

“GOVERN’D BY STOPS, AW’D BY DIVIDING NOTES”
THE FUNCTIONS OF MUSIC IN THE EXTANT REPERTORY OF THE
ADMIRAL’S MEN 1594-1621

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the functions of music in the extant repertory of a single playing company, the Admiral's Men, at their primary venues between 1594 and 1621. Music's effectiveness as a theatrical tool depends upon the presence of an audience willing and able to be affected by it. The mimetic relationship between representation in the playhouse and musical practices in the non-dramatic world allows that ability. This thesis traces the dissemination of musical behaviors and ideas to potential playgoers and offers a critical analysis of the evidence of musical performance and discourse in the repertory. Contrary to the long-standing reputation of the company as appealing primarily to a rough and rowdy audience (particularly at the first Fortune), the use of music throughout the repertory suggests the continuous presence of a socially diverse and musically literate body of theatrical patrons.

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In his edition of Henslowe's Diary, W.W. Greg points out that there "is no such thing as a clearly defined historical field; facts are linked to other facts in all directions, and investigation merely leads to further and yet further questions" (xii). The place to start looking for answers has been, and will probably always be, the library. At the Shakespeare Institute Library, Karin Brown, Kate Welch, John Settle, Kelley Costigan and Lorna Burslem have all provided indispensable scholarly help while keeping me in contact with my fellow human beings during long hours in the library. My thanks are also due to other librarians whose expertise and efforts have made this thesis possible. Clemens Gresser at the British Library, Betsy Walsh at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Calista M. Lucy, Keeper of the Archives at Dulwich College, Bob Kosovsky at the New York Public Library, Nicholas Robinson at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and Mary Robertson and Lita Garcia at the Huntington Library have all responded quickly to my queries, offered helpful suggestions, and generally pointed me in the right direction. The research that went into this thesis could not have been completed without them. My work has been facilitated by the award of School Scholarships by the University of Birmingham.

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter One:	
Approaching the Company, the Repertory, and the Music	9
Constructing Narratives: Reputation and Reception	9
On the Shoulders of Giants: Locating the Thesis	27
Speaking of Music: The Adopted Rhetoric	36
Chapter Two:	
How We Know What We Know About Music in the Repertory	46
The Company	46
The Printed Plays	53
The Plots	58
The Battle of Alcazar	63
The Manuscript Plays	73
Chapter Three:	
Music in the Social World	79
Musical Thought and Ideas about Affective Music	80
Otherworldly Music	91
Musical Annunciation	96
Musical Military Signals	103
Funeral Music	109
Wedding Music	114
Music for Courtship	117
Music for Banquets	122
Music for Hunting	126
Music and Cultural Identity	130
Chapter Four:	
Music at Work in the Repertory	146
Otherworldly Music	147
Musical Annunciation	153
Musical Military Signals	164
Funeral Music	180
Wedding Music	188
Music for Banquets	194
Music and Cultural Identity	196
Chapter Five:	
Rich Musicality: Playing at Court	214
<i>I and II Robin Hood</i>	214
<i>Fortunatus</i>	227

<i>The Shoemaker's Holiday</i>	236
<i>No Wit/Help Like a Woman's, or, The Almanac</i>	246

Chapter Six:

The Repertory Through Time:

Playing at the Rose and the Fortune	248
Playing at the Rose	248
<i>Doctor Faustus 1604</i>	249
<i>I and II Tamburlaine</i>	256
<i>Patient Grissil</i>	265
<i>The Blind Beggar of Alexandria</i>	272
Playing at the Fortune	277
<i>When You See Me, You Know Me</i>	278
<i>The Patient Man and the Honest Whore</i>	286
<i>The Roaring Girl</i>	290
<i>Doctor Faustus 1616</i>	293

Conclusion	299
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Appendix I:

The Extant Repertory 1594-1621	303
The Repertory Plays	303
Plays Not Included	319

Bibliography	323
Early Editions of Plays	323
Critical and Modern Editions of Plays	325
Manuscript Music Collections	330
Early Printed Music and Musical Literature	332
Early Printed Materials	338
Supporting Materials	344

TABLES

Table 1:
Signals in The Plot and the Quarto of *The Battle of Alcazar* following page 64

ABBREVIATIONS

- BBB Simpson, Claude M. *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*
- BL British Library
- CSPD Calendar of State Papers Domestic
- CSPV Calendar of State Papers Venetian
- DD Greg, W.W., ed. *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*
- ES Chambers, E.K. *The Elizabethan Stage*
- HD Foakes, R.A., ed. *Henslowe's Diary*
- JCS Bentley, G.E. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*
- MSR Malone Society Reprints
- NYPL New York Public Library
- RECM Ashbee, Andrew, ed. *Records of Early English Court Music*

Introduction

“Under the upper heaven nine goodly spheres/Turn with a motion ever musical,” while here on earth music offers pleasure to sovereigns’ ears and sounds in such diverse spaces as sacred places and workers’ fields.¹ That is the musical soundscape as defined by Richard while he woos his “Lady Faulconbridge” in *Look About You*. He does not make a reference to the great variety of music heard in the playhouses of the period. But musical performances and musical signals sound throughout plays performed between 1594 and 1621. Playhouse audiences, like musical performances, were “govern’d by stops, aw’d by dividing notes.”² This thesis will examine the ways that music functions in the extant repertory of a single company during the late Elizabethan and Jacobean period.

The goals of the project are threefold. The primary aim is to assemble and critically examine the evidence offered by the extant repertory of the company commonly known as the Admiral’s Men, concerning the functions of music as a theatrical tool. Simply put, this thesis asks what music does in the company’s repertory and how it does it. The attempt to address the question of how music does what it does brought about the second major aim of the thesis – to locate the origins of the musical behaviors evidenced by the repertory in the social practices of the non-dramatic world. Considering to whom these musical discourses and practices were available led to the third aim of the project. As a kind of framing device for the focus of the thesis on the functions of music in the repertory, this study seeks to rethink long-standing characterizations of the company as one that catered primarily to an

¹ Anon., *A Pleasant Comodie Called Looke About You* (London: Edward Allde for William Ferbrand, 1600) sig. H2^v; W.W. Greg ed., *Look About You* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913) 2185-2192.

² Samuel Rowley, *When You See Me, You Know Me* (London: H. Lownes for Nathaniell Butter, 1605) sig. G4^v; F.P. Wilson, ed., *When You See Me, You Know Me* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952) 2068-9.

audience of rowdy citizens. By establishing a continuity in the ways music is employed as a theatrical tool capable of carrying meaning across time and in various spaces, this project points to the equally continuous presence of a socially heterogeneous audience throughout the period.

The first chapter will situate this thesis amidst the scholarship on which it depends. The historical narrative of the company's history, studies of music in the drama of the period, and the methodology of the repertory study which gives this thesis its shape will be introduced. The chapter serves to identify this project as part performance history, part cultural history, part music history, and part repertory study. It traces the elision of the reputation of the company with that of its later home, the Fortune theatre. It looks back on the ways in which the reputation of the second Fortune theatre has influenced the critical reception of the company's repertory. The focus of both literary and music scholars on that other famous company in the period, the Chamberlain's/King's Men, has shaped the critical attention devoted to the theatrical practices of the Admiral's company. By examining this focus, the first chapter identifies the gap in the critical attention paid to the functions of music in this repertory. Having done that, the chapter establishes the critical framework of the project that will help to fill that gap.

The second chapter considers the types of evidence available and how each type ties into the thesis as a whole. The stability of company membership allows a set of musical functions and practices to be enacted throughout the repertory. The biographical evidence that indicates musical efficiency (proficiency cannot be deduced from the biographical records) of these members indicates that the company was capable of performing the musical cues called for in the extant texts. That ability, in conjunction with considerations of the musical demands of the repertory, suggests

that the company itself produced the great majority of its musical performances from within its own ranks. Those texts tied to the repertory provide the primary body of evidence about the functions of music for the company. As this project is interested in the function of music in early and original performances, the connections between the extant texts and early performance practice is explored. The unique case of *The Battle of Alcazar* is investigated. The existence of an early printed text and a later performance plot offers an excellent opportunity to look at the intersections of performance practice and textual evidence. The plot also allows for biographical considerations and questions of company personnel to come into play. These parallel texts have been considered together by others. But the reading of them here is determined by an interest in the functions of music which allows the relationship between these two texts to be considered in a unique way. The results of that reading will finally influence a look at two manuscript playbooks that can be associated with the company.

The third chapter turns to the non-dramatic world and the social musical practices that are evidenced in the repertory. From musical thought concerning the affective powers of music to associations between music and the supernatural through to the very human experiences of music in the social world, musical discourse and practices are considered for their connections to the repertory. This social history begs the question of how to define a musical practice. For this project, such brief and often noisy signals as annunciatory cues, the military employment of musical instruments for signaling purposes, and the sounds of hunting horns fall under the banner of musical moments. The use of these instruments demands musical skill though their employment in each performative moment might be very brief. An attempt is made to locate culturally specific practices within their social spheres. The ways in which

knowledge about musical practice and musical thinking are disseminated shape the music history presented in this chapter. Though it is by no means exhaustive as history in itself, it does illuminate the musical social practices reflected in the company's repertory.

