy, for the most part according to Tremelius'¹¹⁴ as 'prior to 1648' (the year Ford died);¹¹⁵ however, it is possible that this anthem was set around 1614, as Ford 'contributed two anthems to Sir William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* (RISM 16147) and a large number of three-part songs (ATB) both sacred and secular survive in manuscript, notable at Winchester College and Christ Church, Oxford'.¹¹⁶ This time frame is credible because of the anonymous setting of 'Lamentations' found in BL MS 29427 (fols 77v- 78r) with 'Psalm 137', believed by Craig Monson to have been set between 1613 and 1616.

The practice of making musical settings of the Holy Week readings from the Book of Jeremiah 'enjoyed a brief and distinguished flowering in England (the practice had developed on the continent during the early 15th century)' during the mid-late 1560s, when Thomas Tallis would write his own 'Lamentation'.¹¹⁷ In Donne's 'Lamentations', musical references voice the pain: '14. I with my people, was | All the day long, a song and mockerye' (ll. 194-195);¹¹⁸ '63. I

¹¹³ Bald, p. 542.

¹¹⁴ *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen. ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 7.2, *The Divine Poems* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), p. 34.

¹¹⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 587.

¹¹⁶ Ian Spink and Frank Traficante, 'Ford [Foard, Foord, Forde, Fourd, Fourde], Thomas', in *Grove* (Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 5 August 2020].

¹¹⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 599.

¹¹⁸ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 34.

am their song, whether they rise, or sitt' (l. 265);¹¹⁹ '14. Elders, the gates; youth did their songs
forbeare, 15. Gone was our ioye, our daunceings mournings were'.¹²⁰

7.2 'Psalm 137'

Lara M. Crowley argues that 'Lamentations' makes a strong case for 'Psalm 137''s attribution to Donne for they are about the same event: 'the exile of the Jews after Jerusalem's fall to Babylon'.¹²¹ Set to music by Martin Pierson/Peerson ('The Primrose'), with verses inscribed primarily by Thomas Myriell, Donne again alludes to 'vntun'd, vnstrunge' strings. In Crowley's transcription of stanzas three through seven, Donne asks the 'sad Captiues' to 'tune' their heretofore 'mute Harpes, vntun'd, vnstrunge' and 'singe us lays' (l. 10).¹²² Donne begs, 'Let my

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

¹²¹ Lara M. Crowley, *Manuscript Matters: Reading John Donne's Poetry and Prose in Early Modern England in Oxford Scholarship Online* (Oxford University Press, 18 October 2018) [accessed 20 December 2020], p. 626 n. 76.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 132-33.

Our mute Harpes, vntun'd, vnstrunge
Vp wear hunge
On green willows neer beside vs,
When we sittinge all forlorne
This in scorne
Our proud spoylers gan deride us.

Come sad Captiues leaue y^r mones
And y^r grones
Vnder sions ruins burye:
Tune y^r harpes, and singe us lays
In the prayse
Of y^r God & lets be merry.

Can? Ah can we leaue our mones?
& our grones
Vnder Syons ruines bury?
Can we in thie Land singe lays,
In y^e praise
Of our God, and heer be merry?

No dear syon if I yet

tongue loose singing skill | Let it still’ and be ‘glewed’ to ‘my parched roof’ [mouth] (l. 39); his ‘nimble ioynts’ becoming ‘Stiff and num’ (l. 34-35) until ‘syon’s ioyes shall be renewed’ (l. 42).¹²³ Is Donne the ‘bolder Poet’, ‘singing’ ‘to the 137th Psalm’ (‘But thus; Sings the bolder Poet to the 137th Psalm’) [B₁₄, fol. 65r (BL, Add. MSS 27406–8)]? ¹²⁴ Crowley comments, ‘Although this “bolder poet” is not specifically named, surely Donne would be a good candidate’.¹²⁵ She states that in both the Skipwith manuscript and Cambridge MS Add. 29 (c. 1620-33), ‘Psalm 137’ falls in the middle of the group (fols 5r-v).¹²⁶ The evenly distributed weight of the manuscript’s pages when open facilitates singing because the pages do not turn while being performed. Crowley notices that ‘Psalm 137’ is placed together with other Donne songs and musical settings: ‘The Flea’, ‘Love’s Infiniteness’ (entitled ‘Mon Tout’ in both manuscripts) and ‘Song: Sweetest Love I Do Not Go’ (untitled).

Crowley outlines the ‘topical, thematic and verbal’ similarities to Donne’s ‘Lamentations’ (‘Howe sitts this Cittie late most populous’), Thomas Ford (composed before 1648), MSS 736-738 (Early-mid-17th c.), Christ Church Library, and ‘The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most

Doe forget
 Thine affliction miserable
 Let my nimble ioynts become
 Stiff and num,
 To touch warblinge harpe vnable.

Let my tongue loose singing skill
 Let it still.
 To my parched roofe be glewed,
 If in either harpe or voice
 I ~~re~~ reioice
 Till thy ioyes shall be renewed. (ll. 13-42)

¹²³ Ibid., p. 132-33.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.141. B₁₄, fol. 65r (BL, Add. MSS 27406–8)

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 617 n. 50.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 622.

part according to Tremellius' ('How sitts this citty late most populous'), Thomas Ford (composed before 1648), MSS 736-738, Ashmolean (Early-mid-17th c.). Crowley adds further: "Psalm 137' appears near the middle of the group of thirty poems attributed to "I.D." in a section of the Skipwith Manuscript that, according to Margaret Crum, was created prior to 1633'.¹²⁷ Based on Crowley's analysis, Donne's musical associations with the Herbert family, Thomas Myriell, and Martin Pierson, the existence of Thomas Ford's composition and my study of the placement of Donne songs in other manuscripts, I also believe 'Psalm 137' to be Donne's and, along with 'Lamentations', a song meant to be sung by the lady of the house. Another fact that points to this poem as possibly being Donne's is that in BL MS 29427 (fols 20v-21r) (only two initial stanzas, with musical setting), there are musical settings by other Donne composers and friends, such as Ferrabosco, Bull, Byrd, Gibbons, Wilson, Weelkes and Thomkins.

Crowley affirms Simpson's opinion that 'Donne's sermons demonstrate that he read Psalms "in the original Hebrew, in the Latin of the Vulgate, and in the English Coverdale (Prayer Book version), the Geneva Bible, and the King James Bible"'.¹²⁸ Luther A. Weigle feels the 'outstanding merit of the King James Version is the music of its cadences'. 'The translators were men experienced in the public reading of the Scriptures and in the conduct of public worship. Their choice of the final wording of a passage was often determined by a marvelously sure instinct for what would sound well when read aloud'.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 128, citing Margaret Crum, ed., *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 58.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Luther A. Weigle, 'English Versions of the Bible: The Tyndale-King James Tradition', following the Preface in *The Holy Bible*, RSV Containing the Old and New Testaments (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. xiv-xv. Weigle cites examples of Proverbs 3:17 in each Bible, which Donne would have read. 'The Coverdale, the Great Bible, and the Bishop's Bible agree in reading: "Her wayes are pleasant wayes and all her paths are peaceable". The Geneva Bible has: "her wayes are wayes of pleasure and all her paths prosperitie". The King James Version gives to the verse a perfect melody: "her wayes are wayes of pleasantnesse, and all her pathes are peace"'.

Enriched through his reading of the Bible, Donne's musicality is evident not only in his sermons but through liturgy (poetry), hymns and music, as Donne, his "Quire" and his musicians preach the Word of God. Lund observes that Donne's sermons 'lend support to the story of Donne's enthusiasm for music as a tool for devotion and, more to the point, a figure for it'.¹³⁰ In 'To Mr. Tilman after he had Taken Orders,' Donne characterizes preachers as singing 'angels out of clouds' when they 'from Pulpits speak' (l. 43).¹³¹ In *Biathanatos*, Donne describes the inclusion of music in the process of sermon writing: 'that some one Father of strong reputation and authority in his time' will convey his own 'probable interpretation of Scripture', 'digest in into his Homilies', and set it 'to the Musique of his stile . . .'.¹³²

Simpson shares that Donne shows 'intense affection for the *Psalms*'; 'he tells us himself that it was his favourite book of the Old Testament, and that one reason for this preference was that the Psalms are poetry, and that the metrical form appealed to him as a poet'.¹³³ 'The style of the Scriptures is [...] in a musical, in a metrical, in a measured composition, in verse'.¹³⁴ 'In a sense, all religious poetry might be called a form of vocal prayer, since poetry consists of spoken words that focus the mind and feelings, and in religious poetry this focus points, directly or indirectly, toward God'.¹³⁵ In 'Preached at Lincolns Inne, preparing them to build their

¹³⁰ *OESJD*, XII, p. xxv, n. 39.

¹³¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 116.

¹³² John Donne, *Selected Prose*, eds. Evelyn Simpson, Helen Gardner and T. S. Healy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 38-39.

¹³³ *John Donne's Sermons on the Psalms and Gospels, with a Selection of Prayers and Meditations*, ed. Evelyn Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 4.

¹³⁴ John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by Peter McCullough, (gen. ed.) Peter McCullough, (deputy gen. ed.) David Colclough, Vol. I, *Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts, 1615-1619* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 118.

¹³⁵ Low, p. 19.

Chappell', Donne speaks of a 'fuller harmony',¹³⁶ the 'Harmony of the Quire of heaven',¹³⁷ and the Saints of God who 'dream that they sing psalms; and they doe more then dream it, they do sing'.¹³⁸ The psalms were more than poetry—they were music—and possibly greater cause for Donne's 'intense affection'. Donne's love of the psalms is evident in 'Upon the translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sydney and the Countesse of Pembroke his Sister', where Prescott states that Donne's 'appreciation of music shows in this very poem'.¹³⁹ Linda Phyllis Austern argues that 'text and music' 'blended seamlessly' together (as in the psalms), 'dissolve into each other, as do the mundane and celestial worlds, past and present', a 'divine gift and gift to the Divine'.¹⁴⁰ Donne's 'perfect melody' can also be heard in his versification of scripture in 'Lamentations', becoming transcendent in Ford's musical setting and in that of Anonymous.

It is highly probable that Ford was acquainted with lute and viol player, Constantijn Huygens, since Huygens played the lute at James VI & I's court¹⁴¹ during Ford's employment there. Donne and Ford's mutual association with Henry Lawes, Walter Porter and Henry Percy offer further evidence of their musical connections.

Along with Huygens and Donne, Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666)¹⁴² was included in the musical gathering at the Killigrews. Lanier was 'one of the most important English songwriters of his

¹³⁶ John Donne, *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George Reuben Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62), II, p. 12.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹³⁹ Prescott, Anne Lake, 'Forms of Joy and Art: Donne, David, and the Power of Music', *JDJ*, 25 (2006), 3-36, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Words on Music: The Case of Early Modern England', *JDJ*, 25 (199-244), p. 207.

¹⁴¹ Rasch, 'Huygens, Constantijn'. 'He [Huygens] considered music first and foremost to be a pastime; however, he also saw it as a means of promotion in both personal and professional circles'.

¹⁴² Lanier went by several names: Laniere, Laneare, Laneer, Lanyer and Lenear.

time, particularly as an innovator',¹⁴³ setting to music the poetry of dramatist Thomas Killigrew,¹⁴⁴ Campion, Jonson, Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Carew, John Suckling, and Robert Herrick. Musically, the declamatory ayres of Lanier were the precursors to airs such as the Donne settings written by the Lawes brothers and John Wilson. Lanier collaborated with Ferrabosco, Coprario, and Jonson on several masques and played with Dowland as a 'lutenist and singer in the king's musick (12 January 1616)'; he was 'in addition a skilled viol player'.¹⁴⁵ In addition to singing, composing, playing the lute and the viola de gamba, Nicholas Lanier was also a scenographer and painter.¹⁴⁶ Donne would have known the musical Lanier family at Court, but his association also extended through Somerset and Lady Frances. As with Donne's 'Eclogue and Epithalamion', Lanier 'composed and sang the song *Bring away this sacred tree*'¹⁴⁷ for the couple's marriage in *The Squires Masque*, 'an entertainment with text by Thomas Campion and music mostly by Coprario'.¹⁴⁸ It was described as 'unmelodic,' 'strongly tonal'—all adjectives that describe Donne's lyrics. Spink describes Lanier's long recitative in *Hero and*

¹⁴³ Ian Spink, 'Lanier family', in *Grove* (Oxford: University Press, 2001) [accessed 15 August 2020].

¹⁴⁴ Duffy, John. 'IV The Songs: "Like Hermit Poore" and "So, so, leave off"', *The Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger (1575)-1628* (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1980), 51-70, p. 61.

¹⁴⁵ Michael I. Wilson, 'Lanier, Nicholas (bap. 1588, d. 1666), musician and art dealer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) [accessed 21 August 2020].

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Spink, 'Lanier family'. *Bring away this sacred tree* (1613) is one of the earliest declamatory ayres, a type that Henry and William Lawes, John Wilson, Charles Coleman and Lanier himself developed between 1620 and 1660. The accompaniment is chordal, anticipating a true continuo style, although the bass is not figured. The effect is of a heroic kind of declamation, almost completely unmelodic though strongly tonal and in harmony with the sumptuous Baroque qualities of Inigo Jones's décor, and other features of the Jacobean masque'.

¹⁴⁸ Wilson.

Leander ('Nor com'st thou yet')¹⁴⁹ as the 'first use of recitative in English music'.¹⁵⁰ 'This song marked Lanier's first tentative use of the Italianate declamatory or recitativo style, which was to be the main feature of his vocal compositions'.¹⁵¹ This *bass continuo* is also reflective of Huygen's compositional style; however, 'passion, hope, fear, and despair, as strong as words and sounds can beare' is reminiscent of Donne.¹⁵² Spink labels Lanier an 'innovator' and 'completely unmelodic'. Lanier's ties with so many close to Donne,¹⁵³ particularly musicians Jonson, Ferrabosco, Coprario, Dowland, Henry and William Lawes and John Wilson (the latter six writing musical settings of Donne's poetry) makes Donne's association with Lanier highly probable since he and Donne were at the home of Lady Mary Killigrew the night that Huygens was there.¹⁵⁴ Donne musical settings by these composers are numerous,¹⁵⁵ aiding Donne scholars in dating the musical settings of Donne's poetry. Ferrabosco's 'The Expiration' had

¹⁴⁹ Spink, 'Lanier family'.

¹⁵⁰ Wilson.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. 'The murder of the duke of Buckingham on 23 August 1628 inspired him [Lanier] to compose his most celebrated work in *stilo recitativo*, a setting for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment of the legend of Hero and Leander, the words also being by Lanier. It shows the influence of Monteverdi, whom Lanier probably had met in Venice. Both the piece itself and the singing of it were greatly admired by King Charles'.

¹⁵² Ibid. Born into an English family of musicians of French descent, Nicholas Lanier was destined for the arts. Originally from Rouen, and settling in London in 1567, John Lanier, the elder (d. 29 Nov. 1572), his brother, Nicholas Lanier, the elder (d. 1612), and Nicholas the elder's eleven children, became musicians to Queen Elizabeth I. Five sons were wind players in the Royal Band and two of John and Nicholas Lanier's grandchildren were also in the royal band, including Alfonso's son, Henry (d. 1633).