The fourth chapter uses those musical social practices to shape an investigation of the function of music in the repertory as a body. Reading this chapter, key texts like *Doctor Faustus* may appear to be missing from the analysis. Those texts will be considered in the following chapters, which will trace the development of the musical repertory through time and venue. Hopefully, the division of the repertory in this way does not impede the conception of it as a unified body. Whether a play helps to establish a set of functions for which the company employs musical signals and performances, or appears in relation to considerations of a particular time and place in performance venue, each of these texts must be recognized as part of the dynamic entity that is the company's repertory. This chapter is organized to reflect the earlier discussion of musical social practice in the non-dramatic world. Due to this organizing principle, musical moments are taken out of their contextual place in their own plays so that similar social and culturally specific moments can be read together. An attempt has been made to recall the dramatic context of these disembodied cues.

The fifth chapter shifts focus from the establishment of repertory conventions to the more exceptional practices related to court performance. The texts which can be identified as having been performed for that privileged audience are examined for their musical content. *I and II Robin Hood*, *Fortunatus*, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, and *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's, or, The Almanac* are some of the most musically demanding plays for the company. The ways music works in these plays, and the

implications of those functions in determining how those moments were performed, are at the heart of this chapter.

The sixth and final chapter considers several texts, selected to offer the widest range of musical functions, in the London venues at which the company played in the period. The audiences assumed to be present at the Rose performances are the socially heterogeneous collection indicated by the scholars discussed in chapter one. The plays that represent the company's time at the first Fortune theatre engage both with musical discourses and practices which were widely available to a heterogeneous London populace, and those that are more culturally specific in their references. It is this cultural specificity of musical practice at the Fortune which leads to the conclusion that the audience of these performances was not as dominated by the citizens and lower sorts as much scholarship has assumed. The chapter is framed by considerations of the 1604 and 1616 versions of the *Doctor Faustus* saga, which allow for a particular comparison of the musical moments present in each text.

The quest for the extant texts that define this repertory began with Harbage's *Annals of English Drama* and Henslowe's records. The extant plots are documents tied to the company by the players noted therein. They are a primary source of information not just about company practices but about the company itself. For the extant printed texts, title page ascriptions to the company that are corroborated by an appearance in the Henslowe records provide the surest means of identifying a text as part of the company's repertory.

Plays which offer a relatively straightforward assignment to the repertory where Henslowe records performances or payments, a printed text appears in close proximity to these records, and the title page announces company association are: the 1604 and 1614 text of *Doctor Faustus*, *Fortunatus*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*,

The Comedy of Humors (An Humerous Day's Mirth), I and II Robin Hood, Two Angry Women of Abington, The Life of Sir John Oldcastle, Patient Grissil, The Shoemaker's Holiday (The Gentle Craft), and When You See Me, You Know Me. Plays included on the authority of Henslowe's records of the company's activity, despite lack of title page claims, or printed texts that appear outside the scope of this project are: *The Jew of Malta, The Massacre at Paris, I and II Tamburlaine, A Woman Will Have Her Will (Englishmen for My Money), The Spanish Tragedy (Jeronimo), The Tragedy of Hoffman,* and *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore.* By virtue of its prequel, *II The Honest Whore* is also included in the repertory. Plays included because of title page claims, internal or external evidence are: *Look About You, The Whore of Babylon, and The Roaring Girl.* The inclusion of texts printed before or after the period of time investigated by the project is due to the simple idea that these texts are the only witnesses we have to the performances in our period. References to certain practices which can be demonstrated as having no relation to performance between 1594 and 1621 will of course be noted. But a great majority of the musical cues evidenced by these chronologically challenging texts fall within the company's musical capabilities during our period. It will be assumed that the inclusion of a musical performance even in a late printed witness bears a connection to early performance practice, unless otherwise noted.

The texts noted above are those whose place in the repertory is secure. Challenges in identifying plays with the repertory due to disagreements with the Henslowe records are offered by the 1594 quarto of *The Battle of Alcazar*, the manuscript of *John a Kent and John a Cumber, Look About You, The Spanish Moor's Tragedy (Lust's Dominion), The Devil and His Dame (Grim, the Collier of Croydon),* the manuscript play known as "John of Bordeaux" and *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's,*

or, *The Almanac*. While every text mentioned has its own unique relation to the company's performance practices, the evidence offered by these texts (which have each suffered a bit of an identity crisis) must be taken with a grain of salt. Inclusivity is at the heart of this project. But the evidence presented by these texts must be recognized as being potentially less reliable in terms of how the company employed music.

Though the focus of this thesis is on positive evidence, part of defining the repertory involves drawing a line in the sand between what gets included and what does not. Fleay's fantastical identifications of extant plays with those in the diary have been disregarded. Subsequent suggestions that certain plays were performed by the company are less easily dismissed. *Like Will to Like, Hengist King of Kent, Four Prentices of London, The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, Edward I, Two Lamentable Tragedies, A Larum for London, Don Horatio, and Caeser and Pompey, or, Caesor's Revenge* have each at times been suggested as part of the company's repertory. Similarities in sources, subjects, structure, potential stagings, and titles have led to these identifications. The desire to connect an extant text to a reference in Henslowe is certainly understandable. However, the record of musical function in these texts is simply too questionable in terms of its relation to the repertory to provide positive evidence of the company's employment of music. The unique relations of repertory plays to the company, and the reservations about those which have been excluded are offered on a play by play basis in the Appendix.

Even within the accepted repertory, identification is still a tricky business. Talking about plays whose printed titles vary from Henslowe's references, or whose late printed texts employ a different title entirely, is a referentially complicated business. In the thesis, these plays will be referred to primarily by the names most

familiar to their early audiences. Thus, *The Shoemaker's Holiday* for Henslowe's *The Gentle Craft*, *The Spanish Tragedy* for his *Jeronimo*, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* for the play printed as *Lust's Dominion*, and so forth.

In the case of Marlowe, Dekker and Middleton plays in the repertory, references will be to the collected works of these dramatists.³ For the remaining repertory plays, modern references will be from the Malone Society Reprints, so that line numbers may be offered. When a play is the subject of an extended discussion, citations will be in parentheses in the main body of the text to avoid a copious number of repetitive footnotes. References will be to early printed materials where possible. Bible citations will be from the 1599 Geneva Bible. All dates will be given in the new style. Dates of composition and authorship attribution are based on the forthcoming catalogue of British drama by Martin Wiggins, Catherine Richardson and Mark Merry. Now that the questions of identity and reference have been addressed, we can proceed with the larger queries that shape this thesis.

³ Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987-1998); Thomas Dekker, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953-1961); Thomas Middleton, *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007); *Doctor Faustus* references will be to the Bevington and Rasmussen edition for continuity; *The Devil and His Dame* references will be to the Baillie edition as no Malone Society Reprint was available.

Chapter One

Approaching the Company, the Repertory, and the Music

This chapter will address the questions of why this company is the focus of the thesis and why the thesis takes the methodological shape that it does. It will examine how that particular methodology might be applied to re-think some long lasting characterizations about this company, their repertory, and the audiences to whom they played. It will attempt to situate this project in relation to the scholarship on which it depends. A very brief narrative of the company's history under several patrons at two venues will be offered. The elision of the company's identity and the reputation of audience sorts at the Fortune playhouse will be examined, and the implications of this reputation for the critical reception of the company's repertory by subsequent scholars considered. The focus of scholarship and criticism on the musical practices of the Chamberlain's/King's company will be traced. Finally, the critical perspective of this project will be made explicit by establishing the categories of musical function evidenced in the company's extant repertory that will shape the presentation of the thesis.

Constructing Narratives: Reputation and Reception

To write a brief history of theatre company organization during the reign of Elizabeth I is a nearly impossible feat, particularly considering the scope of a project such as this.¹ The company which would be known by a variety of names, under a variety of patrons through the period covered by this study can be traced at court, in

¹ See E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923) 2: 1-270 for narratives concerning the general histories of the major playing companies at this time. See also the *Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: British Library, 1979-present) which trace the documentary evidence of the various incarnations of these companies.

the provinces, and in London at the Theatre from 1576-7 as Lord Howard's Men, and after his appointment as the Lord High Admiral, as the Lord Admiral's Men. There seems to have been an amalgamation between this company and the Lord Strange's Men circa 1590 which continued through the shift from James Burbage's Theatre to Henslowe's Rose Theatre, in 1591.² The exact nature of the amalgamation is uncertain, as both companies continued to appear as independent entities in the provinces; even in their cooperative appearances at the Rose, leading man Edward Alleyn retained the livery of the Lord Admiral while performing under the company identified as Strange's. After the company was reconstituted following the plague closures in 1594 under the Lord Admiral's patronage, they established a company of members who enjoyed a relative stability both in terms of performance venue and company continuity over the next several years.

The daily activities of this company are uniquely documented by the diary kept by Phillip Henslowe, which provides a rich collection of evidence concerning the financial workings of the company, the nature of their repertory performances, the acquisition of playtexts, and the organization of company personnel. The challenges presented by the idiosyncrasies of Henslowe's record-keeping have been the bane of the diary's students, scholars and editors.³ It is not an inclusive record of all aspects of company management and practice. Its detail occasionally gives the impression of being one, due to the incredible amount of information which can be gleaned from its pages. But it is important to keep in mind that the evidence presented therein does not

² See Chambers ES 2: 136-9; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 233-7; and W.W. Greg, "The Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Elizabethan Stage," *Review of English Studies* 1.3 (July 1925) 259.

³ For example, W.W. Greg, ed., *Henslowe's Diary* (London: Bullen 1904) and R.A. Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

record all company activities. The absence of a mention in the diary of a specific phenomenon does not imply that that phenomenon was absent from the theatrical world. But the representation of so many of the company's practices in this document allows for the positive identification of the company's repertory in these years, which forms the basis for this project.

The diary and the related records in the archive at Dulwich mark the construction of a new theatrical space at which the company took up residence in 1600: the Fortune Theatre. The company would remain established at this venue until the fire which claimed the building in 1621.⁴ While playing at the Fortune, the company would pass through the hands of two different patrons: first Prince Henry and then the Elector Palatine. With the accession of James I to the throne after Elizabeth's death, several of the London playing companies were granted the privilege of royal patronage. This honor certainly provided these companies with a number of commercial benefits. But the hierarchical nature of the assignment of patronage to each company has had important repercussions for the history of scholarship concerned with these companies. We shall return to these repercussions below. When Henry died in 1612, his company came under the patronage of the Elector Palatine, or the Palsgrave, who married Princess Elizabeth. These shifts in patronage seem to have had little impact on the continuity of the company's make up. The grants of livery, patents, and household lists associated with both of the royal patrons indicate a core of players (with some variation due to retirements and deaths,

⁴ The company would build a new Fortune to replace the one that burned down. They continued to play at the second Fortune, but the repertory of plays in place at that new theatre fall outside of the limits of this study.

and the replacement of members lost to these and other phenomena) who remained present and active with the company through these upheavals.⁵

This core of players seems to have done well for themselves at the Fortune. They were in fact fortunate enough to be able to renew their lease of the theatre with Edward Alleyn.⁶ He was by this time retired from the stage and engaged with the affairs of The College of God's Gift at Dulwich but still involved with the company financially and socially. Bentley reads the numerous entries in Alleyn's records of meeting with company members as being concerned with the new lease. This may not be the case for all of the six entries. Dinner at the Mermaid in Bread Street with Mr. Edmonds and Mr. Bromfield, Thomas Allen and five of the Fortune company may simply have been a social gathering.⁷ But there is an increase in the frequency with which the company, or individual members of the company appear in Alleyn's records around the time of the date of this new lease. Why question Bentley's assumption (which admittedly is probably right on the money)? The reason for introducing the possibility of reinterpreting the constructed narratives that surround the company here, is to provide a transition into the following argument. In spite of the fact that we have just been engaged with constructing a very brief narrative of this company's history, it is necessary to turn a critical eye to the ways this company has been characterized at certain key moments of past criticism. These characterizations have had a lasting effect on the development of scholarship surrounding this company. The company has a reputation for playing to a citizen-based audience, and

⁵ For personnel documentation and detail see Chapter Two "The Company."

⁶ 31 October 1618. See W.W. Greg, ed., *Henslowe Papers. Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary* (London: Bullen 1907) 27.

⁷ 18 September 1618. See George F. Warner, ed., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (Dulwich: Longmans, Green and Co., 1881) 174. Also in William Young, *The History of Dulwich College* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1889) 2: 104 and G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966-8) 1: 137.

a rowdy one at that. The characterization seems to stem from the notoriety of the Fortune Theatre.

The elision of the identities of company and playhouse occurs in contemporary sources directly involved in the theatrical world through to modern scholarship and criticism. Henslowe several times contracts actors to play at his house, with no mention of the company to which they will belong. John Helle is contracted “to continue with me at my house” on 3 August 1597.⁸ Thomas Downton is bound by a similar agreement “to play [with me] in my howsse [...] & in no other about London publically” as were Charles Massey and Samuel Rowley to “play in my house & in no other house” in the same period.⁹ After the shift to the Fortune, Edward Alleyn records his social meetings with “5 of the fortune company” and business relations “with the fortune men.”¹⁰ The practice of referring to the company in terms of its playhouse continues to appear in a variety of sources in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Catherine M. Shaw refers to “the Fortune company” when discussing Middleton’s appearances in Henslowe’s diary.¹¹ R.A. Foakes mentions that “the Fortune company” regularly spent “large sums on new costumes and properties” around 1601.¹² Andrew Gurr adopts the term “the Fortune company” with some

⁸ Foakes HD 239.

⁹ Ibid. 240 and 242.

¹⁰ 18 September 1618: Warner 174, Young 2: 79; 31 October 1618: Warner 175, Young 2: 112.

¹¹ Catherine M. Shaw, ed., *The Old Law*, by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley (New York and London: Garland, 1982) xi.

¹² R.A. Foakes, “Playhouses and Players,” *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama* 2nd ed., Ed. A.R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003) 18.

frequency, referring to possible revivals of the Elect Nation plays around 1612-13 and while considering the implications of playbook ownership.¹³

This tendency to elide the company and their practices with the playhouse and its audiences problematizes later characterizations of that audience. In 1699, the audiences at the second Fortune were recalled by James Wright in his *Historia Histrionica* as “Citizens, and the meaner sort of people.”¹⁴ Wright, writing from across a fairly wide temporal gap, lists the working theatres in London before the closing, and for most of them, the companies at work therein. For the last two theatres, those northern playhouses, “the Fortune near White-cross-street, and the Red Bull at the upper end of St. John’s-street,” he does not mention the companies performing.¹⁵ Allowing the playhouse to represent the company has helped to preserve the reductive characterization of the company that played at the first Fortune which peppers the constructed narratives of theatre history.

It will be necessary to step outside the temporal boundaries of this study, to have a look at the representation of the Fortune theatre. To be more precise, we must look at the Fortune theatres and the ways those representations are echoed in the history of scholarship concerning our company. In his very useful categorizations of evidence type, Andrew Gurr notes the body of evidence which he terms

the kind of contemporary commentary which makes or implies a statement about the type of playgoer who would be regarded as a normal (or exceptional: the distinction is important) member of the audience at a particular playhouse at a particular time in its history.¹⁶

¹³ Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare’s London* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996) 170; Andrew Gurr, “Did Shakespeare Own His Own Playbooks?” *Review of English Studies* Advance Access (June 26 2008) 6.

¹⁴ James Wright, *Historia Histrionica* (London: G. Croom for William Haws, 1699) sig. B3^r.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Gurr *Playgoing* 5.

This evidential body is pertinent here. We will look not just to the contemporary characterization of the audiences, but to the reputations created for the playhouses which, in a circular fashion, have influenced thinking about who those early theatrical patrons may have been.¹⁷ The elision of playhouse reputation with the dramatic reputation of the company has been problematic for the life of the Admiral's Men in subsequent scholarship.

The second Fortune Theatre was home to a variety of performing companies in the years following the collapse of the Palsgrave's Men.¹⁸ There are numerous descriptions of the general composition of the theatrical audience in this period, but references which name the Fortune theatre as the specific site are quite rare. These references have, nonetheless, had a profound influence on the shape of the history of our company. On 16 May 1626, there was "a dangerous and great riot" at the theatre during which Francis Foster the constable and Thomas Faulkner, an "inhabitant at the Fortune Playhouse" were beaten, struck and assaulted.¹⁹ In 1628 a pamphlet was published in Amsterdam, entitled, *A Briefe Description of the notorious Life of John Lambe...which tells of the misadventures of the Doctor at the Fortune theatres*. The reference to Lambe's visit "to see a Play at the Fortune" and the description of his assailants as "the boyes of the towne and other vnruely people" is often cited as an indication of the particular types of folk present as audience members at the Fortune.²⁰ But the pamphlet is specific that it was only after the performance had commenced that the assault began. Though the boys "observed him present" it seems

¹⁷ For instance Alexander Gill's characterization of the Fortune audience as "Prentizes and Appell-wyfes." in C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1925-52) 11: 347.

¹⁸ The King and Queen of Bohemia's company, the King's Revels company, and the Red-Bull-King's players appeared at the second Fortune. See Bentley JCS 4: 160-178.

¹⁹ Bentley JCS 4: 160-1.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 160.

difficult to accept these individuals as part of the paying audience to whose tastes the repertory was shaped. The “confused manner” of the assault only truly got underway once “the common people, who follow a Hubbub” had joined when they were “once a foote.”²¹

This last description locates the action of the assault as moving away from the Fortune itself. There was distance between the violent behavior and the theatrical performance. In spite of this, the excerpt has often been cited as a way to characterize the rough nature of those assembled for the theatrical performances at the venue.

That venue is explicitly referred to again in a pamphlet, “The Last Will and Testament of the Doctors Company” which was printed in 1641 and states

Item, I will and bequeath all my large Books of Acts, to them of the Fortune Play-House...in regard they want good action. All my great Books of Acts to be divided between the Fortune and the Bull; for they spoil many a good Play for want of Action.²²

There is an implicit criticism about the audience present in the theatre which allows (and indeed continues to support) the kind of performances to which Overton gestures. It is simple to see how scholars down the line could use a critique like this to support the characterizations of the audiences at the Fortune as being rather less than discriminating. This judgment leads to the assumption of an homogeneous audience which was less fashionable, less well educated, and hence members of that meaner sort so apt to cause troubles in the theatre like the 1626 affray.