¹⁵³ Bald, pp. 538; Gosse, p. 149; Smith, p. 146. '1605-License to D. [Donne] and Sir Walter Chute to travel (16 February). 'Travels to France and perhaps Italy' (p. 538), again in France in 1612; 'Gosse posits an unrecorded visit to Paris between 1608 and 1610' (p. 149); Smith states, '[Rowland] Woodward may instead have travelled to Venice as Wotton's secretary from October 1615 to August 1619 (Bell, 290)' (p. 146). Since Wotton was ambassador to Venice, Woodward was his secretary, and Lanier was bringing Wotton governmental dispatches, this connects Donne, Wotton, and Woodward with Lanier. It is possible that Donne saw Lanier, Woodward and Wotton when he was in Italy and/or saw Lanier in Paris.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 442.

¹⁵⁵ See Appendices, Vol. II.

been printed in 1609, which makes it likely that Coprario's 'The Message' was written about the same time, earlier than the MS Tenbury 2019 date (before 1650) makes it appear, because both of these musicians were active at Court, in the home of Cecil, and influential to Lanier's compositional style.¹⁵⁶ One must wonder if any of Lanier's 'musicall papers' that do not survive were of Donne's poetry,¹⁵⁷ for he describes himself to Huygens in a letter in 1646 (when he was in exile in the Low Countries) as 'old, unhappye in a manner in exile, plundered not only of his fortune, but of all his musicall papers, nay, almost of his witts and vertue'.¹⁵⁸

Lanier often frequented the Mitre and Mermaid Taverns¹⁵⁹ in London where Donne and his 'convivial group'¹⁶⁰ of artistic friends enjoyed meeting; it played an integral part in the musical life of all.¹⁶¹ 'Fiddlers swarmed at the taverns; the Mermaid certainly attracted its share of musicians'.¹⁶² In *The Satyr*, Jonson muses, 'Wherever merry gentlemen gathered round a festal board there was the rousing cheer of "drum gentlemen and trumpeters"'.¹⁶³ McClung Evans

¹⁵⁶ Giovanni Coprario ['The Message' ('Send home my longe strayed eies to mee') (composed before 1626), Tenbury MS 2019 (before 1650)] was the master of Donne composers Henry and William Lawes.

¹⁵⁷ Simon Jackson, *George Herbert and Early Modern Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 52-53. Jackson discusses the 1660 collection of William Herbert, 3rd earl of Pembroke's, *Poems* that John Donne, Jr. edited. In his preface 'To the Reader', Donne discusses the poetry that he had received from 'the greatest Masters of Musicke', Henry Lawes and Nicholas Lanier, who had set Pembroke's poetry to music. Jackson writes, 'Clearly, Lawes's name helped to sell books, and Donne frames his edition of Pembroke in similarly commercial terms; but it also points towards a deeper affiliation between lyric poetry and contemporary music-making than modern literary scholarship has so far recognized'. It appears obvious that Donne, Jr. was well acquainted with the composers/friends who had written musical settings of his father's poetry.

¹⁵⁸ Spink, 'Lanier family'.

¹⁵⁹ I. A. Shapiro, 'The "Mermaid Club"', *MLR*, 45.1, *Modern Humanities Research Association* (1950), 6-17 (p. 8).

¹⁶⁰ Bald, p. 191.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

¹⁶² Willa McClung Evans, p. 2.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 4, n. 27.

states that there is ‘a temptation to regard the poets of the Mermaid as divinely gifted wits, jovially tossing off madrigals as artlessly as they quaffed their bowls of sack and canary. Such spontaneity and irresponsibility, were not, however, incompatible with an acquired mastery over the technicalities of music.’¹⁶⁴

‘The development of an English symposiastic tradition that integrated poetry, wine-drinking, and convivial practices during the seventeenth century culminated in Gifford’s account of the Mermaid Club, in which the tavern took its place in literary history as the birthplace of the eighteenth-century literary club’.¹⁶⁵ The Mermaid ‘included a drinking society, the “Fraternitie of Sireniacal¹⁶⁶ gentlemen”’ (a formal drinking society) and its men were a ‘Who’s Who’ of London’s elite, the ‘best and brightest’, and excellent examples of the wide variety of musically talented friends with whom Donne engaged and enjoyed.¹⁶⁷ Donne’s relationship with these men indicate musical connections, but the friends who were the most musical were Jones and Jonson, who provided a wide variety of services for the Court.

Inigo Jones (1573-1652) was a well-known artist, architect and musician. Jones was among numerous artists, dramatists, composers and performers who frequented the taverns with Donne,

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 14. ‘It is not impossible that the most debonair songster was the most deeply steeped in the basic principles of harmony’.

¹⁶⁵ Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Patrons of the Mermaid tavern (act. 1611)’ in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 28 September 2006) [accessed 4 April 2022].

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. ‘Sireniac’ derived from the ‘French for siren, or mermaid, thus specifically identifying this [formal drinking] society with the tavern’ [...] ‘These types of ‘contemporary European drinking societies’ fall within a tradition ‘stretching back to the Greek *symposium* and Roman *convivium*’.

¹⁶⁷ Bald, pp. 191, 193-94. Those who also may have been included in this illustrious group were ‘Sir Robert Cotton, Martin, Christopher Brooke, John Hoskyns, George Gerrard, William Hakewill, Hugh Holland, and possibly Thomas Bond, (pp. 193-194), Sir Henry Goodyer, John West [secondary to the King’s Remembrancer in the Exchequer], Richard Connack [a member of the household of Prince Henry], Lionel Cranfield [afterwards Earl of Middlesex], [...] Sir Robert Phelips [son of the Master of the Rolls], Sir Henry Neville [later Lord Abergavenny], William Fowler, Fulke Greville and John Selden’ (p. 191). Arthur Ingram (b. before 1571, d. 1642), ‘Secretary of the Council of the North’, ‘financier and politician’, began his career as a ‘factor in Italy’ (p. 191), likely being exposed to Italian music.

knew him at Court and collaborated on the popular masques of the day. From 1605 to 1640, Jones, was ‘involved with over 40 productions’ as stage and costume designer at Court.¹⁶⁸ He was ‘machinery operator, director and co-author,’ working in concert with ‘the dramatist Ben Jonson, with the composers Alfonso Ferrabosco, the younger, Giovanni Coprario, Robert Johnson, the younger, Thomas Campion, Lanier, and William and Henry Lawes, and with choreographers’.¹⁶⁹ Jones ‘influenced the masque’s development as a theatrical form’ and was the ‘most important architect of the English Renaissance’.¹⁷⁰ Referring to Jones’s ‘libretto’, Boetzkes speaks of Jones as more artist-architect than musician. Jones’s friendship with Lady Mary Killigrew, Lanier and Huygens has been established by his presence at the musical gathering at her home.

The traveller and writer, Thomas Coryate (1577?-1617),¹⁷¹ whose ‘*Crudities* appeared in 1611 with fifty-four commendatory verses edited by Ben Jonson,¹⁷² including one by Jones, held a “philosophical feast” at the Mitre tavern in Fleet Street on 11 September 1610 for eleven friends, including Jones’.¹⁷³ Along with Donne, Goodyer, Brooke and others, Jones, is listed in the Latin poem ‘Convivium philosophicum tentum in clauso termini Sti Michaelis in crastino festi Sancti Egidii in Campiss, authore Domino Radolpho Confabio Aeneonasensi’ as one of the

¹⁶⁸ Manfred Boetzkes, ‘Inigo Jones’ in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) [accessed 5 February 2019].

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Michael Strachan, ‘Coryat, Thomas (1577?-1617), traveller and writer’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004) [accessed 4 April 2022].

¹⁷² Bald, p. 191.

¹⁷³ John Newman, ‘Jones, Inigo (1573-1652), architect and theatre designer’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2010) [accessed 18 Aug. 2020].

‘feasters’ at ‘a gathering held at the Mitre Tavern, probably in the latter part of 1611’.¹⁷⁴ Coryate mentions Jones frequently in his correspondence, including him among the group to whom he addressed his letter, ‘To the High Seneschall of the right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacal Gentlemen, that meet the first Fridaie of euey Moneth, at the signe of the M-Maide in Bread-streete in London’ and includes him in *Crudities* and *The Odcombian Banquet*. Donne and Jones were kindred spirits in their love of learning. Donne’s ‘hydroptic immoderate desire for human learning and languages’ parallels Inigo Jones’s motto: ‘I have no other delight but to learn’.¹⁷⁵

Another eminent peer of the Mitre tavern men was one of Donne’s closest associates, Ben Jonson (b. London, June 1, 1572; d. London, mid-Aug. 1637). Michelle O’Callahan avers that Jonson ‘identified himself with the Mermaid in the 1610s, before taking up residence at the Apollo room of the Devil and St. Dunstan tavern on Fleet Street’.¹⁷⁶ Like so many of Donne’s friends, Jonson and Donne shared a Catholic background. Jonson practiced the Roman faith for twelve years, from 1598-1610.¹⁷⁷ Blissett explains that Jonson and Donne ‘were outsiders at a time when to be an outsider was to be on the inside track’; Donne ‘moved easily in the best of circles’, while Jonson ‘shouldering his way into the same circles, must have seemed a rank outsider’, a former bricklayer, who ‘killed a man in a duel and was to be in and out of custody several times for libelous writings or suspicion of treason’.¹⁷⁸ Yet, according to Sara van den Berg, ‘Jonson’s friends included many of the finest writers of his day: privileged men and

¹⁷⁴ Bald, p. 190 n. 2 & 191 nn. 1, 2.

¹⁷⁵ Newman. ‘Altro diletto che imparar non trovo’ (‘I have no other delight but to learn’).

¹⁷⁶ O’Callaghan, ‘Patrons of the Mermaid tavern (act. 1611)’.

¹⁷⁷ William F. Blissett, ‘The Strangest pageant, fashion’d like a court’: John Donne and Ben Jonson to 1600—Parallel Lives’ in *EMLS*, Special 9 (May 2001) 8. 1-51, para. 28.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, para.7.

women who circulated their works in manuscript, professionals who depended on public sales and private patronage, and scholars who published books (both their own and the translations of others) in order to disseminate humanist learning'.¹⁷⁹

Jonson mentions Donne in conversation with Drummond 'more often and more admiringly than any other contemporary'.¹⁸⁰ 'Though an accomplished metrist and master of "smooth song", he is at the same time even more devised of strong lines'.¹⁸¹ McClung Evans feels that Jonson shows 'a deep understanding of music, and a sound appreciation of its values'.¹⁸² 'We find many allusions to the music of classical mythology, to the early bonds between music and song, and to Chaucer's, Gowers's, Lydgate's and Spenser's tributes to the lyre'.¹⁸³ 'Music taught Jonson to write light, melodious verse, and to arrange the patterns of a masque'.¹⁸⁴

Jonson was very vocal about Donne's poetic writing style; however, in the Epistle Dedicatory to *Volpone*, he writes that it is impossible for anyone to become a good poet 'without first being a good man' (ll. 21-23).¹⁸⁵ Donne certainly qualifies, for Jonson wrote two epigrams praising him. Blissett states 'their epigrams, elegies and verse letters resemble one another's more than

¹⁷⁹ Sara Van den Berg, 'True Relation: The Life and Career of Ben Jonson', *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-14.

¹⁸⁰ Blissett, para. 8.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, para. 9.

¹⁸² Willa McClung Evans, p. 8.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 6, n. 50.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ J. A. Bryant, Jr., *The Compassionate Satirist: Ben Jonson and His Imperfect World*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972), p. 10.

they do anyone else's'.¹⁸⁶ Donne contributed a poem upon the publication of the *Volpone* quarto in 1606-7, *Amicissimo et meritissimo Ben. Ionson in 'Vulponem'*.¹⁸⁷

Collaborating with Inigo Jones and the composers of Donne musical settings on numerous masques¹⁸⁸ at Court, 'Jonson wrote plays from about 1598 to the early 1630s for a variety of London theatrical troupes'.¹⁸⁹ Sabol explains that Jonson's entertainments and masques' librettos 'depend for their effectiveness on exquisitely fashioned lyrics celebrating kings and princes in a high Renaissance style'.¹⁹⁰ The entertainments at Highgate (1604) and Welbeck (1633), for example, show Jonson as 'a kind of Poet Laureate for James I and Charles I respectively'. Like Donne's poetry, Jonson's verses attracted other Donne composers, as did the verses of other poets of the period, like Robert Herrick.¹⁹¹ Jonson had multiple musical

¹⁸⁶ Blissett, para. 8 of 51.

¹⁸⁷ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁸⁸ Andrew J. Sabol, Arthur Jacobs, and John Cunningham. Sabol states that, unfortunately, 'relatively little music has survived from Jacobean court masques, largely because of the collaborative way in which they were created: different individuals were typically responsible for composing (and arranging) songs and instrumental music': 'The song settings that survive are found in domestic manuscripts as continuo songs; choruses are not preserved, nor are the original orchestrations, making it difficult to assess properly their full effect'

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 'Many of his early comedies are studded with elegant lyrics in the tradition, on the one hand, of the refined songs of the choirboy theatre of the 1580s and yet, on the other hand, clearly allied to the moral and instructive songs appearing in the late Tudor morality plays and interludes of the popular tradition'. Illustrative examples of songs 'artfully woven into plays' are *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) and *Poetaster* (1601). 'In later comedies acted by adult companies the continuing sophistication is evident in the surviving settings, virtually all by contemporaneous composers of stature: Alfonso Ferrabosco (ii) for *Volpone* (1606), Robert Johnson (ii) for *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616), William Lawes for a Caroline revival of *Epicoene* (1636; first produced in late 1609 or early 1610), and Nicholas Lanier (ii) for *The Sad Shepherd* (?mid-1630s; incomplete at Jonson's death). By contrast the folk and ballad tunes included in *Eastward Ho* (written in collaboration, 1605) and in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) show that Jonson kept his finger on the pulse of popular taste, and he did so throughout his career'.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 'As a librettist his [Jonson] chief claim to fame rests on his development of the masque: he wrote more than 25 court masques between 1605 and 1631. He greatly lengthened the fable, or plot, beyond the brief prologue speeches of early Tudor times, expanded the cast of mythological and allegorical personages, varied the metrical shapes and contours of the lyrics, and significantly amplified the overall design by the introduction of an antimasque or two to complement the main masque. Thus he elaborated the form from a simple plotless pageant to a complex symbolic drama in which the ideal and its opposite could be seen and measured'.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 'Besides the songs appearing in dramatic contexts Jonson included in his collections of poetry verses that on occasion attracted the composers of his day. For *The Underwood* (London, 1641) there survive settings of rare

connections through his work on court masques and Donne shares many of these connections, contrary to the widely held critical view that Donne has little interest in, or engagement with, music. The number of court composers that Jonson shares with Donne (five), and the time of composition, convey a strong musical connection between Donne and Jonson, and between Donne, Jonson and the composers of the musical settings of Donne's poetry. The time frame of madrigalist Peerson's musical setting of Donne's 'The Primerose' (1609-1612) corresponds closely with his collaboration with Jonson at Highgate (1604). Jonson's collaboration with William Lawes at Welbeck (1633) would place Lawes's Donne settings possibly being written earlier than manuscript dating indicates, and it might have been the same for 'The Primrose'. Currently, Lawes' musical settings of 'The Apparition' (composed before 1645) and 'Wherefore Peepst Thou' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising') (by either William Lawes or Anonymous), are dated by manuscript. If these songs correspond with Jonson's entertainment at Welbeck (1633), Lawes could have written them right after Donne's death. However, it is also possible that the Lawes brothers could have written their Donne musical settings much earlier while under the tutelage of their teacher John Coprario. Early manuscripts with 'Songs w^{ch} were made to certaine aires w^{ch} were made before' (1620s)¹⁹² might also corroborate this. Trudell states that Henry Lawes's music 'did not find its way into print until long after he composed it, and the same is true of other courtly composers of the day'.¹⁹³

beauty by Ferrabosco for 'Hear me O God' and 'The Hour-Glass'. Lesser-known pieces include the lively two-part dialogue setting by an anonymous composer for 'The Musical Strife' (in *GB-Ob* Don C.57), and John Wilson's setting for 'The Dream' (Mus.Sch.B.1). Several of these musical settings include minor textual variants and in some cases are the earliest surviving sources of Jonson's text'.