In the same year in which Overton’s pamphlet was published, the curate of St. Giles Cripplegate, Timothy Hutton, got into trouble because he would not leave the

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. 173. The pamphlet is assumed to be anonymous in H.E. Rollins, “A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama,” *Studies in Philology* 18.3 (July 1921) 270 and Bentley JCS 4: 173. Don Wolfe argues that it is the work of Richard Overton in Don Wolfe, “Unsigned Pamphlet of Richard Overton: 1641-1649,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 21.2 (1958) 182.

theatre before a performance at the Fortune had finished. He was needed during the course of an unidentified play to officiate at the funeral services for one of his flock, but preferred to remain at the theatre until the end of the performance.²³ The indication that a member of the clergy was a patron of a Fortune performance is surely a rich piece of positive evidence when it comes to establishing the breadth of social position occupied by patrons of the playhouse. It is unfortunate however that the behavior of this particular clergyman at that particular performance might also be read as an indication of the moral decrepitude that provided fodder for the earlier generation of antitheatricalists. The distinctly unholy actions of this curate do little to dissuade later scholars of notions about the improprieties of the audiences at the later Fortune.

With the closing of theatres following closely on these 1641 references to the Fortune, explicit mentions of the playhouse might be expected to cease. But the illegal continuation of playing is documented by the notices which record raids of these illicit performances by the authorities. The Fortune and its players are indicated in the pamphlet, *The Perfect Weekly Account* from 27 September – 4 October 1643 as having been “oftentimes complained of, and prohibited in the acting of wanton and licentious Playes.”²⁴ The characterization of these performances can be read in several ways. The description may be due to the nature of the source. In the period following the closure of the theatre, the company line may have been that all theatrical activity could be called wanton and licentious. On the other hand the connection to the Fortune may implicate a certain “sort” of audience. The Fortune audience was thought to be composed of the likes of the seamen who assaulted Francis Faulkner,

²³ City of London, “The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Dr. Fuller...and Timothe Hutton,” (London, 1641) Thomason Tracts 31:E.175 [1].

²⁴ Bentley JCS 4: 174.

the pursuant mob that followed Dr Lambe, and the cronies of the curate Timothy Hutton who could then be read as being appreciative of such performances. It is the logic of connections like these that connect the history of the second Fortune theatre to the history of the Fortune inhabited by our company. These assumptions do not stand up to any real questioning. However, on the surface they resonate with Alexander Leggatt's description of the Red Bull and second Fortune audiences as "a rough, stubborn and vital element in the history of the English theatre."²⁵ The vitality of this audience is not being challenged here, just the ways in which their characterization has come to influence the critical history of that company with whom they are so often associated.

It now follows that we should come back to the Fortune theatre that plays such an important role in this project. Phillip Gawdy's letter from 1602 concerning the raids of all London playhouses to press those present into military service reports that "they did not only press gentlemen, and servingmen, but Lawyers, clerks, country men that had law causes, aye the Queen's men, knights, and as it was credibly reported one Earle, quite contrary to that the council and especially my L. Chief Justice intended."²⁶ The Fortune is implied as being raided that day. Gawdy's report is both limiting and inspiring in the questions it begs and the evidence it presents. Of primary interest for this study is the diversity of the professional identifications which Gawdy's witness offers. Specific contemporary allusions to the Fortune theatre,

²⁵ Alexander Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1992) 5.

²⁶ Philip Gawdy, *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to various members of his family, 1579-1616* Ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1906) 120-1.

however, seem to take note only of the rougher and rowdier members of its audience.²⁷

The earliest suggestion we have of a particular individual present at the Fortune performances, however, are implied by the commonplace book kept by Edward Pudsey. He was a “Jacobean gentleman”²⁸ and “enthusiastic playgoer”²⁹ who recorded extracts from several of the play’s from the company’s extant repertory in the last years of Elizabeth’s life, and the early years of James I.³⁰ The nature of these records, with their misquotations, suggest that Pudsey was transcribing either while at the playhouse performances, or shortly thereafter. The breadth of his citations (from Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Jonson to Sidney and Bacon) suggest that he was an attentive playgoer, and a well educated, well-read man. His presence at the Fortune in its early years suggests an audience more diverse than the troublesome bunch indicated in later documents. The presence of another gentleman, in this case a member of the nobility, is established by a journal entry dated 14 September 1602, which describes Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin Pomerania, visiting the Fortune theatre.³¹ Though this journal is often cited by theatre historians, it is generally taken to be a rather great exception to the rule in considering the possible composition of the Fortune audience.

²⁷ For contemporary references to the company’s earlier venue, the Rose theatre, see Chambers ES 2: 361-2, and Carol Rutter, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) 103 and 184.

²⁸ Virginia Mason Vaughan, Untitled Review (Arden Shakespeare *Othello*) *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51.4 (2000): 480.

²⁹ E.A.J. Honigmann and Susan Brock eds., *Playhouse Wills 1558-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) ix.

³⁰ Pudsey recorded these extracts in his commonplace book which is now Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS Eng. Poet. d.3; also see Juliet Mary Gowan, “An Edition of Edward Pudsey’s Commonplace Book (c.1600-1615) from the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library,” M.Phil thesis, University of London, 1967.

³¹ Frederic Gerschow, ed., “Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the year 1602,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* n.s. 6 (1892): 29.

Thomas Dekker provides two rich descriptions of a very diverse possible playhouse audience in 1609 in his *Gull's Hornbook*:

if any man, woman, or child, be he lord, be he loon, be he courtier, be he carter, of the inns o'court, or inns of city...or if any person aforesaid...haunting theatres, he may sit there like a popinjay, only to learn his play-speeches³²

and

that your carman and tinker claim as strong a voice in their sufferage and sit to give judgement on the play's life and death, as well as the proudest Momus among the tribe of critics[.]³³

Dekker does not mention explicitly what sorts of theatre his gallants might be going to. But the range of professions he alludes to (even satirically) indicate that this guide to behaviours has its focus the public theatres in London at this time. Dekker's involvement with the company also suggests that if he is speaking from personal experience about the audiences he describes then it is likely that these descriptions reflect the audiences of the Fortune circa 1609. These records of the early years at the Fortune seem to reflect a very diverse audience. But there seems to be a shift in the reputation of the theatre, of the theatrical fare on offer (and through implication, the tastes of the audiences for whom the repertory was created) in the later years.

An epigram in John Heath's 1610 collection indicates that the "judicious" theatre patron would undoubtedly find worthwhile performances at the Globe.³⁴ But for Heath, when it comes to the Fortune, the prospects of finding a play "worth his cognizance" was a possibility left to chance.³⁵ The audience hungry for the dodgy repertory implied by Heath has often been pegged down by theatre historians by

³² Thomas Dekker, *The Gull's Hornbook* (London: R.S., 1609) sig. A2^r

³³ Ibid. C2^r

³⁴ John Heath, *Two Centuries of Epigrammes* (London: John Windet, 1610) sig. E3^r.

³⁵ Ibid. E3^v.

instances like Mary Frith's appearance at the theatre, and her subsequent punishment in 1612 for lewd behavior.³⁶ The description of the Fortune in association with "disorderly & licentious places in this City" and of Moll's "immodest & lascivious" behavior as a member of its audience has been held up as an example of the kind of playgoing behaviors which could be expected from the Fortune audience.³⁷

Bad behavior does seem to have been the order of the day following the performances of plays at the Fortune. The often cited Order for the "suppressing of Jigs at the end of Plays" names the Fortune in Golding Lane as the primary site of the behavior which was capable of disturbing His Majesty's peace.³⁸ Similar rowdiness at the Fortune is recorded in reports of an affray in 1611, in which "certain gentlemen at the Play House called the the Fortune" were abused, and on 5 June 1613, when Richard Bradley assaulted "Nicholas Bestney junior gentleman."³⁹ These incidents document the often violent actions which surrounded actual performances at the Fortune.⁴⁰ What they also record, and what often is left unstated (surely not unknown) is the fact that by their documentation of social struggle, they imply the presence both of the meaner sorts who engage in the violent activity, and whose punishment

³⁶ 27 Jan 1611: Consistory of London Correction Book. Reprinted in Bentley JCS 6: 147-8 and Cyrus Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker"* Edited by Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1980) 3: 1.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ John Cordy Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records* (London: Middlesex County Record Society 1886-92) 2: 82, also reprinted in Bentley JCS 6: 146. For the strong characterizations of jigs themselves as ribald and bawdy, see Charles Read Baskerville, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1929).

³⁹ Jeaffreson 2: 71, Bentley JCS 6: 148; Jeaffreson 2: 88, Bentley JCS 6: 148.

⁴⁰ See Leggatt *Jacobean* 19 for a brief discussion of the relationship between the jig, the participants in the violent behaviors documented, and the draw of the play itself.

provides the record of the incident, and the gentleman whose misfortune it was to be abused at the theatre.

Those present at the Fortune are mocked in Thomas Tomkis' 1615 academic play *Albumazar*. Both the Fortune and Red Bull audiences get a nod when a rustic clown, Trincalo, plans to woo his mistress: "then will I confound her with compliments drawn from the Plays I see at the Fortune and Red Bull, where I learn all the words I speak and understand not."⁴¹ This seemingly dismissive reference to the Fortune repertory works at many levels. On the surface is the fact that this laughable rustic identifies himself as a member of the audience at the Fortune. Stepping outside the world enclosed by this academic play, there is the implication that its audience of young intellectuals and courtiers could appreciate the humor of that reference and identification. We cannot say that this particular group of students attended either the Fortune or the Red Bull. But we can infer that amongst their cultural group there were members who did attend those theatres often enough to possess the familiarity with those venues on which the joke depends. There is also the veiled comment on the types of plays being consumed by the Fortune audiences. Rather than the spectacular military variety of plays so often associated with this playhouse Trincalo apparently finds in the Fortune repertory the means by which to woo his lady. This challenges received notions about the repertory of our company at the Fortune, and the "growing distinction between the fare offered and therefore presumably the audience of the playhouses to the North of the City, the Fortune and the Red Bull, which offered a diet of heroic spectacles."⁴²

⁴¹ Thomas Tomkis, *Albumazar* (London: Nicholas Okes for Walter Burr, 1615) sig. C4^v-D1^r.

⁴² Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982) 46-7.

We will return once again to the presence of the more privileged members of the audience at the theatre with one of the last, oft-cited explicit reference to the Fortune. The letters of John Chamberlain record the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar's visit to the Fortune, who, "with his whole trains he went to a common play at the Fortune in Golding-lane, and the players (not to be overcome with curtesie) made him a banquet when the play was done in the garden adjoining."⁴³ His presence at the theatre is supported by an entry in Edward Alleyn's diary in which he records that he "dined with the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar."⁴⁴ This is one of the last known references to the theatre; several months later, the Fortune burned down, taking the "apparel and play-bokes" of the company with it.⁴⁵ Andrew Gurr mistakenly assigns this visit of the Ambassador to the "newly rebuilt Fortune."⁴⁶ This misrepresentation goes a long way towards indicating the ways in which the history of the two Fortune theatres is bound up. But the visit of the Ambassador belongs to the first Fortune, and indicates the actual diversity of possible audience members at the theatre. The challenge then, is to look more closely at the actual means by which classifications of this audience have been attempted.

The three most influential studies devoted to the task of classifying the audiences of the early modern playhouses are Alfred Harbage's *Shakespeare's Audience* (1941), Ann Jennalie Cook's *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London 1576-1642* (1981), and Andrew Gurr's *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (1987). Harbage's study represents work highly influenced by the political climate of

⁴³ John Chamberlain, *Letters of John Chamberlain* Ed. Norman McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The America Philosophical Society, 1939) 2: 391.

⁴⁴ Young 2: 225.

⁴⁵ Chamberlain 2: 415. Edward Alleyn's record of this fire is in Young 2: 225.

⁴⁶ Gurr *Playgoing* 71. John Chamberlain dates his letter describing Gondomar's visit 21 July 1621. The Fortune burned on 9 December 1621. Gondomar must have visited the first Fortune, as the second had yet to be built.

his day. He supported the view of early modern drama as populist, and Shakespeare particularly as a dramatist able to create a universal language which would speak to a diverse audience. Harbage conjectured that this audience was composed primarily, though not exclusively, of London's artisan population. He continued this line of inquiry and focused its application with his publication in 1952 of *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions*. In this work, Harbage delineated a narrative which divided Shakespeare and the audiences of the middling and meaner sorts at public amphitheatres, from the "coterie" dramatists who wrote for the boy companies at the hall theatres. He places a wealthy educated audience with a taste for self-conscious theatricality and biting satire at the hall theatres. Andrew Gurr summarizes Harbage's conjecture succinctly:

Once the boy companies fully established themselves at the hall playhouses in 1600 they developed a distinct repertoire of new plays while the amphitheatre companies in the main clung to the old favourites such as *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Faustus*. When Shakespeare's company acquired the Blackfriars from the boys in 1609 they too developed a courtier repertoire and perpetuated the division, so that the halls played for courtiers and the gentry while the amphitheatres played for citizens.⁴⁷

This recalling of Harbage's narrative is useful for the way it illustrates the ties of the company's reputation to its citizen audience. But Harbage himself is quick to point out that the Admiral's Men "however much they have been used in modern times for odious comparisons [with Shakespeare's company, the Chamberlain's Men], were a first-rate company."⁴⁸ Perhaps Harbage's appreciation of the Admiral's Men as a company stems from his own association between the company and the audience of the middling and meaner sorts. Harbage's desire to open the early modern audience

⁴⁷ Gurr *Playgoing* 85.

⁴⁸ Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941) 36.

up to include those “sturdy artisans” was a reaction to the Victorian characterization of the works of Shakespeare.⁴⁹ Harbage’s predecessors saw Shakespeare’s drama as the epitome of high art, removed from citizens and servingmen, and certainly from the odious idea that Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre was the product of a commercial system. It is this characterization of the theatrical world which allowed Fleay to describe Philip Henslowe as, “an illiterate moneyed man...who regarded art as a subject for exploitation and was alike ignorant of stage management and dramatic literature” who managed to keep “his actors in subservience and his poets in constant need by one simple method, viz, by lending them money and never allowing their debt to be paid off.”⁵⁰ Victorian critics like Fleay and Boas did much to establish the cult of Shakespeare, often allowing their moral judgements concerning the place of art to influence their constructions of theatre history.

Harbage’s work is also very much bound by its own political moment. The focus on celebrating Shakespeare’s ability to speak to a universal audience, as well as the impositions of value made by discussing that audience in loaded critical terminology like “working class,” make it a problematic though seminal work of scholarship.⁵¹ Ann Jennalie Cook presented her first challenge to Harbage’s theory by means of highlighting the problems of his methodology, in a *Shakespeare Studies* article in 1974. The book that followed, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare’s*

⁴⁹ Ann Jennalie Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare’s London 1576-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 10.

⁵⁰ F.G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642* (London: Reeves and Turner 1891) 1: 117. Obviously and happily the particular reception of Henslowe in his dealings with our company has been massively overhauled in large part thanks to the work of Foakes and Rickert and the recent works of scholars like R. Knutson, to whom we will return below.

⁵¹ Harbage *Audience* 90; S.P. Cerasano considers some of the problems presented by this text, and the numerous questions that it inspires in S.P. Cerasano. “Must the Devil Appear?: Audiences, Actors, Stage Business,” in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*. Ed Arthur Kinney (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers 2002) 193-211.

London 1576-1642, reconstructs the audiences of the early modern playhouses as being composed primarily of a more influential elite group than Harbage had argued for. Cook comments on the influence of Harbage by citing Bentley's work:

Like most subsequent scholars, G.E. Bentley followed Harbage's lead. His massive and masterful *Jacobean and Caroline Stage* is filled with the references to the aristocratic audiences at Blackfriars or the Phoenix and the vulgar audiences at the Fortune or Red Bull.⁵²

It is evident from the citations within citations which are defining this extraordinarily brief survey, that one of the issues at stake in constructing a classified audience for the drama in the period is the means by which historical narratives are constructed through reference and conversations between scholars. Cook's argument rests on evidence which is structurally quite similar to that utilized by Harbage: demographics, extant references to playgoing practices, and internal evidence in the form of commentary from dramatic playtexts. She is more explicit about her own role as a critical narrator, when arguing that "Heterogeneous spectators – or aristocratic spectators, depending upon the point of view – produce great drama, while the opposite sort of audience produces lascivious decadence or drum-and-trumpet trash – again, depending on the point of view."⁵³ The heterogeneity of the audience is an idea to which both scholars have returned, both being unwilling and indeed unable to propose where a clean break in the demographics of audience construction should fall. The conclusions reached about these elusive audiences is that we may never be able to pin them down to specific stable categories or classifications. But the reputation of that audience has helped to shape the ways in which the company has been perceived, and for a long time the amount of critical attention scholars were

⁵² Cook *Privileged Playgoers* 5. Bentley makes available the evidence of the privileged audiences as well.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 7.

willing to devote to the plays which defined its repertory. What other factors, then, have played into the constructions of a theatrical history that positions our company as always playing second fiddle to that other great company with whom they settled into London in 1594?