¹⁹² See Appendices, Vol. II.

¹⁹³ Trudell, pp. 172-173.

Sabol discusses Jonson's 'attractive anonymous setting for cantus and bassus (*GB-Lbl Add.56279, f.24r*) of his "verses of a kiss"'.¹⁹⁴ This would support the belief that Donne's settings were written earlier. If we compare Sabol's information with when Ferrabosco and Wilson were writing their Donne musical settings, we find that Ferrabosco's 'The Expiration', in *First Booke of Ayres* (1609), was the earliest known Donne setting to be *printed* and Wilson's 'Wherfore peepst thou enuious day' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising') in MS Drexel 4175 (1620-1630) was written in manuscript later. The same follows with Wilson's 'Wherfore peepst thou enuious day', found in Egerton MS 2013 (Mid 17th c.), MS Don. c. 57 (1640-1650), MS D. C. 1.69/MS D. C. 1.1 (1649-1652), and MS Mus. b. 1. (c. 1650-1656) ['Ad Solem. A songe' 'The Sunne Rising' in Dobell [H5] (1623-1630s)]. Wilson's 'Love Bred on Glaunces' [Stowe 961 (1623-1633)] and 'Goe and Count Her Better Hours' [MS Stoughton MS, stamped 1628] are also in MS Mus. b. 1. (c. 1650-1656). Ferrabosco was about twenty years older, one explanation for the later date of Wilson's music, but it is possible that these songs were written earlier in Wilson's career than the manuscripts indicate.

Jonson and composers Ferrabosco, Coprario, (William) Lawes, and Lanier were setting Jonson's masques to music at the same time the first three were writing musical settings of Donne's poetry. If Jonson collaborated with Donne composers on masques and poetry settings, we must consider that Donne might have been collaborating with them as well, on the musical settings of his [Donne's] poetry, but concealing it. Jonson was already 'in the business', working with composers; therefore, his reputation and future employment was not on the line. Unlike Donne, he had no reason to conceal his involvement because collaboration was essential; when setting lyrics to music, the lyricist may or may not be required. The other possibility is that

¹⁹⁴ Andrew J. Sabol, Arthur Jacobs, and John Cunningham.

Donne was not musically inclined and left it to his friends, who were true composers, to write the music for his poems. Speculation aside, the fact that so many of the same composers who collaborated with Jonson on his masques¹⁹⁵ also wrote Donne settings cannot be ignored and ideas regarding their collaboration with Donne, or even Jonson's, must be considered. Given the dates of Jonson's collaborations with Ferrabosco, Coprario, Lawes and Lanier, the numerous references to song, masques and those participating in them in Donne's *Letters* (1654), and the number of composers Jonson and Donne shared, it is evident that Donne was keenly aware of the music and masques at Court and a part of this inner circle.

7.3 'Hymne to God, my God. In my Sicknes'

In *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse* 'To the Right Honorable, George, Marquesse of Buckingham, High Admirall of England, &c.', Donne tells the 'great *Persons, Gouvernors, and Officers*' present, that they are a part of scripture, for they have 'a verse in *Baraks* and *Deborahs* Song, and *Deborah* and *Baraks* Song is the *Word of God*':

This world begun with a Song, if the *Chalde Paraphrasts*, vpon *Salomons Song of Songs* haue taken a true tradition, That as soone as *Adams* sinne was forgiuen him, he expressed (as he calt it in that Song) *Sabbatum suum*, his Sabboth, his peace of conscience, in a Song; of which, we haue the entrance in that *Paraphrase*.¹⁹⁶

The image of Adam singing in the Garden of Eden, creation begetting creativity, leads Donne to expand the metaphor to Christ, expressed through music, in important songs in the Bible: the

¹⁹⁵ Andrew J. Sabol, Arthur Jacobs, and John Cunningham.

¹⁹⁶ John Donne, *Foure Sermons Vpon Speciall Occasions. (Viz.) 1. A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse. 2. To the Honorable, the Virginia Company. 3. At the Consecration of Lincolnes Inne Chappell. 4. The First Sermon Preached to K. Charles at St. Iames, 1625. by Iohn: Donne. Deane of Sainte Pauls, London. London, Printed for Thomas Iones, and are to be sold at his shop in the Strand at the Blacke Rauen neere Saint Clements Church*, pp. 2-3.

Magnificat, the Benedictus and the Nunc dimittis.¹⁹⁷

Donne then expands the metaphor to depict the Creator as musician:

And, to Tune vs, to Compose and giue vs a Harmonie and Concord of affections, in all perturbations and passions, and discords in the passages of this life, if we had no more of the same *Musique* in the *Scriptures* (as we haue the Song of *Moses* at the *Red Sea*, and many *Psalmes of Dauid* to the same purpose) this Song of *Deborah* were enough, abundantly enough, to slumber any storme, to becalme any tempest, to rectifie any scruple of Gods slacknesse in the defence of his cause, . . . Sing vnto the Lord an old song, the song of *Deborah* and *Barak*, That God by weake meanes doth mighty workes.¹⁹⁸

Donne urges his listeners to ‘tune’ God’s creation/song ‘and discords in the passages of this life’ in a ‘Harmonie and Concord of affections’, ‘one world without end’, to be continued later in ‘heauen’: ‘This world began so, and the other; and when both shall ioyned, and make vp one world without end, it shall continue so in heauen, in that Song of the *Lamb*, *Great and marueilous are thy workes, Lord God Almighty, iust and true are thy wayes, thou King of Saints*’.¹⁹⁹ Thus, from Adam, through Christ, to Donne, he defines himself and all of humanity through music. Like the Saints who have passed before, Donne felt the faithful should be ‘living songs’ sung in service to God, ‘instruments of love’ ‘atune’ to His will; ‘tuned’ by God’s Word and led by the Holy Spirit, God’s people would advance His kingdom on earth: ‘That God by weake meanes doth mighty works’.

In ‘A Lent Sermon February 12, 1618’ (Ezek. xxxiii. 32), Donne proclaims his belief that the ‘whole body of our Religion . . . is contained in a song’: ‘The greatest mystery of our religion, indeed the whole body of our religion, the coming, that the Kingdome of a *Messias*, of a Saviour,

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 3-5.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

of Christ, is conveyed in a Song, in the third chapt. of *Habakkuk*'.²⁰⁰ For Donne, this 'song' reveals God through music and encapsulates religion. Through biblical examples, musical imagery and musical metaphor, 'song' glorifies God, mnemonically committing His Word to the memory of believers. 'God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God, and God in him' (John 4:16); therefore, love is contained in a song, for he who abides in love (God) abides in music, and music in him. Through music, Adam's 'Sabbath' ('peace of conscience') becomes Donne's, underscoring the importance and position of song and music in Donne's thoughts and theology.

Like poetry, music was an 'instrument' in Donne's arsenal, and an even more powerful one than mere poetry alone because it embodied the emotional ammunition of both. Even though the standard seventeenth-century view of musical settings of Donne's poetry would have been that they (i.e. the settings) were 'simple and stereotyped', they were also 'songs that express deep emotion'.²⁰¹ Donne's use of literary and musical devices throughout his works enhances their emotional effect—a type of *mimesis*—Donne's way of *creating the emotions that his images evoke*. Mimesis was achieved not only with these devices but through the music itself. Donne states in a 'Sermon Preached at St. Paul's upon Phil. 3:2' that 'language must waite upon matter, and words upon things . . . The matter is the forme; The matter, that is, the doctrine that we preach, is the forme, that is, the Soule, the Essence; the language and words wee preach in, is but the Body, but the existence'.²⁰² In Donne's musical settings, the score and lyrics are the Body,

²⁰⁰ *OESJD*, I, p. 118.

²⁰¹ Katie Nelson, p. 22.

²⁰² *Sermons*, X, p. 112.

but the ‘forme’ is the music: ‘the Soule, the Essence’.²⁰³ Donne seems intentionally to re-create and imitate the action of love and life, previously created by God, in a type of ‘musical theatre’, incorporating poetry, music and drama. His ‘Trinity’ of artistic creativity—music elevating his words to a higher level for emotional effect—would have subliminally committed them forever into the minds and hearts of all who heard. Like the scriptural use of ‘song’ as mnemonic device, Donne must have known that humans more readily recall lyrics set to music than when merely read.

Believing that music is divinely used to set God’s Word to memory, Donne states, God’s ‘Instruments, whom he chose for the penning of the Scriptures,’ delivered the Gospel ‘in a piece of a curious frame, *Solomans Song of Songs*’, a form God was sure ‘they would remember’.²⁰⁴ Music, as a type of mnemonic, has been proven to allow humans to more easily commit information to memory because more senses are used in the process. Donne elaborates on this method with numerous biblical examples:

God himself made *Moses* a Song [Deut. 31:19], and expressed his reason why: The children of *Israel* says God, will forget my law; but this song they will not forget; and whensoever they sing this song, this song shall testifie against them, and what I haue done for them, how they haue forsaken me. And to such purpose hath *God* left this Song of *Deborah* and *Barak* in the Scriptures, that . . . all might run and read, might read and sing, the wonderful deluerances that *God* hath giuen to his people.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ John Donne, *Four Sermons Vpon Speciall Occasions. (Viz.) 1. A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse. 2. To the Honorable, the Virginia Company. 3. At the Consecration of Lincolnes Inne Chappell. 4. The First Sermon Preached to K. Charles at St. Iames, 1625.* by Iohn: Donne. Deane of Sainte Pauls, London. London, Printed for Thomas Iones, and are to be sold at his shop in the Strand at the Blacke Rauens neere Saint Clements Church, pp. 2-3.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

Before and after Donne became ‘an instrument of God’, ‘singing the voice of heaven’²⁰⁶ through his sermons, possibly, he imitated ‘God’s mnemonic device’ and used music to commit his poetry to his readers’ memory. As a poet, what better way for Donne’s readers to ‘sing Donne’s praises’ and remember his poetry than through song? As a priest, what better way for a believer to memorize God’s Word than through song? Donne utilized sacred music’s long-standing tradition to engage multiple senses and genres to communicate and ingrain the scriptures (and his poetry) into hearts and minds. For Donne, ‘The voice is not only divinely, but metaphysically, endowed with truth, for it is the vehicle of the soul; “breath is speech, but breath is life”, and so the voice becomes Christ in man’.²⁰⁷ Holmes reminds us also that the belief that ‘the voice is the vehicle of the soul’ goes back to Aristotle’s *De Anima*, where Aristotle writes in Book II that ‘voice is the ensouled thing’; therefore, the ‘essential part of man is sound’.²⁰⁸ ‘ . . . But to be made nothing; to have no other parent but God, no other element but the breath of God, no other instrument but the purpose of God, this is to be the Image of God. For this is nearest to God himself, who was never made at all, to be made of nothing’.²⁰⁹ Holmes explains the vocal conceit of ‘Calling’: ‘For Donne, God expresses Himself through sound and through the harmonies of the universe. The individual acts as a receiver and transmitter for the Word, which is finally expressed through an oral and aural understanding of the Calling’.²¹⁰ ‘Donne’s

²⁰⁶ *Sermons*, VII, p. 20. [‘Howling is the noyse of hell, singing the voice of heaven’.] This reference was kindly referred to me in correspondence by Sr. Mirjam Dinkelbach, O. Cist., Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Marienkron, Birkenallee 1, A-7123 Mönchhof/Bgld., 0043 (0)2173-80 363 <www.abtei-marienkron.at> [accessed 12 June 2021].

²⁰⁷ Holmes, Jonathan, “‘There must be something heard’: John Donne’s aural universe”, in *Refiguring Memes: Representation in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), pp. 183-207 (p. 195).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195, n. 43.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 195, n. 42.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

insistence on the theological significance of aurality in his sermons as well as the aural imaginativeness of his poetry attest to his belief that sound, and musical sound in particular, has conversional effects'.²¹¹ 'Poetry could not only imitate, to some extent, God's self-expression in the Word, but be a vehicle for God's Grace'.²¹² It could effect a re-ordering of an individual soul, and make a man believe by hearing.²¹³

Augustus Jessopp describes how Donne endeared himself to King James VI & I, stating: 'The young man's musical voice, readiness of speech, and extraordinary memory made him acceptable at the royal table, where he appears to have been called upon sometimes to read aloud and sometimes to give his opinion on questions that arose for discussion'.²¹⁴ We do not know what evidence, if any, Jessopp had to support his claim that Donne had a 'musical' voice; it may have been fanciful conjecture on his part. We also do not know whether Jessopp meant Donne's speaking voice or his singing voice. Yet, for whatever reason, he used the word 'musical'.

Whilst we do not know what kind of singing voice Donne possessed, we do know that as a priest, he would have chanted the liturgy during services; it is probable that he sang²¹⁵ hymns

²¹¹ Anna Nora Evelyn Lewton-Brain, 'Metaphysical Music: A Study of the Musical Qualities & Contexts of the Poetry of John Donne, George Herbert, & Richard Crashaw' (unpublished doctoral thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 2021), p. 18.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²¹⁴ Augustus Jessopp, 'Donne, John (1573–1631)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888) [accessed 30 December 2020].

²¹⁵ The physical act of singing would have aided Donne in the delivery of his sermons, for it utilizes the same breath control as a vocalist or actor, to use his diaphragm to project his voice and finish long sentences. Byron Nelson thinks 'Donne may have learned the actor's skill at voice projection, but the long nave of a stone cathedral has nothing of the resonance of a wooden octagon like the Globe. Yet he clearly learned how to place his voice in a challenging acoustical space and how to maintain his vocal stamina' (pp. 52-53). A sermon at the beginning of the sixteenth century could take from one hour, to two and half hours to preach (if preached at an outdoor location like Paul's Cross) (p. 52). Walton states that Donne 'composed his sermons, memorized them and delivered them solely from memory' (Motion, p. 209). If he preached for a lengthy period of time, tremendous lung capacity, physical stamina and a knowledge of proper vocal technique to preempt hoarseness would have been necessary. Whether

with the congregation and anthems with the choir. Earlier in his life, we can guess he sang with musical family and friends, and as Master of the Revels, which took place at Lincoln's Inn in 1593.²¹⁶ Possibly he sang the musical settings of his poetry that were composed during his lifetime or sang at musical gatherings, like the Killigrews'. If the manuscripts included in the Southgate Collection, Add. MS 39550-4 (vols 1-5, 5 parts) are Donne's, we know that he owned music.