On the Shoulders of Giants: Locating the Thesis

The organization of the history of early modern theatre into groupings by company has shaped the development of scholarship in this area for the better part of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (thus far). The seminal works of E.K. Chambers and G.E. Bentley amply demonstrated the usefulness of narrative accounts of the development of playing companies at work in their respective time period. The publications of Roslyn Knutson, Andrew Gurr, and McMillin and MacLean have focused accounts on the adult companies. Studies of the particular histories and developments of the children's companies have been produced by Michael Shapiro, Reavley Gair, and Lucy Munro. The shift away from the subjectivity evident in the scholarship of early historians like Furnivall and Fleay towards the objectivism claimed as a goal by Chambers has undeniably influenced the shape of the narrative which followed (and so often cited) Chambers' monumental volumes.⁵⁴ For the purpose of this project, it is not the construction of a narrative which presents the problem. It is the ways in which those narratives have privileged the position of Shakespeare and his company, and the ways in which that privilege has left gaps in the distribution of critical attention. Knutson has this to say about the development of

⁵⁴ For a survey of the history and the consequences of the construction of narrative histories, see William Ingram, *The Business of Playing: the Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theater in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992) 1-63.

these narrative accounts and their implications for the reception of repertories not produced by William Shakespeare:

Virtually from the start of historical studies of Elizabethan drama, the perspective of scholars on the activities of the Chamberlain's Men for the years of Shakespeare's career has been shaped by certain assumptions about the quality of the various companies and the nature of the competition they carried on.⁵⁵

Perhaps the most powerful work in assigning a secondary place to the Admiral's Men came in the early work of R.B. Sharpe, *The Real War of the Theatres*. With this publication, which offers a chronological study of the repertories of both companies in terms of a strong commercial rivalry fired by a fierce political division between them, Sharpe cemented the characterization of the company as occupying a sub-par position in relation to the Chamberlain's/King's company. His focus on the political machinations at court, and what he sees as the "stultifying influence of Henslowe and his policies," which shaped the repertory leads him to see the interactions between the two companies as favoring the Chamberlain's Men both politically and artistically.⁵⁶ These political highs and lows also have their role in defining the place of the Admiral's/Prince's Men as secondary to the company which would become the King's. The very fact that, when the major London companies fell under royal patronage, the company formerly known as the Admiral's came under the patronage of the young Prince Henry while their "rivals" were granted the privilege of the King's patronage has had grave implications for our company's later scholarly reception. The King's Men were granted more opportunities for court performance after their adoption by their royal patron. In the course of James' reign they moved

⁵⁵ Roslyn Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991) 2.

⁵⁶ R.B. Sharpe, *The Real War of the Theaters: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594-1603* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935) 239.

into a different kind of performance space in the Blackfriars which allowed them to broaden their repertory to accommodate the particular opportunities afforded by this space. If we accept the received wisdom that as these hall theatres, “charged higher prices, prided themselves on a more select clientele, and offered a more sophisticated type of drama,” the King’s company also had more opportunity to produce what Alexander Leggatt has termed, “the plays that generate theses, books, and articles, reading lists in the universities, and productions in modern theatre.”⁵⁷

That Shakespeare and his company occupy a privileged position in the history of theatre scholarship is surely not to be challenged; the questions of how that privilege was constructed and why it is perpetuated fall outside the limit of this project. But the prominence of the Shakespeare canon is demonstrated by the amount of scholarly attention devoted to the presence, use, function, performance, production and reproduction of music in that canon. Accounting for the place of music in the Elizabethan and Jacobean worldview and the cultural position of music in that world, has been admirably undertaken by many.⁵⁸ The focus on the music associated particularly with the theatre of this period has been dominated by works concerned with the presence of music and musical allusions in Shakespeare’s canon.

Partly this has to do with the idea expressed by Elson as early as 1901, that “Shakespeare’s musical allusions were intended, not for musicians only, but for all

⁵⁷ Leggatt *Jacobean* 1.

⁵⁸ See Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1600*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1970), David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: Dent, 1985), Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), and for broadly cultural terms see Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1999); See the bibliography for more titles.

the world.”⁵⁹ The publication of J.S. Manifold’s study, *The Music in English Drama: from Shakespeare to Purcell* commenced what could be termed an explosion in critical interest in the connections between Shakespeare’s drama and the use of music, which lasted for approximately twenty years. John Cutts published the findings of his PhD dissertation as *La Musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare* in 1959. The monumental studies of F.W. Sternfeld and Peter J. Seng followed suit.⁶⁰ Important books and essays by Stevens and Long populate this era, all driven by a focus on the musical life of Shakespeare in his drama.⁶¹ In recent years Gooch and Thatcher’s *Shakespeare Music Catalogue* has traced the afterlives of Shakespeare’s music in an incredible variety of ways. Ross Duffin’s *Shakespeare’s Songbook* has offered a collection of the known surviving contemporary and near contemporary settings for the songs in Shakespeare’s plays. Christopher R. Wilson and Michela Calore have published an Athlone series dictionary, *Shakespeare in Music*. David Lindley’s introduction to the subject, *Shakespeare and Music*, and his edition of *The Tempest* have refocused attention on the importance of music as a dramatic tool in Shakespeare’s repertory. There are scholars who have considered the music in the wider world, other repertories and other dramatists.⁶² However, the scholarly focus on Shakespeare’s works is palpable. The hierarchical reception and reputation of other companies is partly a reason for this. But most importantly, there is the fact that the

⁵⁹ Louis Charles Elson, *Shakespeare in Music: A Collation of the Chief Musical Allusions in the Plays of Shakespeare* (London: D. Nutt, 1901) Preface.

⁶⁰ F.W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1963); Peter J. Seng, *The vocal songs in the plays of Shakespeare: A Critical History* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1967).

⁶¹ see Bibliography for titles.

⁶² For example, see Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon 1980); Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach 1992) and Jessie Ann Owens, ed., “*Noyses, sounds and sweet aires*” *Music in Early Modern England* (Washington D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006).

extant repertory of the Chamberlain's/King's company does display a richer and more constant employment of music than do the repertories of other adult companies of the period. They had the ability to play at two houses with two very different playing spaces. They spent more time performing at court, for an audience of the highest social standing, than any other company.⁶³ Through their time at court and their interactions both with the wealthy courtiers and the musicians who were their fellow servants, this company was afforded not only the opportunity to perform a rich body of music, but to have that body of performed music preserved. Whether in manuscript or print, the act of writing music down provides a means for the reproduction of a chronologically fleeting aural experience to be captured in a form that at least has the potential to survive the passage of time. The music which has survived is, in general, the music which caters to the taste of the wealthy sorts. Those privileged individuals who could afford to hire private tutors to copy music from which to teach, who could afford to acquire the musical skills necessary to produce a musical commonplace book, who could afford to position themselves as patrons of the arts, were the lovers of the manuscript and print music which has come down to us. But what of the tradesmen's songs, the ballad hawkers' melodies, the music of the town waits? What of the music that was so often left off the page and in the fleeting chronological experience that is a sung song? In the recent past this music has been marginalized, largely due to the lack of textual evidence available to scholars of early music, who have access only to that body of music produced in the context of the tastes and preferences of the wealthier sorts, both in manuscript form and in print. It is the prevalence of surviving musical settings which can be associated with early

⁶³ See Chambers ES 4: 75-130; Malone Society, *Collections VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961) 1-89 and Yoshiko Kawachi, *Calendar of English Renaissance Drama 1558-1642* (New York and London: Garland, 1986).

(though often not original) performances of Shakespeare's plays, and the exciting nature of the information which these collections offer, which have inspired so many scholars to pursue Shakespeare's use of music with such passion and vigor. That pursuit, though, has left gaps in the possible picture of theatrical life in London in the last years of Elizabeth's and the first of James' reign. Though this study certainly cannot fill them all, the focus of this thesis is on making one of them less of a hole. By adopting a very specific methodology, that of the repertory study, in a very specific kind of way, by focusing on a single set of dramatic practices, this gap will be addressed.

With the work of McMillin and MacLean, Roslyn Knutson, Mary Bly, and Lucy Munro, there has been a marked shift away from considerations of early modern drama in author-centric terms. The theoretical apparatus of this project is largely defined by the scope of the repertory studies undertaken by these scholars. Munro points out that

Recently [...] it has become an increasingly attractive option for literary critics, due, at least in part, to the post-structuralist uncertainty regarding the place of the author.⁶⁴

The move away from the author has instigated a shift from single-source intentionality, from the semantic shorthand of invoking a (relatively) familiar biography to gesture towards literary and historical context, and from the hierarchy inherently imposed on the dramatic texts assigned to specific playwrights. This shift allows for a necessary broadening in the ways we are able to think about the production of early modern drama. Though due in part to the uncertainty produced by theorists like Derrida and Foucault about the role of the writer in the authorship of a

⁶⁴ Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: a Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 3.

play, the move towards a more collaborative view of the production of theatrical texts also takes into account recent thinking about the processes of production at work in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean theatrical community. Recognition of the roles of the multiple parties involved in the production of plays on both the page and the stage, from patrons, audiences, playhouse functionaries, actors, shareholders, playwrights, censors, and publishers allows a view of that theatrical world as a space in which collaboration dominates. In this project the collaborative community is seen as responsible for the creation of each of the musically performative moments that populate the company's extant repertory.

Roslyn Knutson notes that in "the climate of recent theoretical movements that emphasize the cultural context of play, theatre historians are looking within and across lines of company ownership" and that "a knowledge of the repertory enables us to consider ways in which plays apparently related by subject matter and chronology (not by dramatist and company) provide insight into values and attitudes in early modern England."⁶⁵ Knutson's conception of the ways in which to use the repertory approach champions the comparative study of the repertories of various companies. This project focuses on the development of a single repertory by a single company. However, Knutson's idea that the repertories of these companies provide particular types of insight into the sociohistorical context of a play's production provides an impetus for this methodology.

The nature of the repertory as a body of performances produced by a company defined by its membership allows for a supposition of a set of theatrical practices which may have remained as constant as the players who performed them. The pace at which new plays were introduced into the repertories of the adult professional

⁶⁵ Roslyn Knutson, "The Repertory," *A New History of Early English Drama* ed. John D. Cox and David Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) 472.

companies from 1594 onwards, and the diversity of plays in performance (both new and old) at any given time seems to indicate the possibility that each company would have in place a set of performance conventions which would carry through the repertory.⁶⁶ This would facilitate the speedy production of new plays and the revival of old hits which define the performance repertories of the adult companies at this time. These conventions could have provided the company with a commonly held vocabulary of means by which to create dramatic effects. If within the company there was an established use of certain dramatic signifiers to achieve a similar effect in a consistent manner over time, then the company's ability to rely on that particular type of signifier would be an efficient means of achieving the desired effect. Once the function of the dramatic signifier had been established, the company of players could employ that signifier to similar effect over and over again. This recycling of dramatic implication across the repertory would lessen the need to create new signifiers with every production and reproduction of a play. It seems reasonable to assume that the fast-paced production evidenced by the repertories of the adult professional companies could only have been aided by any set of practices that lessened the need for the players to reinvent the practical procedures by which the plays were produced. Focusing on the extant repertory of a single company allows for a close investigation of the evidence which highlights the continuous way music was used by that company over time and in different venues. By using the company as the constant figure the shifts in these performance practices can be examined as represented by the texts which define the company's extant repertory.

⁶⁶ For a detailed analysis of the performance schedule of the Admiral's Men, see Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 88-115.

The full extent of this company-specific set of theatrical tools is large enough to far exceed the limits of this project. Rather, taking as a model Mary Bly's study, which examines "Whitefriars plays in tandem with the known facts concerning the company for which they were written...to historicize the creative process," this project takes as its focus the function of music in the company's repertory.⁶⁷ It is a move which takes the idea of the repertory study back to what might be seen as its simplest application: tracing the arc of a single phenomenon within the extant repertory of a single company. There is a cyclic relationship between the performance practices which help to define a playing company, the company association which defines a repertory, and the practice of performing a large number of plays in a repertory fashion which is aided by an established set of performance practices. But this cycle of creation and production is not a closed one. In considering the establishment of musical function, there is also the influence of the world outside of the theatre to contend with, the non-dramatic world in which these plays were produced.

Speaking of Music: The Adopted Rhetoric

The musical social practices of the non-dramatic world provide a set of culturally specific behaviors for the company to reference, engage with, mimic, reflect, invoke and challenge. The mimetic function of music in the drama of the period in general creates a site in which the diegetic world of the drama reflects the discourses surrounding music in the non-dramatic world. This intersection allows for the production of dramatic meaning. John Stevens characterized this function of

⁶⁷ Mary Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queens on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 3.

music as “part of the Imitation which constitutes a play.”⁶⁸ He goes on to offer an example of the employment of the flourish which “simply reproduced on the stage, as part of the dramatic imitation the traditional pomp and ceremony pertaining to a kind in real life.”⁶⁹ This view of the function of music as being simply imitative certainly speaks to one of the ways in which music is employed. But there is a more complex relation between the mimesis produced by imitation and the metonymic use of music as signifier which situates meaning. The flourishes produced on the stage reflect the use of such signals by a corps of trumpeters at the Tudor and Stuart Courts.⁷⁰ Through this mimesis, the performance of a flourish also functions symbolically, as a signifier of the representation of a specific character or space type.

In addition to these mimetic and metonymic functions of music in the drama of the period, a performative site is also created in a musical moment for the sensual appreciation of that performance in its own right by the playhouse audience. The auditory attentiveness developed in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean society has been highlighted by the recent scholarship of Bruce Smith. In a world in which the oral/aural dissemination of information was at least as prevalent as the use of printed and manuscript material, where a complex rhetorical structure populates the verbal performances to which a heterogeneous audience was exposed and in which the private pursuit of musical activity has been documented within a variety of cultural subsets, the power of a musical performance to catch the attention of a playhouse audience can be read. John H. Long classifies the vocal songs which do not function

⁶⁸ John Stevens, “Shakespeare and the Music of the Elizabethan Stage,” *Shakespeare in Music* ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (New York: MacMillan, 1964) 13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ For information concerning the duties, functions and payments of this specially trained body of musicians during the period see Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* (London: Snodland, 1986-1996) vols. 4 and 6.

in a purely mimetic or a necessarily functional way, as “extraneous songs.”⁷¹ He claims that these songs were “inserted by the dramatist or the players for the sheer amusement of the audience”⁷² and goes on to indicate that this type of performance was

more prevalent in the academic and court plays than in the production of the public theaters, possibly because the latter had neither the time nor the singers necessary for songs which served no dramatic or mechanical functions in the plays.⁷³

Long’s relegation of musical performances which do not demonstrate an explicit or obvious dramatic or mechanical function to the margins of theatrical production are reductive. But his characterization of where certain sorts of musical performances could be encountered is useful here. He is right in pointing out the richer musical demands of plays written for academic and court performance. But the implication that the musical life of the adult companies at the amphitheatre playhouses was confined to performances that offer little in the way of aesthetic pleasure to their audiences is simply unfounded. His division between court and public theatre follows received notions about the sorts of audience both venues have been perceived as attracting. On closer inspection of the variety of ways music works in the repertory, and the implications about audience construction that these continuous functions carry, this reasoning does not hold up.

To consider the function of music in the extant repertory of the company, it has been necessary to arrive at a useful set of critical terms with which to discuss these functions. The framework in which this analysis is situated is derived primarily

⁷¹ John H. Long, *Shakespeare’s Use of Music: A Study of the Music and its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977) 11.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

from modern film music theory, and liberally adapted to suit the very different demands put on that framework by utilizing it to engage with late Elizabethan and early Jacobean drama. This rhetoric originates in the budding theories concerning film narrative developed in the late 1940s and 1950s by Gilbert Cohen-Seat and his fellows at The Institute of Filmology.⁷⁴ For this rhetoric to work within the boundaries of this project a great deal of adaptation has been necessary. By borrowing and adapting the language of film theory a set of terms has emerged which can be applied to adequately explore the realms in which music works in the company's extant repertory: the diegetic and the extra-diegetic.

The first and most seemingly straightforward of these function categories is the diegetic. Diegesis is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the “narrative presented by a cinematographic film or literary work; the fictional time, place, characters, and events which constitute the universe of the narrative.” In her seminal book on film music theory *Unheard Melodies*, Claudia Gorbman claims that “we may summarize and define diegesis as being the narratively implied spatiotemporal world of the actions and the characters.”⁷⁵ By extending the parameters of application beyond the cinematographic and the literary to include the performative, the conception of the diegetic world provides a critical space in which to talk about what music is doing within the fictional world. Music that works at the diegetic level produces affects and carries meaning between the fictional figures that populate the narratively demarcated world. It is performed for characters, by characters. By examining the cultural practices which are represented on the stage at the diegetic

⁷⁴ See Gilbert Cohen-Seat. *Essai sur les principes d'une philosophie du cinema*. 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958); Etienne Souriau. “La Structure de l'univers filmique de filmologie.” *Revue internationale de filmologie* 7 (1948) introduces the term “diegesis.”

⁷⁵ Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies* (London: BFI Publishing, 1987) 21.

level throughout the repertory, we see the various ways the cultural codes of musical social practice are employed by the company.

But music which is performed by characters in the playhouse crosses that narrative boundary to work its effects upon the watching and listening audience. This brings us to the discursive category that creates a site in which to deal with the function of music outside the fictional world: the extra-diegetic. Through its development, the majority of film music theory and criticism has focused on the use of music which falls outside of the diegesis. This music has been called at various points “background music,” “accompaniment,” “underscore” “soundtrack music” and more recently “non-diegetic.”⁷⁶ The music which works outside the narrative structure has been characterized as capable of providing narrative, continuity, and unity.⁷⁷ In Hollywood films it has been observed to be almost continually present throughout the diachronic unfolding of the narrative. This music in film theory is the music which affects only the audience in the cinema. In the repertory of our company, the boundary between music which functions within the diegetic world, and music that functions externally to that world is more permeable. While the diegetic figures in a film are not exposed to the extra-diegetic music provided for the cinema audience, the stage audiences in the playhouse cannot be so easily separated from the music that works upon their patrons.

The function of music in the playhouses during the period was, obviously, a very different beast to the function of music in recent cinema practice. Music was not

⁷⁶ Anahid Kassabian, *Hearing Film* (London: Routledge 2001) 51; Kathryn Marie Kalinak, *Settling the Score* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1992) 40-66; Pauline Reay, *Music in Film* (London: Wallflower 2004) 1-31; Gorbman 3; James Buhler, “Analytical and Interpretive Approaches to Film Music: Analysing Interactions of Music and Film,” *Film Music: Critical Approaches* ed. K.J. Donnelly (Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, 2001) 43.