Careful reading of his [Donne's] sermon on Psalm 63 implies he sang. He states that he was under a 'third obligation': 'That is one of those five psalms, the daily rehearsing whereof, is enjoined to me, by the Constitutions of this Church, as five other are to every other person of our body'.²¹⁷ Walter F. Blissett states Donne's poetry is 'dramatic' because 'the poet presents himself in a starring role, observing himself as if on stage'.²¹⁸ In Satyre IV, he states, 'At stage as court; All are players; (l. 185).²¹⁹ Donne is 'on stage' in 'To Sir G. M.' ('If you were here you would not think'): 'Since then at this time, I am upon the stage, you may content to hear me' (ll. 54-56).²²⁰ In a sermon preached at St. Paul's in 1626, Donne describes himself and the *Ecclesia militans* as 'The Quire', 'actors in the service of God':

speaking or singing, vocal technique employs the delivery of each line without breaking for breath, except where the composer intended. Donne might have used the same technique in his sermons, to finish a thought or to make a point, for the sentences of his sermons are extremely long. For a better understanding of how the voice was trained during the Renaissance, the ability to vary tone, and its aural-oral literary cultural significance, see Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

²¹⁶ Bald, p. 537.

²¹⁷ Donne, *Sermons on the Psalms and Gospels: with a Selection of Prayers and Mediations*, p. 95.

²¹⁸ Blissett, para. 8.

²¹⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 411.

²²⁰ John Donne, 'To Sir G. M.' ('If you were here you would not think'), 'Index of Letters', *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 14 March 2022].

So that if we consider the Militant and the Triumphant Church, to be (as they are) all one House, and under one roofe . . . here is Chorus Ecclesiae, The Quire, the Chancell of the Church, in which all the service of God is officiated and executed; for we are made not onley hearers and spectators, but actors in the service of God[.] ²²¹

Donne views himself as a performer in *Paradoxes 14-16*, alluding to Erasmus' *Moriae*

Encomium, where Folly 'found a signal of her own merit in her audience's laughter at her mere appearance'.²²² Donne refers to 'comedies' and 'other witty performances', the 'performative qualities of courtly manners' and compares himself to 'performers in them, his Paradox to their jests, and his coterie audience to the performers' audiences, inviting wise men "if wise men do reade this paradox", to "laugh both att it and mee" (16)'.²²³ Price states, 'Readers or hearers of these words therefore must either laugh or be thought unwise'. Again, in 1626, preaching at St. Paul's, Donne states that ministers are to be 'as musique, as a jest, as a song, as an entertainment'.²²⁴

It was well-known that Donne loved the theatre, probably because Donne himself was 'theatre personified'.²²⁵ From his early days as a student and throughout his early life, the documentary evidence shows that Donne had a history of attending plays and enjoying theatrical entertainments. In *Holy Sonnets*, Donne writes:

This is my Playes last Scene, Here heau'ns appointe
My Pilgrimages last mile; And my race,
Idly yet quickly run, hath this last pace,

²²¹ *OESJD*, XII, p. 85.

²²² Michael W. Price, 'The Paradox', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn and Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 149-52, p. 150.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 150-151.

²²⁴ *OESJD*, I, p. 115.

²²⁵ For discussion of this long-established perception, see Byron Nelson, 'John Donne's Pulpit Voice' *Prose Studies* 34 (2012), 50-58 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01440357.2012.686205>>.

My spans last Inch, my minutes last point. (ll. 1-4) ²²⁶

Andrew Motion feels *Devotions*, 'like all his [Donne's] greatest writing, are a performance' . . . 'Donne's sickbed is a stage, and we admire the patient as if we were looking at him across footlights'.²²⁷

Services conducted at St. Paul's were coordinated performances of spiritual intensification and edification designed to win souls through scriptural teaching, eloquent preaching, and ethereal music from the organ and choirs. '*Musicum carmen*' constantly checks himself, making sure it is now *God* who is the 'protagonist'/centre of attention, and not *he*. Visually depicting God's Word, the architectural splendour of St. Paul's Cathedral and glorious scenery within its sanctuary, set the stage for a spiritually edifying 'morality play': daily services in which God's company of players provide a sensorially elevating, mnemonically mimetic, worship experience.²²⁸ This was reflected at Court, which reflected the Court of Heaven.²²⁹

Elected and installed as Dean of St Paul's in 1621, one of the clearest examples of Donne's association with music was as Dean. In Walton's *Life of Donne*, he discusses Donne's 'high holy, and harmonious Composures'.²³⁰ Walton explains that, even though Donne was 'no friend' of the 'loosely scattered' poems of his youth, Donne 'was not so fallen out with heavenly Poetry as to forsake that: no not in that in his declining age; witnessed then by many Divine Sonnets,

²²⁶ *Variorum*, 7.1, p. 22.

²²⁷ John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions and Death's Duel with The Life of Dr. John Donne* by Izzak Walton, preface by Andrew Motion (New York: Random House, 1999), p. xiv.

²²⁸ In *The Art of Hearing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Arnold Hunt discusses the mnemonic properties of patterned and rhetorical speech in sermons and how the laity committed them to memory.

²²⁹ Blissett, para. 19.

²³⁰ Izaak Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church* (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at his shop under S. *Dunstans* Church in Fleet-street, 1658), p. 53.

and other high, holy, and harmonious Composures'.²³¹ Walton compares Donne with the biblical kings, David and Hezekiah. These men were known for writing songs in praise of God. In Isaiah 38:9, King Hezekiah writes in thankfulness and praise 'when he had been sick, and was recovered of his illness'. Like Hezekiah, Donne retraces his own emotions in 'Hymne to God, my God. In my Sicknes' (December 1623), at first, looking forward to death and, later, in thankfulness upon his recovery. Walton marvels, 'Yea even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly *Hymne*, expressing the great joy that then possess his soul in the Assurance of Gods favour to him'.²³² Walton reproduces Donne's lyrics to 'Hymne to God the Father',²³³ then, a few pages later, he states that besides 'that *Hymne* that I mentioned to be sung in the *Quire of St. Paul's Church*; he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred Ditties; and he writ an Hymn on his death-bed, which beares this title, *An Hymn to God my God in my sickness, March 23, 1630*'.²³⁴ Simpson observes that there is 'no sign of doubt or fear' in the hymn Donne wrote as he lay dying, 'though in it his agile fancy still delights in paradoxes and conceits'.²³⁵ Donne is about to enter heaven, where he 'will be part of God's music in the choir of saints for evermore'.²³⁶

Synce I am coming to that holy roome
Where with thy quire of saintes, for evermore,
I shall be made thy musicke, as I come,

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 576. Robbins states that Walton 'assumes *To Christ* was composed in 1623 at the same time as *Sickness*, to which his anecdote might more aptly apply with its musical allusions in stanza I and pervasive "thoughts of joy" and faith rather than the pleas for forgiveness and fearful hope of the present poem'.

²³⁴ Ibid. p. 85.

²³⁵ Evelyn M., Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 11.

²³⁶ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

I tune the instrument here att the dore
And what I must do then, thinke nowe before. (ll. 1-5)²³⁷

‘Choir of saints’ refers to Revelations 15: 3-4 and Robbins states ‘thy music’, is “part of thy consort”; For one person as another’s music, cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 128: “When thou, my music, music playest”²³⁸ Robbins quotes C. Butler’s *Number Symbolism* (1970, p. 129), suggesting the sources for the idea of ‘harmonising the soul’ come from Plato’s *Timaeus*, *Phaedo* and *Republic*.²³⁹ Walton defends Donne’s ‘high illuminations’ (musical offerings) by comparing him to Prudentius (Roman Christian poet), and, again, to Kings David and Hezekiah:

. . . he charged it to present his God each morning and evening with a new and spirituall song; . . . , as, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankfull vowes to in a royall Hymn, which he concludes in these words, *The Lord was ready to save, therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my God.*²⁴⁰

7.4 John Hilton: ‘Hymne to God the Father’

Although Walton thought the two hymns, ‘Hymne to God, my God. In my sicknes’ and “Hymne to God the Father’ were written at the same time, Robbins proposes that ‘An Hymn to God my God in my Sickness’ was written in December 1623, also the occasion of *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624);²⁴¹ ‘A Hymn to God the Father’ could have been written earlier, possibly c. 1619, based on the content matching sermons of those years and references to the

²³⁷ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 195.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 610 n. 2-3.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, ‘*Timaeus* 47d, *Phaedo* 85e-95a and *Republic* 4 (4413-3d)’.

²⁴⁰ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, pp. 77-78.

²⁴¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 610.

death of Ann More Donne.²⁴² The ‘hymns in praise of the divine Son and Father written after 1617 are rebelliously pierced through with his [Donne’s] unremitting, dolorous, feverish desire for what he calls “loving more”’.²⁴³ Wall observes that the relationship of Donne’s images in ‘Hymne to God, my God. In my sicknes’ of ‘that Holy roome’, the ‘Quire of Saints’ and music prepares us ‘for the Kingdom of God’, grounded in his daily life and work at St. Paul’s, particularly the Choir area.²⁴⁴ Walton recalls:

I have the rather mentioned this *Hymne*, for that he caus'd it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the *Organ* by the *Choristers* of that *Church*, in his hearing, especially at the Evening Service; and at his return from his Customary Devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, *The words of this Hymne have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possess my soul in my sicknesse when I composed it. And, oh the power of Church-music! That Harmony added to it has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe, that I always return from paying this publick duty of Prayer and Praise to God with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingnesse to leave the world.*²⁴⁵

Evident from Walton’s words is that Donne clearly adored church music and was sensitive to it.

According to Lund, ‘the ‘cathedral organist in 1626 was John Tomkins’ [...] as was Donne composer ‘Martin Peerson [...] the master of the choristers or almoner’.²⁴⁶ Tomkins came to St. Paul’s in 1619, four years after Donne’s ordination. Friend of the Lawes brothers, composer

²⁴² Ibid., p. 575.

²⁴³ Donne, *Marriage Letters*, p. 24.

²⁴⁴ John N. Wall, “‘That Holy roome’: John Donne and the Conduct of Worship at St. Paul’s Cathedral”, in *Renaissance Papers 2005*, The Southeastern Renaissance Conference, ed. by Christopher Cobb and M. Thomas Hester (Suffolk: Camden House, 2005), 61-84, p. 63.

²⁴⁵ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church*, pp. 77-78. See also John Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 246. Dame Helen Gardner states: ‘Donne caused the “Hymn to God the Father” “to be set to a most grave and solemn tune and to be often sung to the organ by the Choristers of St. Pauls’ Church”’.

²⁴⁶ *OESJD*, XII, p. xxv.

John Hilton/Hillton the Younger (b. ?Cambridge, 1599 d. Westminster, bur. 21 March 1657)²⁴⁷ wrote ‘Hymne to God the Father’ (‘Wilt thou forgive the sin where I begun’),²⁴⁸ ‘which may have been the setting Donne is known to have commissioned’.²⁴⁹ No known cathedral copy of Hilton’s setting of the hymn²⁵⁰ exists and it is found only in manuscript.²⁵¹ Lund cites Hilton’s extant version and feels that Donne ‘did not necessarily commission the musical setting in house’.²⁵² Hilton ‘seems to have lived in the parish of St. Margaret’s Westminster, from 1627 onwards and was organist there from 1628; he may have encountered Donne through parliamentary connections’.²⁵³ Mary Chan has ‘linked John Hilton’s Add. MS 11608 with others (MS 2013 and Don. c. 57)²⁵⁴ suggesting that they represent the repertory of a music society

²⁴⁷ Peter Le Huray and Ian Payne, ‘Hilton, John (i)’ in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 28 March 2021]. Both John Hilton the Younger and John Hilton the Elder were English composers and church musicians. John Hilton the Elder (d Cambridge, before March 20, 1609), was a countertenor who supervised choristers in a production of two comedies at Lincoln Cathedral and was later organist at Trinity College, Cambridge. He ‘supervised the rebuilding of the organ’ and set about ‘providing materials for lute and viol music there’. Apart from one madrigal, Hilton the Elder ‘seems to have written no secular music’; ‘It is difficult to say with certainty which liturgical music is by him and which by his son’, but *Te Deum* is believed to have been written by ‘the younger Hilton (to whom all the other canticles may be ascribed on grounds of style)’. When he died, among other things, he owned ‘a pair of virginals, valued at 5s., and ‘certein song-bookes’.

²⁴⁸ ‘A Hymn to God the Father’ (‘Wilt thou forgive the sin’) Pelham Humphrey {Kneidel: (Humphrey-composed after 1633 edition of Donne’s poetry)}, Mus. 49 *Harmonia Sacra* (1688) Christ Church Library (1619?) (c. Dec. 1623). See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁴⁹ Peter Le Huray and Ian Spink, ‘Hilton, John (ii)’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 28 March 2021].

²⁵⁰ See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁵¹ Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 265 n. 36.

²⁵² *OESJD*, XII, p. xxv.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. xxv, n. 40. Ian Spink, ‘Hilton, John’ (1599-1657). *ODNB*.

²⁵⁴ Manuscripts 2013 and Don. c. 57 contained musical settings of Donne’s poetry.

centered on Hilton, such as sprang up in London (or Westminster) during the 1640s'.²⁵⁵ 'The catches [in MS11608] are by Hilton with the exception of two by Donne composers Thomas Ford and one by William Lawes'.²⁵⁶ Settings by Donne composers Henry Lawes and Wilson are also included in the manuscript, along with compositions by Donne associates Lanier and Deeringe.

Hilton's 'Hymne to God the Father' 'brings one back to a syllabic, plain tune, punctuated in the manner of a sung hymn except for the last two lines. Metrical accent is carefully preserved; the harmonies suggested by melody and bars are basic—I, V, III, VI—and there are none of the unprepared shifts that one might expect early in the century'.²⁵⁷ Gooch states:

If there is adornment, it will normally appear in the accompaniment (Souris' realization suggests this), although the melody as written does not deny opportunity for judicious gracing; however one need to note that Hilton specifically avoids decorating/enhancing "runne" and its restatement in the score (though not in the text as Souris gives it) perhaps because, in this strophic piece (like others), the device would work only for the first verse and not the second or third.²⁵⁸

Gooch suggests that the 'secure, controlled style, the harmonic progressions and structure' places the piece 'in the mid-1620s at the earliest'.²⁵⁹ Gooch states that Spink and Jacquot think this is the setting to which Walton refers, as does Maynard,²⁶⁰ but Gardner 'offers no opinion'²⁶¹ and

²⁵⁵ Peter Le Huray and Ian Spink, 'Hilton, John (ii)'. Also, in Add. MS 11608 were settings of other famous poems such as Sir Henry Wotton's 'You meaner beauties of the night'.

²⁵⁶ Mary Chan, 'John Hilton's manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608', *M&L*, 60.4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 440-449 n. 10 (p. 444).

²⁵⁷ Gooch, pp. 177-78.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Maynard, p. 149.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Morris thinks it ‘unlikely’.²⁶² Paul L. Gaston explains, ‘Within the key of G minor, traditionally considered a “dark” key, Hilton provides suggestions of the relative major (B-flat) to convey limited but important variations in the emotional reference . . . , interpreted as Donne’s ‘anxiety about original sin’, yet ‘less compelling than his concern with his present sins’.²⁶³ He registers this with ‘modulation from minor to the relative major and back again’.²⁶⁴ ‘When thou hast done, thou hast not done’ could be a ‘symbol for tears’, as Diana Poulton affirms that these types of ‘four note descending phrases’ such as Dowland and other composers also used, ‘had become a formula’.²⁶⁵ This hymn is the only poem of Donne’s that is ‘found with a strophic setting in which words and music complement each other throughout’;²⁶⁶ in other musical settings, only the first verse seems to fit the notes the best. ‘Hilton’s setting recognizes that the poem is not a cry of doubt or anguish. It is the expression of a firm faith, clearly aware of the blighting and sundering effect of personal sin’.²⁶⁷ Low states that the ‘nearest that the devotional mode comes

²⁶² Morris, p. 238.

²⁶³ Paul L. Gaston, ‘Britten’s Donne and the Promise of Twentieth-Century Settings’, in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 201-13, p. 204.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 205.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Morris, p. 237. ‘The opening, with its dotted quaver rhythm, balances “forgive” against “sinne” with theological exactness, and the second line moves into a higher register to enforce the repetitive nature of the office. The song develops soberly, a phrase to a line and a note to a word, modulating only to the previous key of B flat major, until the last two lines where the pun is allowed to create the only expressive point in an otherwise quiet and austere progress. The simple, falling sequence, and the double dotted crotchet on “I”, secure recognition for the personal quality of the utterance, while the semiquaver first allows a breath to take the emphasis from the “thou” and suggests an intimate tone of submission and repentance rather than a confrontation between God and the Sinner. The music exercises this control of tone over each of the three stanzas and although the strophic form denies the composer any chance to register the greater urgency of the last verse, with its wider horizon and its more complex language, the solemnity it achieves is gently and apt, and its refusal to overdramatize anything in the text is a notable and valuable abstention’.

to effacing the worshiper is in the hymn or psalm of praise'; however, in Donne's hymns, he often seems to 'refer constantly to himself'.²⁶⁸

Having received the MusB from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1626, where he 'declared that he had been studying the science of music for ten years', Hilton, the Younger, published *Ayres or Fa La's for Three Voyces* (1627) and, in 1628, he 'became organist and clerk of St. Margaret's, Westminster'.²⁶⁹ An elegy on his friend William Lawes, 'Bound by the near conjunction of our souls', is in the Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (1648).²⁷⁰

In 1652, Hilton published a very popular collection of catches, rounds, and canons *Catch that Catch Can* and, in 1669, Playford printed one of his songs, 'Well well, 'is true'.²⁷¹ A catch by John Barnard, musician at St. Paul's ('Mr Barnard'), is also included in *Catch that Catch Can*, published by Playford in 1663.²⁷² Barnard's name is listed in the Southgate Collection with 'Donne', 'Donne 2d' and 'Dunn', Add. MS 39550-4 (vols 1-5, 5 parts). Like other composers of Donne settings who experimented with new forms of music, Hilton was 'one of the earliest composers of dramatic dialogues in England (Smallman) and though none were printed during his lifetime it is clear that he was held in some regard'.²⁷³ Given his stellar musical reputation and connection to other Donne composers, it is understandable why John Hilton would have been a good choice to compose the musical setting of 'Hymne to God the Father'.

²⁶⁸ Low, p. 8.

²⁶⁹ Peter Le Huray and Ian Spink, 'Hilton, John (ii)'.
²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² John Morehen, 'Barnard, John', *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 26 March 2022].

²⁷³ Ibid.

7.5 Pelham Humphrey: ‘A Hymn to God the Father’

Although this thesis concentrates primarily on the musical settings of Donne’s poetry written during his lifetime, it is important to remember that Donne’s poetry has influenced composers of every generation. The enduring quality of his lyrics are irresistible to composers, for they encapsulate the human experience. Out of all the composers of musical settings of Donne’s poetry in the years following his death in 1631, none were more ‘precocious’ than Pelham Humfrey/Humphrey, Humphrys (b. 1647/8; d. Windsor, July 14, 1674). Although short-lived, his entire career was spent in the service of the Chapel Royal, beginning as one of the ‘brilliant, first generation of choristers’ after the Restoration.²⁷⁴ Although he later would contribute masques for Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* and other court entertainments revived in 1667 and 1674, Humfrey’s main musical contributions were anthems like Donne’s ‘A Hymn to God the Father’ (1688), found in *Harmonia Sacra* at Christ Church, Library, set posthumously.²⁷⁵ Bruce Wood argues that Humphrey breaks new ground by developing a ‘distinctively English Baroque idiom, enriched by progressive French and Italian techniques, yet founded on the inflections of his native language, and far outstripping the experimental efforts of any earlier English composer both in consistency of approach and in technical fluency’.²⁷⁶ Having no interest in the ‘old polyphonic style’, Humphrey’s music both expressed and moved ‘the passions’; Humphrey wrote no instrumental music—he needed the ‘emotional stimulus of the text’ to effect his ‘angularity of line and intensity of harmony, [...] enhanced by chromaticism’. ‘Declamatory

²⁷⁴ Bruce Wood, ‘Humfrey [Humphrey, Humphrys], Pelham’, *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 25 February 2022]. Samuel Pepys found Humphrey to be ‘full of form and confidence and vanity’, disparaging “everything and everybody’s skill but his own”.

²⁷⁵ See Appendices, Vol. II.

²⁷⁶ Bruce Wood, ‘Humfrey [Humphrey, Humphrys], Pelham’.

arioso in common time, irregular in phrase structure and harmonic rhythm and hence ideally suitable for tracing the emotional flux of a text, is the most strikingly Italianate feature of his anthems, which consist chiefly of solo and ensemble verses'. 'To Christ' is a perfect example of this irregularity, with its numerous incidentals and dotted crochets, making the line rhythmically difficult to sing, yet strikingly soulful.²⁷⁷ Gooch states, 'Though there are melodic and rhythmic correspondences between the three verses—the match between the opening (m. 1 and the first part of m. 2) and the beginning of the second verse is a good example of *synonymia*—This is clearly through-composed, the melody and the bars varying at most points—in sensitive response to the texts'.²⁷⁸

Little is known of the church music at St. Paul's during Donne's tenure there due to the Great Fire of 1666 that destroyed those precious relics. Jo Wisdom feels that Spink gives a 'useful conspectus' of the repertoire of the Cathedral Choir,²⁷⁹ which includes John Day's *Certaine Notes* (1560) and Barnard's *The Firste Booke of Selected Church Musick* (1641).²⁸⁰ Ian Spink states:

In the absence of specific indications as to the choir's repertoire at the turn of the century, it may be assumed that John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641) provides the foundation. A minor canon from about 1623, Barnard published this

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Gooch, pp. 179-180. 'The piece is full of subtle touches; the text does not lead itself to egregious word-painting (a point which Hilton obviously recognized); nevertheless, the repetition of "run" (m. 7) is gently reflected as is the portrayal of "Wallowed in a score?" [...] as well the tied quarter notes of "still". More obviously, the diminished fourth drop of "that sin" (mm. 1-2) [...] becomes a harmonic motif for the entire piece also marking "not" (m. 10), "Sin" (m. 13), "not" (m. 21), and "fear no" (m. 34). Even the harmonies suggested by the bass and treble lines are reflective; the sudden shift after the tonic major tonality of m. 24 (at the beginning of the third verse—"I have a sin of") to the original minor on "fear" in m. 25 [...] and the dramatic ["operatic" (Wilfred Mellers, *Harmonious Meeting* (pp. 118-123))] diminished seventh plunge on "done that" (mm. 32-33) are marks of a highly original and much more vigorous approach than Hilton's more conventional and unvaried statement from stanza to stanza' (p. 180).

²⁷⁹ Wisdom.

²⁸⁰ John N. Wall, p. 80. Wall also cites James Clifford's *A Collection of Divine Services and Anthems, usuall sung in his majesty's Chappell and in all Collegiate Choirs of England and Ireland* (London, 1663), sig. A5v.

collection with a view to generally raising standards throughout the country and it would seem natural that he drew on what was sung at St Paul's.²⁸¹

Wisdom explains, 'He (Spink) goes on to look at the putative Elizabethan repertoire of anthems by "Byrd, Tallis, Mundy, Morley and a few others", and carries it forward to the period of the Civil War with the addition of Ward and Gibbons and anthems by Weelkes and Adrian Batten'.²⁸² 'In so far as there was a distinct repertoire of works by St Paul's composers, it must have included music by both Batten and Tomkins'.²⁸³

As Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Donne 'was responsible for the overall internal management of the cathedral'.²⁸⁴ The 'chief liturgical officer of the Cathedral', Donne was 'responsible for ensuring that worship was conducted appropriately; he also had a prescribed role in worship services, especially on the principal festivals of the Church Year. The Dean also presided at meetings of the chapter of Canons (also known as Prebends at St Paul's)'.²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ Ian Spink, 'Music 1540-1640', *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, ed., by D. Keene, A. Burns, and A. Saint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 312-316.

²⁸² Wisdom. See Maurice Bevan, 'Batten [Battin, Battyn], Adrian', in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20 January 2001) [accessed 26 March 2022]. Adrian Batten [Battin, Battyn] (b. Salisbury, bap. March 1, 1591; d. London, 1637) English composer Adrian Batten had been 'one of the Vicars Choral of St. Paul's' and a 'chorister' at Winchester Cathedral, becoming a 'lay vicar' of Westminster Abbey in April 1614; he was a parishioner of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Listed in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts as one of the singers at the funeral of James VI & I, he is also listed in the Westminster Treasurer's accounts as being paid for copying music for Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Tallis and John Tomkins. Batten's ties to Weelkes, Tallis and Tomkins tie him to Donne, in addition to his service as organist at St. Paul's, begun in 1626: 'His name first appears in the indenture book of Dean Donne on 22 December 1628, when he is named as one of the six vicars-choral'. 'Batten composed a large number of services and anthems, but apparently no secular or instrumental music. It is thought, though sometimes questioned, that he was the copyist of the most extensive source for English church music of the period, the so-called 'Batten Organbook' (Bodleian, MS Tenbury 791)'.

²⁸³ Wisdom. 'Sarah Boyer, in *The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: A Study of the Music and Musicians of St. Paul's Cathedral 1660 to 1697*, has a 'useful section on John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* and the implications of its probable use at St. Paul's long before publication'.

²⁸⁴ 'The Churchyard pre-and-post Reformation', *Virtual St. Paul's Cathedral Project: A Digital Re-Creation of Worship and Preaching at St. Paul's Cathedral in Early Modern London* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 2021) <<https://vpcathedral.chass.ncsu.edu>> [accessed 20 October 2021].

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

Music, like preaching, was utilized to transform ‘dull myndes’ through worship and praise. The organ would have been a powerful ‘voice’ in the trifecta of worship: organ, choir and priest. A German ‘traveller’ observed in 1598 that ‘St. Paul’s had a “remarkable organ which, together with other instruments, makes excellent music at evensong”, and repairs were routinely made in Donne’s time; it was probably the largest organ in the country, said to be thirty feet high’.²⁸⁶

Donne’s use of ‘organ’ as a literary and musical device is repeated often throughout his work. Holmes observes that in Donne’s sermons, he prioritized ‘the voice and the ear over other senses, in particular that of sight’: “The Organ that God hath given the natural man is the eye: He sees God in the creature. The Organ that God hath given the Christian is the ear: he hears God in his Word”.²⁸⁷ ‘The Christian organ, as Donne says, is the ear. God’s Word is transmitted through the ear to the soul, which resides in the breath of the lungs and of speech[voice]’.²⁸⁸ Donne states that the world is an ‘excellent song, an admirable piece of musicke and harmony, and that God does (as it were), play upon this organ in his administration and providence by natural means and instruments’.²⁸⁹

Of course, in Donne’s youth, ‘Organ’ is used for a very different purpose, as ‘conveyance of all perceivable delights’ (ll. 8-9).²⁹⁰ In Satyr 2, ‘As in some Organes puppets dance about | And

²⁸⁶ *OESJD*, XII, p. xxiii; p. xxv, n. 37. ‘Ian Spink, “Music, 1540-1640”, in Keene et al., 312-16 (315-16). The Receiver General’s accounts for 1625/6 (when Donne was in the role) record payment to John Burwood for repair to the organ, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/313/G/014/MS25499, fol. 99’.

²⁸⁷ Holmes, p. 194. *Sermons*, II, p. 114.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 199. Holmes cites precedent of the Organ as ‘divine instrument’ from St. John Chrysostom’s *Exposition of Psalm XLI*.

²⁸⁹ *Sermons*, I, pp. 289-90.

²⁹⁰ John Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, ed. with introduction and commentary by Helen Peters, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p 11.

bellows pant below which them to moue;’ (ll. 15-160).²⁹¹ In Paradox VI, *That the gifts of the body are better then those of the mind or of Fortune*, Donne evokes the ‘Musicke of Spheares’, feeling his mistress is ‘often solaced with beutyies’ when ‘she sees through myne eyes, and Musicke which through myne eares she heares’ (ll. 16-17); but, ‘she can neyther teach my indisposd parts her facultyes, nor to the parts best disposd shew that beauty of Angels or Musicke of Spheares, wherof she boasts the contemplation’ (ll. 21-22).²⁹²

In ‘Vpon the Translation of the Psalmes by Sir Philip Sidney, and the Counteses of Pembroke his Sister’ (Oct.-Nov. 1621), Donne uses the religious imagery of ‘the Church’ to describe the ‘three quyres’ and ‘Organs’ of the ‘Musick of the Spheares’.²⁹³ Robbins explains, “The inaudibility of the music of the spheres of Plato, *Republic* 10 (617b) was traditional, though Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 2.9 (290b12-291a28) argues simply that they moved without making music’.²⁹⁴

Make all this all, three quyres, Heauen, Earth, and Sphears;²⁹⁵
The first, Heauen, hath a Song, but no man heares,
The Spheares haue Musick, but they have no Tongue,
Theyr Harmony is rather daunc’d then sung.
But our third Quire, to which the first giues eare
(For Angels learne by what the Church does heare)
This Quire hath all. The Organist is hee
Who hath tun’d God and man, the Organ wee,
The Songs are these which heauens high holy muse
Whisperd to Daud, Daud to the Iews;
And Dauds successors, in holy Zeale,
In formes of Ioye and art doe re-reveale

²⁹¹ *Variorum*, 3, p. 45.

²⁹² Donne, *Paradoxes and Problems*, p. 11-12.

²⁹³ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 201.

²⁹⁴ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 582

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

To vs—so sweetley and sincerely too, (ll. 23-35) ²⁹⁶

He commends the ‘performance’, the ‘new expressions’ (singing) of the brother and sister
[‘Eternall God, (For whome who ever dare | Seeke new expressions, doe the circle square, | And
thrust into strayt Corners of poore witt | Thee who art cornerlesse and infinite) (ll. 1-4)].²⁹⁷
Comparing them to King David, the musical writer of the Psalms, Donne again puns on the
‘Instriment’ (instrument/voice), the ‘image of union as one musical instrument’:²⁹⁸

Fix wee our prayes therefore on this one
That, as thy blessed spirit fell vpon
These Psalmes first Author in a clouen tongue
(For t’was a double power by which hee sung
So thou has cleft that Spirit, to perform
The highest matter in the noblest forme):
That worke agayne, and shedd it, heere, vpon
Two, by theyr blouds and by thy spirit one,
A Brother and a Sister, made by thee
The Organ, where thou art the Harmony.
Two that make one Iohn Baptists holy voyce,
And who that Psalm *Now let the Isles reioyce*
Have both translated, and applyd it too,
Both told vs what, and taught vs how to doe.
They shewe vs Islanders our Ioy, our king,
They tell vs why, and teache vs how to sing. (ll. 7-22) ²⁹⁹

Donne compares the siblings to ‘Moses and Miriam’ (l. 46) and laments the standing of the
Sydneyan Psalms ‘at home’ and ‘in the church’, compared to the accolades they have received
‘in chambers’ and ‘abroad’ (ll. 37-44), but ends by inviting us to ‘sing our part’ with them:³⁰⁰

Wee thy Sidneyan Psalmes shall celebrate.
And, till wee come th’extemporall song to sing

²⁹⁶ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 201.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 581.

²⁹⁹ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 201.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

(Learn't the first hower that wee see the king
Who hath translated these translatus), May
These theyr sweete learned labours, all the way
Bee as our tuning, that, when hence wee part
Wee may fall in with them, and sing our part. (ll. 50-56) ³⁰¹

Morris suggests that Donne is 'concerned here with the Platonic, the Pythagorean, aspect of music—the balance of phrases and the syntactical patterning'.³⁰² He feels that Donne is not interested in music as a 'listener or performer'—that Donne thinks of it only in scientific or cosmological ways;³⁰³ however, the cumulative evidence of musical evidence in his work and in his musical associations moves us in the opposite direction. 'Donne's interest in singing religious verse, aside from Walton's testimony, is attested to by his poem in praise of the Sidneian psalms and by his translation of "The Lamentation of Jeremy" into metrical verse', set by Thomas Ford; Gardner suggests Donne 'was following the Sidney's example, hoping to enrich the Church's liturgy'.³⁰⁴

Robbins compares the 'image of union as one musical instrument' (ll. 14-16) in 'Vpon the Translation of the Psalmes by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countesse of Pembroke his Sister' to 'The Litanye' (ll 64-70):³⁰⁵

8. Thy Eagle-sighted Prophetts too,
Which weare thy Churches Organs, and did sound
That harmonye which made of two
One lawe; And did Vnite, but not confound
Those heauenly Poets, which did see
Thy will, and yt expresse
In Rithmique feete, In Common pray for mee,

³⁰¹ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 202.

³⁰² Morris, p. 221.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁰⁴ Low, pp. 24-25.

³⁰⁵ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 581.

That I by them excuse not my Excesse
In seeking Secretts or Poetiquenes. (ll. 64-72)³⁰⁶

In 'The Litanye', he speaks of it as a 'meditation in verse' and 'four stanzas are dominated by the metaphor of music'.³⁰⁷ 'Churches Organs' (l. 8); "'heavenly Poets" express God's will in rhythmic feet'; a 'universal Quire' (l. 14); 'the prayers of a repentant sinner' as 'more musique' than 'spheares, or Angels praises bee, In Panegyrique Allelujahs'; and the 'musique of thy promises'.³⁰⁸

The organ is a 'favorite emblem of harmony', 'the world a great and harmonious organ, where all parts are played, and all play parts'.³⁰⁹ 'By existing in the Old Testament and being fulfilled in the New, the prophets link them'.³¹⁰ 'What an Organ hath that man tuned, how hath he brought all things in the world to a Consort, and what a blessed Anthem doth he sing to that Organ, that is at peace with God!'³¹¹ 'Princes are God's Trumpet, and the Church is God's Organ, but Christ Jesus is his voice'.³¹² In Donne's sermon *Preached to the King, at White-Hall, the first of April, 1627*:

And therefore, if you can heare a good Organ at Church, and have the musicke of a domestic peace at home, peace in thy walls, peace in thy bosome, never hearken after the musicke of the spheares, never hunt after the knowledge of higher secrets, then appertaine to thee: But since Christ has made you *Regal Sacerdotium*, Kings and Preists,

³⁰⁶ *Variorum*, 7.2, p. 73.

³⁰⁷ Low, p. 25.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 504. *Sermons*, I, p. 207 (24 March 1617).

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ *Sermons*, X, p. 131.

³¹² Henry Alford, ed., *The Works of John Donne*, Vol. 2 (London: J.W. Parker, 1839), p. 310.

in your proportion, *Take heed of what you hear*, in derogation of either the State, or the Church.³¹³

Donne's allusions on Easter Day 'to the body as the "Organ of the Soule" and the soul as the "breath of that Organ" (Sermon 5, ll. 318-19), and again to the soul having the body as "an Organ to praise God upon" (ll. 445-6), reflect the musical as well as homiletic aspects of feast-day worship at the cathedral'.³¹⁴

Donne's 'instruments' (voice, organ, bell, trumpet) were the tools of his calling, metaphors for his faith. Preaching in the Choir, in his Easter sermon of 1627, Donne states, 'This is the faith that sustaines me, when I lose by the death of others, or when I suffer by living in misery my selfe, That the dead, and we, are now all in one Church, and at the resurrection, shall be all in one Quire'.³¹⁵ Through music (instruments, liturgy, preludes, postludes, anthems and hymns), the talented composers and musicians of St. Paul's elevated Donne's perorations to a higher spiritual level.

One of these talented composers and musicians was organist at Worcester Cathedral, St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal, and nephew of John Tomkins (half-brother of Thomas), Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656). Tomkins studied under Byrd and was appointed to the Chapel Royal in 1621 (although associated with the Court as early as 1610).³¹⁶ He continued to produce music

³¹³ John Donne, *OESJD*, ed. with Introduction, Notes and Commentary by David Colclough, (gen. ed.) Peter McCullough, (deputy gen ed.) David Colclough, Vol. III, *Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 85.

³¹⁴ *OESJD*, XII, p. xxiii.

³¹⁵ 'Worship at St. Paul's Cathedral', *Virtual St. Paul's Cathedral Project: A Digital Re-Creation of Worship and Preaching at St. Paul's Cathedral in Early Modern London*.

³¹⁶ John Irving, 'Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656), composer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) [accessed 20 June 2019].

there for thirty years, including the funeral of James VI & I and the coronation of Charles I.³¹⁷ Thomas was not only acquainted with both Ferraboscus, but other Donne composers.³¹⁸ ‘In 1621 Tomkins succeeded Edmund Hooper as an organist of the Chapel Royal, where his colleagues included Gibbons (senior organist) and Nathaniel Giles (master of the choristers).³¹⁹ Friends and co-workers of Thomas Tomkins, composers Gibbons, Coprario and Myriell, definitively link Donne with these musicians at Court and later at St. Paul’s. The dedication of Thomas’s madrigals in *Songs of 3. 4. 5. & 6. Parts* (1622) proves this, which is important because ‘each piece bears a specific dedication, giving quite a detailed impression of the composer’s social circle during the first quarter of the century’.³²⁰ Irving further links Tomkins and Gibbons by stating, ‘Following Gibbons’s early death in 1625, Tomkins presumably became senior organist (although this is not specifically recorded) and was responsible, along with Giles, Heather,³²¹ and John Stevens, for Charles I’s coronation music’.³²²

Adhering to the polyphonic style, Tomkins was considered by his contemporaries to be quite a conservative composer. ‘The greater part of his work was printed, his secular music in his “Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts” (1622), and the sacred music in *Musica Deo sacra* (1668)’.³²³

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid. ‘John Coprario, John Danyel, William Heather (soon to become the first professor of music at Oxford), and William Byrd, the poet Phineas Fletcher, and the anthologist Thomas Myriell, in whose manuscript collection, ‘Tristitiaie remedium’ (1616), Tomkins’s best-known anthem, ‘When David heard’, is to be found’.

³²¹ Heather was previously cited as a guest at dinner at Magdalen Herbert’s.

³²² Irving, ‘Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656), composer’.

³²³ E. H. Fellowes, ‘(4) Thomas Tomkins’, in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, M.A., 3rd ed., 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1929), V, 353-354, p. 354.

Tomkins was ‘a worthy but not especially outstanding or idiosyncratic composer’.³²⁴ While his instrumental music is significant, Tomkins's lasting contribution to English music lies in the field of church music.³²⁵ His son, Nathaniel,³²⁶ rake that he was, was probably more enamored of Donne’s verses. However, it is important to acknowledge the contribution the Tomkins’ family made to St. Paul’s music culture and to the relationships that developed with Donne and the Lawes brothers.

‘Thomas Tomkins's half-brother John Tomkins (1586–1638) [...] served as organist of St Paul's Cathedral (1619)’³²⁷ before Donne became Dean in 1621; he had been a scholar at King’s College, Cambridge and was ‘gentleman-extraordinary of the Chapel Royal (1625), and gentleman ordinary of the chapel (1627).’³²⁸ The poetry of Phineas Fletcher, a contemporary at King’s, contains references to John Tomkins (as Thomalin); an elegy on his death by William Lawes appeared in the latter's *Choice Psalmes* (1648).³²⁹ At an early age, the brothers were ‘friendly with or influenced by musicians of St. Paul’s Cathedral such as John Tomkins’.³³⁰ The brothers’ ‘innovatory three-part through-composed psalm settings are in a distinct polyphonic

³²⁴ Irving, ‘Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656), composer’.

³²⁵ Irving, ‘Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656), composer’.

³²⁶ Ibid. Nathaniel Tomkins (1599-1681) was born in Worcester and studied at Balliol College, Oxford, graduating with a BA, MA, and BD, and appointed canon of Worcester Cathedral by Bishop William Laud in 1629. He was not well liked, having been accused of being a spy/agent for Bishop William Laud against Bishop John Williams of Lincoln. In his *Memorial* (1693) of Williams, John Hacket claimed, ‘Mr N. T., a musician and a Divine—one that could make better music upon an organ than a text ... had leave to use the whole [of Williams's] house, to go into the bishop's bedchamber, or study ... [he] transcribed some letters which he found and sent them to an enemy [Laud]’. Nathaniel knew Donne, Ferrabosco, the Younger, Jonson and Campion.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ David Pinto, ‘Lawes, William’, in *Grove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [accessed 18 January 2021].

idiom; with some advance in harmonic modernity, they work a vein of sacred song similar to examples (some with continuo) by Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Ford³³¹ and [John] Jenkins'.³³² Donne may also have known John Tomkins's³³³ brother, Giles (b. after 1587, d. 1668),³³⁴ for he was at Court in 1630; he was 'organist of King's College, Cambridge, between December 1624 and June 1626, [...] thereafter master of the choristers at Salisbury Cathedral (1629) [to which he left his organ books upon his death], [and] musician for the virginals in the king's musick (1630)'.³³⁵

It has been established that Donne likely knew Bull and Byrd through the Herberts and Byrd was related to him. Donne knew the Tomkins, Peerson,³³⁶ Barnard,³³⁷ Myriell, Ward and Hilton³³⁸ at St. Paul's. Campion was at St. Dunstan-in-the-West and Tallis, Byrd, Bull, Morley,

³³¹ 'The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius' ('How Sitts this Citty, late most populous'), Thomas Ford (composed before 1648), MS Mus. 736-738 (Early to mid-17th c.) Christ Church Library.

³³² Pinto.

³³³ Fellowes, '(4) Thomas Tomkins', p. 355. Some of John Tomkins' anthems survive in R.C.M. MSS. 1043-51 and Tenb. 791.

³³⁴ Ibid. Giles was dismissed for 'continumaciously absenting himself', took holy orders and was rector of Martin Hussingtree in Worcestershire for over 50 years.

³³⁵ Irving, John, 'Coprario, John (d. 1626), composer and musician', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 16 January 2023]. After Donne's death, Giles Tomkins became 'organist with the Chapel Royal during the Scottish visit of 1633, and musician for lutes, viols, and voices (from at least 1641). His court appointments, which were all renewed at the Restoration, were held concurrently with his duties at Salisbury [organist], where he seems to have been mainly living in the 1660s'. John Tomkins also had another brother from Thomas Tomkins' second marriage, whom Donne likely knew, for he, too, was a musician at Court at the Chapel Royal. Fellowes states that Robert Tomkins (b. after 1587, d. in or after 1641), 'a viol player and composer, was appointed musician for the consort of the king's musick on 28 March 1628. He was listed in the lord chamberlain's accounts for 1630 (with a salary of £46 per annum)'.

³³⁶ 'The Primerose' ('Upon this Primrose Hill') Martin Peerson (composed?) Mu. MS 168 (381r-382v) (*Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (1609-1612)*).

³³⁷ John Barnard's name is listed in the Southgate Collection with 'Donne', 'Donne 2d' and 'Dunn', Add. MS 39550-4 (vols 1-5, 5 parts).

³³⁸ 'Hymne to God the Father' ('Wilt thou forgive the sinne') John Hilton (composed before 1633?) MS 2013, (fol. 4v) (Mid-17th c.).

Weelkes, Gibbons,³³⁹ Ford,³⁴⁰ the Tomkins³⁴¹ and the Lawes brothers³⁴² were at the Chapel Royal³⁴³ (as was Humphrey, after Donne's death).³⁴⁴ Donne would have known composers Ferrabosco, Corkine, Coprario, Dowland, Jonson, Porter, and Lanier from Court and through friends. Farmer and Bateson appear also to have known Donne. The documentary evidence supports the belief that composers and musicians throughout the realm knew one another, knew Donne, and were influenced by his poetry.

Before his death, in the same cathedral where he 'caused a hymn to be set' and marvelled at the 'power of Church music', Donne preached his coda, his own funeral sermon, *Death's Duell*. In this sermon (preached on 25 February 1631), Donne, himself a 'Civill Warre of contradiction',³⁴⁵ wonders at how 'That God, this Lord, the Lord of Life, could die'.³⁴⁶ Walton writes 'When to the amazement of some beholders he appeared in the Pulpit, many of them

³³⁹ 'Ah, deere hart' (Another version of 'Sweet, stay awhile', and analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (Orlando Gibbons), in *The First Set of Madrigals and Motets of 5 Parts Apt. for Viols and Voyces* (1612), (MS Mus. f. 24), Summary Catalogue nos. 16838-16842.

³⁴⁰ 'The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius' ('How sitts this citty, late most populous'), Thomas Ford (composed before 1648), MS Mus. 736-738 (Early-mid-17th c.).

³⁴¹ References Donne in *Madrigals of 5. And 6. Parts* (1600).

³⁴² 'Sweet stay a while why doe you Rise' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (Henry Lawes) (F-Pn Rés. 2489); 'Sweet, staye awyhyle' (analogue to 'Breake of Daye') (Henry Lawes) (MS 53723); 'Wherfore peepst thou enuious day' (analogue to 'The Sun Rising') MS 53723 (21v) (39v); 'The Apparition' MS Mus. d. 238 (10v, 11r, 12v) (William Lawes); 'The Apparition' MS D.C. I.69/MS D.C. 1.1 (13r-14v); 'Wherfore peepst thou envious day' (W. Lawes or Anon.) MS Mus. d. 238 (74v-75r).

³⁴³ William Byrd was organist and choirmaster at Lincoln Cathedral from 1563 until 1572, but left for the Chapel Royal in 1572, the year Donne was born.

³⁴⁴ 'A Hymn to God the Father' ('Wilt thou forgive the sin') Pelham Humphrey {Kneidel: (Humphrey-composed after 1633 edition of Donne's poetry)}, Mus. 49 *Harmonia Sacra* (1688; anthem written prior to 1674) Christ Church Library {Listed in Donne *Variorum* Digital Facsimiles as music MS 350, pp. 114-117 B.97 (Ox1)}.

³⁴⁵ Donne, *Selected Prose*, p. 39.

³⁴⁶ Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions and Death's Duel with The Life of Dr. John Donne by Izzak Walton*, p. 171.

thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a *living voice*: but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face'.³⁴⁷ Donne states that it 'is a strange contemplation . . . strange, miraculously strange, but supermiraculous that God *could* die; but that God *would* die'.³⁴⁸ Possibly, he was finding it hard to accept his own impending death. Wall states, "It was surely no accident that Donne's monument was originally positioned not just in the choir area of the Cathedral but against the structure in the Choir that holds up the choir stalls, as close to the choristers—and to Donne's old seat among them in the choir—as he could manage'.³⁴⁹ Donne is no longer tuning 'the instrument here at the door', but has arrived at 'that holy room' where, singing 'with thy choir of saints, for evermore' he shall finally 'be made thy music'.³⁵⁰

And into that gate they shall enter, and in that house they shall dwell, where there shall be no Cloud nor Sun, no darknesse nor dazling, but one equall light, no noyse nor silence, but *one equall musick*, no fears nor hopes, but one equal possession, no foes nor friends, but one equall communion and Identity, no ends nor beginning, but one equall eternity (ll. 575-80).³⁵¹

Through its focus on Donne's life after taking orders, his involvement in the worship and music of St. Paul's, his relationships with church musicians, musically talented and artistic friends, the composers of the musical settings of his hymns (Hilton and Humphrey) and the

³⁴⁷ Walton, *The life of John Donne, Dr. in divinity, and late dean of Saint Pauls Church, The Life*, p. 104.

³⁴⁸ Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions and Death's Duel with The Life of Dr. John Donne by Izzak Walton*, p. 171.

³⁴⁹ John N. Wall, p. 84 n. 40. For the fullest discussion we have of the Donne monument, see Richard S. Peterson, "New Evidence on Donne's Monument: I," *JDJ*, 20 (2001): 1-52.

³⁵⁰ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 610-611.

³⁵¹ *OESJD*, III, p. 104.

musical references in his poetry and prose, this chapter has demonstrated the full range of Donne's musicality.

CONCLUSION

Donne and Music: Historical and Historiographical

Seventeenth-century English composers were believed to be ‘among the most literate musicians who ever lived’.¹ ‘They had the highest respect for poetry, and in their close reading and careful setting of the works of their colleagues they created a school of song composition that is deserving of more attention than it has received.’² John P. Cutts may have discovered why: ‘The relationship between poet and musician in the seventeenth century has never been fully explored because there has hitherto been a dearth of evidence’.³ Yet, the evidence that has been presented would affirm Peter Walls’s assessment that metaphysical poetry ‘appears not to have been thought unsuitable for musical setting. . . . the continuo-song composers active in the 1630s and 1640s were obviously interested in metaphysical poetry’,⁴ for composers wrote musical settings for Donne’s poetry throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.

‘As we have seen, early modern poets and composers express their apprehensions about song’s proliferation across media even as they indulge in the creative possibilities therein’.⁵ These professional musicians had ‘much to gain from the sort of publicity that publication could bring’;⁶ however, their social standing might explain why Donne was careful not to associate

¹ Vincent Duckles and Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Words to Music: Papers on English Seventeenth-Century Song Read at a Clark Library Seminar December 11, 1965 With an Introduction by Walter H. Rubsamen* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1967), p. 5.

² Ibid.

³ John P. Cutts, *Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1959), p. vii.

⁴ Peter Walls, “‘Music and Sweet Poetry’? Verse for English Lute Song and Continuo Song’, *M&L*, 65.3 (1984), 237-54, p. 252.

⁵ Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 194.

⁶ Walls, p. 240.

himself with his musical settings.⁷ ‘Donne had no desire, then, to be seen or to see himself as a minstrel;⁸ and he saw the other main channels of scratching a livelihood from writing as beneath him’.⁹ Even though Donne may have thought the musical settings of his poetry were ‘unworthy’ of him, they kept his name circulating among the aristocracy, securing patronage and supplementing his income.

However privately amused Jack Donne may have been by the attention he received regarding his work in this new genre, he could not risk his professional prospects with any question of his suitability for employment; his status and reputation would have required denial of any involvement with his musical settings.¹⁰ However, Maynard argues that the bitterly ironic poem, ‘The Triple Foole’ clearly demonstrates Donne’s ‘interest in writing verse for singing’.¹¹

I am two fooles I knowe,
For lovinge and for saying soe
In whyning Poetrie
But wheres that wise man, that would not bee I
If shee would not denye?
Then, as the Earths inward, narrow crooked lanes
Doe purge Sea=waters fretfull Salt awaie;
I thought if I could drawe my paines
Through Rimes vexation, I should them allaie,
Greefe brought to nvmbers cannot bee soe fierce
For hee tames itt that fetters it in verse.

⁷ Ibid. Chandley suggests that Donne, like Arthur Sullivan (Gilbert and Sullivan) in the 20th century, would not have wanted his name on his music because that would have diminished him socially and politically. ‘Arthur Sullivan did not think the music that he was writing was worthy of a Dean of the Royal Academy of Music, so he did not want that fact out; but it made him a fortune, and that is the same dynamic that ran through this type of seventeenth-century music’.

⁸ Chandley. Musicians were ‘usually of low birth, but they were allowed to travel in the upper echelons of society because of their talents and because they, and the art form, were in such demand’.

⁹ John Stubbs, *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), p. xvi.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 152. Trudell argues that Renaissance poets, ‘seeking to harness music’s affective power without allowing it to impose upon authorial privilege. [...] emphasized the transient and immaterial nature of musicianship, effacing the contributions of vocalists, instrumentalists and composers to poetic culture’.

¹¹ Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 146.

But when I haue done soe,
 Some man his art and voyce to showe,
 Doth set and singe my paine,
 And by delightinge many, frees againe
 Griefe, which verse did restraine.
 To loue and griefe tribute of verse belongs,
 But not of such as pleases when tis red:
 Both are encreased by such songs,
 For both their Tryvmphs soe are published,
 And I which was two fooles, doe so growe three.
 Who are a little wise the best fooles bee.¹²

If Donne felt that creative forms of expression were closed to him as acceptable avenues of employment (even though he loved poetry, drama and music—and could not resist them), he could have hidden involvement and pretended to deprecate himself (and these three artistic genres) through poetic protestation. Labelled ‘Song’/‘A Song’,¹³ it appears that the speaker of ‘Triple Foole’ ‘expresses annoyance’ that ‘some man’ has set his ‘whyning Poetrie’ to music.¹⁴ ‘Two fooles’, ‘For lovinge and for saying soe | in whyning Poetrie’ the poet hopes to ‘allaie’ his ‘paines’ by writing them in verse.¹⁵ Yet, Donne ‘pays music a wry tribute by complaining that a song setting can revive feelings once neatly fettered in verse’.¹⁶ Donne’s speaker uses musical metaphors in lines 12-22 to express his irritation at a musician then taking his lyrics and ‘publishing’ or promoting through song ‘loue and griefe’s’ mastery over him. In his annoyance,

¹² John Donne, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, (gen ed.) Jeffrey S. Johnson, Vol. 4.2, *The Songs and Sonets: Texts, Commentary, Notes and Glosses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), p. 130.

¹³ ‘The Triple Foole’ is labeled a song in multiple manuscripts. See Appendices, Vol II.

¹⁴ John Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Robin Robbins (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), pp. 251-253.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-52.

¹⁶ Gaston, Paul L., ‘Britten’s Donne and the Promise of Twentieth-Century Settings’, in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 201-13, (p. 201).

the speaker alludes to the creative process and modes of expression common to both writer and composer, metaphorizing the ‘art’ or ‘act’ of ‘song’—singing or writing music—to writing verse. In a letter ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘I Writ to you yesterday’), thought by Grierson to date to 1614, Donne writes that he is ‘brought to a necessity of Printing my poems’: ‘By this occasion I am made a Rhapsoder of mine own rags’.¹⁷ If we interpret Donne’s letter to Henry Goodere musically, Donne could be revealing that his poems had already been set to music and that now he is going to be like the ‘Some man’/composer who set his poems to music—Donne will be the ‘Rhapsoder’ of his *own* rags—acknowledging having authorized his poems to be set to music previously and now printing them to be read. By 1614, musical settings of Donne’s poetry had been printed. It is likely, therefore, that ‘The Triple Fool’, was written *after* the printing of the musical settings of Donne’s poetry, later than Robbins’ suggested date of the 1590s suggests.

‘Art and voyce’ or ‘voyce and art’ are inscribed in many manuscripts in which we find ‘The Triple Foole’; however, in the Lansdowne (*L74*), Trinity College Cambridge (*TCC*) and Trinity College Dublin (*TCD*) manuscripts, ‘*act* and voice’ is written. The denotative and connotative definitions of these words could have been interchangeable in Donne’s thought (or in the scribe’s), for singing was an act, a performance--‘theatre’--with the actor/singer playing a role. Yet, it could also be the ‘act’ of ‘Some man’ setting Donne’s lyrics to music. Robbins states, ‘Here Donne complains of unsolicited setting of his poems; *TCC*, *TCD*, *DC* [Dolai Cothi], putting in a special section “Songs which were made to certain airs which were made before”, suggest that he sometimes followed this usual courtly practice’.¹⁸ Robbins appears to be

¹⁷ John Donne, ‘To Sir H. G.’ (‘I Writ to you yesterday’), ‘Index of Letters’, *Digital Donne* (2005) (updated 8 August 2023) [accessed 16 March 2022].

¹⁸ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 252 n. 14.

thinking of the known musical settings of Donne's poems when he says that Donne sometimes followed 'the usual courtly practice' of making 'Songs . . . to certain airs which were made before'. However, we cannot assume that Robbins is correct in stating that Donne is complaining of the unsolicited setting of his poems. The impersonal nature of 'Some man' seems to suggest that that is the case; but, read another way, Donne may have *authorized* the setting of his music by 'Some man' (said bitterly), but is now lamenting his own foolishness for having agreed to the musical setting and subsequent broadcasting of his love and grief. Donne may be 'following the usual courtly practice' of having his poems set to airs/ayres by composers, explaining why so many of his poems are listed as 'Song/Songe'; that is, they were truly 'songs' to be 'sung' and not just songs to be read.¹⁹

In 'the Triple Foole', love and grief have triumphed over the speaker ('their triumphs so are published'); but they are restrained within the lyrics. However, when the verses are sung, music broadcasts that the speaker has been conquered and 'love and grief' are increased by such songs'.²⁰ Performance (reading, singing, acting) of his lyrics would thrice promote the speaker and his art through three distinct mediums. Expanding the metaphor, the poem itself is a metaphysical conceit showcasing the poet's virtuosity.

Donne's use of the word 'published' refers to the act of expressing one's thoughts and feelings through the written word and through the voice, but the speaker is also 'complaining'

¹⁹ John Donne, *The Poems of John Donne: Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts with Introductions & Commentary*, ed. by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), I, 16. Grierson believed 'The Triple Fool' was a song 'on the strength of it being titled "Song" in one or other textual witness'. It is titled 'A Songe' in MS 877 and MS R.3.12. The *Variorum* also indicates this poem to be 'A Song' in MS 966.5, written before October 1632. See Appendices, Vol. II for the complete list of 'Songs/Songes'.

²⁰ No musical settings of 'The Triple Fool' have been found to date.

about the ‘unsolicited setting of his poems’.²¹ This yields a potentially crucial insight into the opportunistic way in which Donne’s poems may have been set to music. On the surface, it appears that Donne’s poems were set without his knowledge or permission, to his subsequent chagrin (‘Some man, his art and voice to show, | Doth set and sing my pain’). However, with Donne, we never know. He may truly be feeling ‘used’—mocked, disrespected, embarrassed and humiliated; or, he could also be pretending not to know, feigning offense, flattered, complicit.

In ‘Appendix B: Musical Settings of Donne’s Poems’, Gardner discusses parody—how Donne ‘practised’ the ‘writing of new words to old tunes,²² [...] an established exercise in the sixteenth century’—and cites the second stanza of ‘The Triple Fool’ as an example of how Donne ‘expected his lyrics to be set to music’.²³ Manuscripts containing the lyrics to ‘The Triple Foole’ alongside the lyrics of other songs for which we have musical settings led Grierson and Gardner to believe that this poem was set to music—and it is curious that its musical setting has not been found.²⁴ However, if Donne experienced humiliation at the printing of his poems, or

²¹ Donne, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 252 n. 14.

²² Willa McClung, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1929), p. 34. Willa McClung Evans discusses how Ben Jonson did this: ‘Though it was generally Jonson’s custom to write words which were later set to music, in one or two instances, he selected tunes which were already popular, and wrote words to fit the notes’.

²³ John Donne, *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, ed. by Helen Gardner (London: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 238. It is likely that Donne’s associations with composers at Court and his musical friends also lent themselves to Gardner’s belief that ‘Words and music in a song may be related in two opposed ways. A poem may be written to music or music may be written to a poem. In the first case, the tune shapes the poem; in the second, the musician’s art has to match the words’. Hanscombe concurs: ‘Donne’s poems break with the traditional values of lyric poetry, in spite of the fact that he expected most of them to be set to music’ (p. 10).

²⁴ Grierson I, 16. Grierson believed ‘The Triple Fool’ was a song ‘on the strength of it being titled “Song” in one or other textual witness’. It is titled ‘A Songe’ in MS 877 and MS R.3.12. The *Variorum* also indicates this poem to be ‘A Song’ in MS 966.5, written before October 1632. See Appendices, Vol. II for the complete list of ‘Songs/Songes’.

the musical settings of his poetry, for this reason also, there is not necessarily any reason to think that the ‘The Triple Fool’ would ever have been set to music, thus explaining its absence from all of the music manuscripts containing musical settings of Donne’s songs. This would also explain why the poem is not in the Clitherow MS and only appears in manuscripts dated 1620 or after.

Dayton Haskins states that Ben Jonson ‘opined that Donne wrote “all his best pieces” by his mid-twenties and attested to Dr. Donne’s desire to “destroy” his own poems’.²⁵ Like Jonson, ‘. . . Donne’s first biographer, Izaak Walton, claimed that Donne had “scattered” most of his poems in youth and then “wish’t they had been abortive, or so short liv’d, that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals”’ (p. 61).²⁶ Donne felt it was an error to have ‘descended to print anything in verse’ . . . wonders how he ‘declined to it’ and does not ‘pardon’ himself. When Donne says he does not ‘pardon himself’ for his published work in 1611 and 1612, might he also have been ‘confessing’ his ‘descent’ into collaboration with his composers on his printed musical settings?²⁷ Nashe’s²⁸ claim that ‘poverty instructs a man in all arts’ is most telling, for this could have been the impetus behind any involvement Donne might have had. Perhaps, Donne, like Nashe,²⁹ was willing to ‘prostitute his pen’ because of his empty pocketbook.

²⁵ Dayton Haskin, ‘Donne’s Afterlife’, in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. by Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 233-246 (p. 233).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 233-234.

²⁷ To view Donne musical settings in the context of Donne’s life, see Appendices, Vol. II, *Outline of Donne Music in the Context of His Life*.

²⁸ Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 5 vols (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1904-10). A controversial satirist, pamphleteer, poet and playwright, Nashe’s works are filled with references to music: ‘song’, ‘singing’, ‘strings’, and ‘lute’.

²⁹ Charles Nicholl, ‘Nashe [Nash], Thomas (bap. 1567, d. c. 1601), writer’, *Ox* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) [accessed 23 January 2021].

Rebecca Herissone states, ‘In early seventeenth-century England, drama, art, and music were predominantly produced through collaborative invention rather than through individual endeavor’,³⁰ citing numerous examples of playwrights, musicians and artists working in tandem. ‘In these contexts composers, playwrights and artists sought to make money directly from their activities, which meant that both originality and the assertion of authorship became increasingly important to them’.³¹ Using a ‘large repertory of two-part instrumental music produced in England during the seventeenth century’, in ‘Imitation and Arrangement’, John Cunningham provides examples of ‘creative interactions between professional and amateur musicians’.³² Kirsten Gibson avers, ‘The direct involvement of musicians in the printing trade, although it was short-lived, undoubtedly influenced the shape of music printing in England at the turn of the seventeenth century and may have encouraged the taste for “self-authorized” single-author musical collections’,³³ like those of the composers of the Donne printed musical settings. It would be pure conjecture to posit that Court composers and musical friends of Donne could have been trying to help him financially by setting his poems to music and may have been sharing their profits with him, for any financial benefit to Donne would surely have been negligible. However, any popular musical settings in print or in manuscript would have kept Donne in his patrons’ minds (for they were already familiar with his poetry) and possibly helped his Court prospects with his musical king, James VI & I. Given the many connections outlined in this

³⁰ Rebecca Herissone, ‘Introduction’, in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 6-7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³³ Kirsten Gibson, ‘Author, Musician, Composer: Creator? Figuring Musical Creativity in Print at the Turn of the Seventeenth-Century’ in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 64.

thesis, between the composers of Donne's musical settings and the Court and aristocracy for whom they and Donne served and were a part, it seems reasonable to assume that his patrons would have known that the musical settings were Donne's poems, especially if they were reading *and* singing them.

The 'association between print and renown'³⁴ was certainly true for composers. While have complained about unendorsed appearances of their music in print, they nevertheless also recognized that such widespread dissemination of their work could contribute to the perpetration composers might of their fame'.³⁵ With playwrights, the 'worlds of print and play-going co-existed' as well, as Jennifer Richards asserts.³⁶ 'In 1604, Dowland observed in *Lachrimae, Or Seaven Teares* that he had 'in forren parts met diuers Lute-lessons of my composition, publisht by strangers without my name or approbation',³⁷ but 'he also acknowledged that such unauthorized publications were indicative of his reputation on the continent'.³⁸ Citing the twenty-one year Tallis-Byrd printing monopoly, where Byrd worked with London printer Thomas Este, Gibson states:

The awarding of this monopoly to musicians, rather than printers, created a unique situation in London, in which the composers were invested with the powers to maintain editorial control over the appearance of their works in print, potentially to profit from publications by their fellow musicians and to sanction the music-printing activities of members of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, a situation without parallel in English literary print production during the period.³⁹

³⁴ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 244.

³⁷ Ibid., n. 38. John Dowland, *Lachrimae, Or Seaven Teares* (London, [1604]). 'To the reader', sig. A2v.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 64.

The printing of musical settings of his poetry would have elevated Donne's literary talent to another level, in a different genre, possibly leading to more gainful pursuits and a permanent position. When Donne settings were printed, he was married and in need of steady employment. When trying to secure a Court appointment, what better way to impress a musical sovereign than to set one's love poetry to music with Court musicians and help one's Court prospects?⁴⁰ It might also win favour among the aristocracy performing at Court, possibly gaining Donne patronage. In addition, it was fun and entertaining, an inventive outlet for Donne's creativity. Clever and resourceful, Donne's financial position necessitated exploring as many solutions, ideas, and opportunities necessary to feed his family and promote himself, his art and his talents, while still maintaining his reputation.

Even though Donne often 'sought to exercise control over his poetry', he also 'circulated many poems in manuscript, he had the *Devotions* printed, and he scrupulously prepared his sermons for posthumous publication'.⁴¹ Richard B. Wollman⁴² argues that the 'instructions for *Biathanatos* that he gave Sir Robert Ker—to recognize that "it is a book written by *Jack Donne*, and not by *D. Donne*" and to keep it on the one hand from "the Presse" and on the other from "the Fire"—reveal, analogously, his intentions for his poems'.⁴³ If this is true, then the argument could be made that Donne was complicit in the printing of his musical settings and their circulation was intentional.

⁴⁰ MS. Eng. Poet. f. 9, a book that belonged to King James VI and I, contains poems by Donne and is housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

⁴¹ Haskins, p. 234.

⁴² Richard B. Wollman, 'The Press and the Fire: Print and Manuscript Culture in Donne's Circle' in *SEL, 1500-1900*, 33 (1993), 85-8.

⁴³ Haskins, p. 234.

Because of Donne's musical associations, the wording of 'The Triple Foole', the printing monopoly of London composers (including Byrd, a distant relative), 'To Sir H. G.' ('I Writ to you yesterday') and 'To all my friends: Sir H. Goodere' ('I AM not weary of writing'), it is possible that Donne was surreptitiously involved in the printing (and writing) of his musical settings. Holmes states that 'Songs form the largest section of Donne's small print output'; he argues that even though it cannot be proven that Donne oversaw their publication directly, 'it is unlikely that he was either unaware or disapproving of it': it 'seems to be implied, Donne is printing for money'.⁴⁴ If Donne engaged with the promotion of his lyrics in this way, this would change our view of him because our perception has been that he did not want his poetry to be published. If Donne covertly circulated the musical settings of his poetry, he craftily achieved his objective without discovery.

The publication of the musical settings of Donne's poetry would show his writing to be multidimensional. It would demonstrate that his poetry was not only being written for more than one genre, but that it was being written to be 'performed', as were his later sermons. Donne's involvement in the printing of his songs would also indicate that he was actively participating in the music culture of the period. Participation and publication in music culture would have been a natural extension of his enjoyment of the arts and the continuity of performance and entertainment seen throughout Donne's life. As Trudell states:

As Donne knew well, his was a period of volatile and productive entanglement between bibliographical, theatrical, and musical (not to mention visual and spatial) arts—a culture

⁴⁴ Jonathan Holmes, "'There must be something heard": John Donne's aural universe', in *Refiguring Mimesis: Representation in Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), pp. 183-207 (p. 185). 'Although Donne songs were undoubtedly successful, as the quantity of "cover versions" testifies, the fact that they are not reprinted after 1615 suggests strongly that Donne is involved in their publication: manuscript copies, uncontrolled by the author, in contrast proliferated' (p. 187).

of poesis fueled by interplay across media. Poets, performers, and composers inspired each other, disrupted each other, collaborated together, and turned each other's attentions to the processes by which meaning was remade at every point in its movement through the lived world'.⁴⁵

This level of intentionality and involvement with music would also change our view of Donne because music has never been seriously considered to be a significant part of his writing, his character, his quest for income or his life.

Manuscript musical settings might also have had Donne's approval, but he would have been mindful not to jeopardize any future job prospects by autographing them. So far, we have found his name only ascribed to poetry and prose: to date we have evidence in print, in Donne's lifetime, of poems (e.g. 'The Anniversaries') and prose (e.g. *Pseudo-martyr*, *Ignatius his Conclave*, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, and some of his sermons) that are ascribed to Donne's authorship, but no printed musical settings of Donne's poems that acknowledge his authorship of the lyrics. It is possible that Donne may have benefitted financially (however negligibly) were he to have anonymously provided lyrics for songs set to music. An 'anonymous' Donne could have brilliantly orchestrated surreptitious composition and self-promotion without fear of reprisal.

'Writing words to established tunes' of art songs of the period excludes the possibility that Donne could have written some of the music himself. Until now, Donne scholars have found the idea of Donne being musical to be implausible, given Donne's writing style; however, the proposition warrants consideration. In Epigram 23, Jonson expounds upon Donne's 'wit' and

⁴⁵ Trudell, p. 25.

'arts' in the plural: 'thy language, letters, arts'.⁴⁶ Jonson's separation of 'language, letters, arts' sets 'arts' apart from Donne's linguistic accomplishments. By referring to Donne as 'the delight of Phoebus' (Apollo), Jonson is referring to the 'bright' and 'pure' Greek and Roman god's multiple talents, including the lyre, as Apollo was Mount Olympus's god of music, poetry and dance. Donne, the 'delight' of 'each Muse', could refer to Donne's musical as well as poetic talent.

The only statement known to have been made by Donne in which he suggests that his lyrics be set to music, was his request that a hymn be set for the choir at St. Paul's, a religious, and thus acceptable collaboration. This statement was made after he was firmly established in his role as priest. It was not until Donne became Dean and was writing sacred hymns that it would have been acceptable for him to 'acknowledge' his musical talent of writing lyrics to be sung—and for Walton to exclaim proudly that he had done so. Prior to that, being known as a poet *and* musician, given the social standing of musicians in the seventeenth century, could have jeopardized his rise to Dean, exhibiting facets of Donne's personality and talent more secular than religious.

Donne's *Songs and Sonets* began to be set to music (1609-1612) prior to his ordination. To associate Donne's name with the spiritual music of hymns would have been defensible, but not so his secular lyrics of love. We might presume that by the time Donne was installed as Dean of St. Paul's (1621), and musicians continued to set his secular love poetry (1620 and after), that any circulating songs would not have been a threat to his career because he was already established in his priestly role. However, the musical settings of his love poems, and their

⁴⁶ R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 198-99.

publication in print, could have been quite an embarrassment to him, as was the continued circulation in manuscript of the poems themselves. Even men in high positions of authority, whether in the Church, at Court, or in civil society more generally, were never so secure that they did not have to worry about their reputations. Musical settings of Donne's love poems, as well as of his religious poetry and hymns, were composed and circulated while he was Dean, continued after his death, and still do to the present day. Based on the evidence herein, many of the 'Songes'/'Songs' and musical settings of Donne's poetry could have been written much earlier than previously believed and not actually recorded in manuscripts until later (explaining why the watermarks in the paper indicate a later date). The body of evidence presented casts new light on the question of whether Donne's 'Songes'/'Songs' were truly 'songs' to be sung and not just read. The evidence strongly suggests the former; that is, that Donne's 'Songes'/'Songs' should be viewed as both melodic and verbal lyrics. Trudell's 'intermediation', Holmes's 'mimesis', Larson's 'poetry as musical performance', and Lewton-Brain's poetic 'performed/aural dimension' appear to support this argument. For decades, scholars perceiving Donne as 'unmusical' have dismissed W. H. Auden's 'interesting possibility' that, for Donne, music was another outlet of self-expression. 'Donne may not have participated in musical activities as fully as did his young friend George Herbert, but it seems safe to conclude that he enjoyed, respected and understood music'.⁴⁷

Heretofore, Donne's involvement with music, and the musical settings of his poetry, have not been seriously examined or studied by scholars and critics; however, we know Donne's talent and creative gifts were enormous. If Donne wanted to learn to write music, he certainly could have and possibly did. The extent of Donne's musical ability may never be known; concrete

⁴⁷ Gaston, p. 202.

evidence may never be found of Donne writing or collaborating on music, mastering a musical instrument, or proving unequivocally that music was a ‘love’, an ‘addiction’, like the life he claimed to be ‘too much addicted to . . . naturally’.⁴⁸ Yet, it is evident that he sang and enjoyed music, for it was an important part of his life, of the lives of all those around him, and of his literary and theological canon. Although other elite men engaged with music, Donne’s involvement appears greater than the norm because ‘more examples of songs with Donne lyrics exist than of any other English poet of the period’⁴⁹ and because of the impact his lyrics seems to have had during a critical shift in the history of music. Donne’s influence is evident in the number of musical settings of his poems that were composed by the leading musicians of the day, the quantity of his poems titled ‘Songe’/‘Song’ and their placement together in multiple manuscripts of the period. Study of the textual witnesses of Donne’s poems, musical settings, and hymns sheds light on his musical acuity; it informs our understanding of the role music played in Donne’s life and the role Donne may have played in seventeenth-century music.

This thesis and the accompanying Appendices (Volume II) illustrate how Donne’s musicality appears to have been formulated from a young age, fostered at home, nurtured through relationships and shaped by experiences. His connections with the foremost composers and musicians of his time establish his association with them and with their music. Exposure to music through travel, education, Court life, the aristocracy, employment, and the church contributed to his musical development. His formative years, his musical family, his education, his time at Court in England (and abroad), his travels, his musical friends and patrons, the musical instruments in his/Ann’s home, the musical elements in his poetry and prose, his

⁴⁸ John Donne, *Selected Prose*, eds. Evelyn Simpson et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 39.

⁴⁹ Holmes, p 187.

relationships with the musicians and music at Court, at church and his writing of hymns evince Donne's relationship with music. His circle of friendships and associations with musicians and composers of Donne musical settings, personally and professionally, are too wide and too numerous to discount his musicality.⁵⁰ 'If "the real Donne" exists, he is a more flexible, more integrated individual than we have yet supposed . . .'.⁵¹

Regardless of whether Donne had anything to do with the compositional process, the fact that seventeenth-century music changed at the same time that Donne's songs were first set (evident in the stylistic changes of his composers and reflected in his musical settings) poses the questions: 'Did Donne's style of writing influence seventeenth-century music'? 'Did seventeenth-century music influence Donne'? All that can be known is that Donne was involved with both, and the confluence is likely to have changed the course of both Donne's writing and the development of music in the period to some extent, given the number of his songs. Thus far, the extent of this change, the impact of Donne's influence, is difficult to measure due to an absence of evidence of musical authorship or collaboration. Yet, Holmes argues that Donne's metre and rhyme schemes 'come into their own' when composers like Dowland and Gibbons place his 'irregularly stressed words' in 'perfect counterpoint'; Donne's writing 'suggests someone working consciously within the confines of song'.⁵² The chorus of musical references and associations that compose the lyric of his life sound a repeated refrain in his writing: Donne was more musical than has previously

⁵⁰ Anna Nora Evelyn Lewton-Brain, 'Metaphysical Music: A Study of the Musical Qualities & Contexts of the Poetry of John Donne, George Herbert, & Richard Crashaw' (unpublished doctoral thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 2021), p. 37. Lewton-Brain is unequivocal: 'I simply want to make clear that Donne is not always so unmusical as has been supposed'.

⁵¹ Frances Cruickshank, review of P. M. Oliver's *John Donne Selected Letters* (2002), *L&T*, 17, 3 (September 2003) 353-355 (p. 355).

⁵² Holmes, p. 191. Holmes asserts that Donne 'applied sub-genres of songwriting', the aubade ('Break of Day'), the lament and his own work.

been thought. This conclusion and the evidence contained herein changes our view of Donne and his writing because his musicality has never been seriously considered a part of the Donne canon. If Donne's 'Songes'/'Songs' were written as lyrics to be sung as well as read, our understanding of 'Songe' or 'Song' in manuscripts and print sources of Donne's poetry, and similar works of the period, must be revised. The early circulation of Donne's poems, and their dating, can now be considered within the context of their musical settings and the composers who wrote them. Donne's 'Songes'/'Songs', their musical settings, the musical references in his writing, the musical perspective of his theology and the performative aspects of his lyrics, establish his virtuosity and support the theory that Donne was a catalyst for change within late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century literary and musical culture. It is my hope that the evidence of Donne's musicality presented in this thesis will prompt readers and critics of Donne's poetry and prose, and his verbal and melodic lyrics in particular, to attend more closely in future to his place not only in late sixteenth-/early seventeenth-century literary culture but also in the musical culture of the period.

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¹ Add. MS 10377 referenced in Holmes was a Greek manuscript. I contacted Holmes to clarify, but he no longer has his notes. I could not find it in MS Tenbury 1018-1019, as it appears in his article, unless it is written in Italian; therefore, I cannot corroborate Holmes's finding.

² Not present in manuscript as it exists but listed in Table of Contents at the back of the manuscript.

³ Treble only; different tune and different second stanza from John Wilson.

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