⁷⁷ Gorbman 73.

used omnipresently to create “mood” for an audience of spectators enveloped in a bath of darkness and sound, watching a sequence of images flicker before them. While film music theory provides a discursive model for addressing the functions of music in the theatre, it is a model which must be adapted for use in this project. In the musical performances witnessed by the extant repertory the permeable aural boundaries between stage audience and playhouse audience problematizes the use of the term non-diegetic for this project. Instead, the term extra-diegetic is preferable. In the cinema, non-diegetic music which has no source in the world inscribed by the film is often experienced by the watching and listening audience. The string quartet that is heard while two lovers meet in a deserted field is aptly called non-diegetic. In our period, there is no evidence in the repertory of music being produced in the playhouse that has no ties to the diegetic world. The music that originates in the diegetic world simultaneously functions both inside and outside that narrative world. It is the way music works outside of the diegesis while still being a part of that fictional world which is its extra-diegetic function. Music’s ability to permeate boundaries is pointed out by Gorbman, who notes

the only element of filmic discourse that appears extensively in nondiegetic as well as diegetic contexts, and often freely crosses the boundary in between, is music. Once we understand the flexibility that music enjoys with respect to the film’s diegesis, we begin to recognize how many different kinds of functions it can have; temporal, spatial, dramatic, structural, denotative, connotative – both in the diachronic flow of a film, and at various interpretive levels simultaneously.⁷⁸

The abilities of music to cross boundaries between the diegetic world and the non-diegetic, and to function at multiple interpretive levels, sets the parameters of its extra-diegetic functions in the repertory. But a means of discussing those functions must also be established. Though attempting to classify such functions is necessarily a

⁷⁸ Gorbman 22.

reductive move, it does aid in attempting to identify the continuity of musical function. In extremely broad terms the ways in which music works in the repertory can be said to fall into four categories. Though these categorizations constantly interact and overlap, they provide a means of organizing the following examinations of many musical moments preserved in the repertory. These classifications have been very specifically chosen to address the questions and queries which define this project. They are not universal or exhaustive. But they do facilitate the unfolding of this study. Music in the extant repertory can be categorized by its creative, structural, pragmatic, and interactive functions.

The broadest and most complex of these musical function categories is the creative. Under this banner fall the many ways in which musical cues serve to create, define, and enforce the illusion of a coherent diegetic world. This category contains the most classically cited functions of music in the repertory. Documenting that the company employs musical signals to denote political power, military action, social standing, professional ability and even emotional state is by no means an original recognition. When these functions are engaged with in this study it is in terms of the ways such signification is enabled through a process of mimesis. Music in the repertory participates in a reflective relationship with musical social practices in the non-dramatic world. It aids the definition of the social and spatial constructions of the fictional world of each play. In relation to the construction of that social world, musical performances often function to signify the specific cultural identities of the characters that populate the diegesis. National, religious, gender, and socio-economic identities are signified by a variety of musical practices. The means by which such signification is accomplished is a process that will be examined closely in relation to contextual occurrences in the repertory. In addition to identifying characters in the

social world of the play, music also participates in the creation and definition of the spatial limits of that fictional world. Again through a mimetic relationship with the non-dramatic world, music in the repertory is able to invent and re-invent the playing space as a specific dramatic locale. In addition to such local definition, the use of musical performances and aural cues also serves to widen the boundaries of the diegetic world beyond the limited space of the extra-diegetic audience's visual field. Music sounded from unseen locations allows for the diegetic world to include spaces and places which cannot be contained by the playhouse.

The physical features of the playhouse may seem to be the focus of the second function category, but are not. For this project, the structural functions of music in the repertory have to do with those musical performances that affect how the shape of the narrative is constructed and enacted. The relatively simple applications of this structural function appear in those musical cues which instigate actions that allow the plot to unfold and those that provide a narrative gloss for unseen action. Musical performances are also used by the company to flag important plot-related developments in certain plays. The structural function also includes those musical moments which serve to mark particular types of shift and change. Often serving as a sort of aural barrier, music in the repertory marks changes in physical setting, dramatic tone, and narrative mode. Musical performances and signals often flag the transition from narrative techniques like a framing device or an allegorical appearance into the main narrative of the dramatic action. Related to this practice dedicated to the extra-diegetic audience is the use of musical cues to mark similar shifts within the diegesis. Performances embedded in the diegetic world, from disguises adopted by characters to simple set-pieces like musical serenades through to more formal entertainments like banqueting, dancing, and the presentation of performances to a

stage audience are very commonly introduced and delineated by musical signals. By highlighting the artifice of these embedded performances, the musical cues that mark them highlight their structural complexity in relation to the main narrative.

In relation to staging practices, music serves a very pragmatic function in the repertory. Musical cues cover a variety of stage actions. Instruments are sounded to accompany complex ceremonial entrances where large groups of people must be gotten to specific points on the stage before the action can commence. Music is also employed to cover the movement of stage furniture, the potentially difficult appearance of players in unusual places, like on the walls, and the necessary removal from the stage of those players who have the unfortunate task of representing dead bodies. By drawing the attention of the extra-diegetic audience to that aural performance, the hard physical work that went into creating the dramatic illusion was given less chance to intrude upon that illusion. For members of the company doing that work, musical performances and signals also helped to direct their stage traffic by providing them cues and clues for their entrances and exits.

The interactive function category is created by the reception of the dramatic illusion by the extra-diegetic audience that follows the stage traffic. The primary moments that fall into this category are those in which music is presented in the repertory as a site of pleasurable performance. Long's "extraneous" songs can be classified in this way.⁷⁹ But in this project the pleasure of performance is seen to offer much more potential for the extra-diegetic audience to engage actively with the performances, both musical and dramatic, to which they are exposed. Musical performances permeate the boundaries that divide the extra-diegetic audience from their fictional counterparts. By affecting them both simultaneously, music creates a

⁷⁹ J. Long *Seven Comedies* 11.

sympathy in their positions.⁸⁰ By aligning the experiences of the extra-diegetic audience with the diegetic world, music draws the playhouse audience deeply into the unfolding action on the stage. This engagement with the diegetic world invites individual reactions to the performance itself. The idea of reconstructing Elizabethan and Jacobean audience response is obviously absurd. But certain identifiable commonplace experiences can be said to invoke standard responses. Deaths tend to produce feelings of grief, for instance. When shared experiences and emotional responses are invoked by the company space is opened up to consider the response of the playhouse patrons. This occurs only rarely in this project, but it does occur.

The questions that are more often addressed by considering the category here called the interactive concern the availability of musical discourse to help the playhouse audience read the dramatic implications of these musical moments.⁸¹ Certain musical performances speak more clearly to certain sorts of audience members. The cultural specificity of social behaviors that forms the basis for the reflective relationship between musical cues in the repertory and practices in the non-dramatic world is at the root of this phenomenon. Theatrical performances offer a chance to a diverse spectrum of patrons to encounter the representation of social practice which falls outside the scope of their own daily direct experiences. Whether a performance resonates clearly with their direct experience or produces a pleasurable alienation (in which their unfamiliarity with the specific practice is highlighted but the performance of that behavior still provides enjoyment), the construction of a musically receptive audience is evidenced by the continuous employment of music in the repertory. This thesis sets out to mark some of the particular types of non-

⁸⁰ The idea of simultaneous address is mentioned in Chan 38

⁸¹ The ability for a musical signal to signify anything at all depends on a recognition of that signification by an audience. See Gorbman 4.

dramatic musical discourse with which the company is engaging through its employment. The culturally specific musical behaviors and ideas present in the company's repertory across time and in a variety of venues will challenge commonly held notions about the company, its repertory, and the audiences to which that repertory was played.

Chapter Two

How We Know What We Know About Music in the Repertory

This chapter will examine the kinds and sources of evidence pertaining to the functions of music in the extant repertory of the company known in its various guises as the Admiral's, the Prince's, and the Palatine's Men. First the biographical records of company members will be explored. In order to think about musical practices and functions throughout this repertory the continuity of the company members who enacted those functions must be established. So too must their potential ability to be active participants in the musical content of the repertory. The evidence for the function of music will be drawn almost entirely from the extant texts that define the repertory. Among them are the playhouse documents - plots and manuscripts - which offer such specific information about playhouse practice. The interactions and relationships between company membership, printed text and playhouse document will be explored through a close study of *The Battle of Alcazar* as a way of identifying the ways each type of evidence records the functions of music in the repertory. The lessons learned from this aurally focused reading will finally be used to examine the two surviving manuscript playbooks from the repertory.

The Company

The establishment of a repertory for the company that forms the basis of this study depends in large part on the continuity of that company through its various incarnations in terms of the personnel who enacted the performances (musical and otherwise) documented by the extant texts. The limits of the repertory are set by the connections between the company of performers and the plays in which they perform. The development of the company on which this study focuses commences when the

Admiral's Men took up a more or less permanent residence at the Rose theatre (after several organizations, re-organizations, reconstitutions, defections and amalgamations).¹ In fact the time frame of this repertory commences at the line drawn in the proverbial sand (or in this case in Henslowe's Diary) which separates the list of plays performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's companies at Newington from the list of plays performed by the Admiral's Men.² Chambers sees this division of data as an indication that at this time the company was transferred to the Rose theatre, as "a practical certainty."³ It is at this faintly drawn line, this textual gesture, that the repertory begins.

Edward Alleyn, John Singer, Robert Jones, Thomas Towne, Martin Slater, Edward Juby, Thomas Downton, James Tunstall, and Sam(e) [Rowley], Charles [Massey], and [Richard] Allen appear in the earliest of several lists of the personnel of the Admiral's Men in the Henslowe records.⁴ This list is dated, in both Greg's and Foakes' editions of the diary, from late 1594.⁵ The next list of company sharers in the Henslowe records relates to the period during which the company was reduced in size. Dated 16 October 1596 and containing only the names Edward Alleyn, Martin Slater, James Tunstall, and Juby (presumably Edward), who appear to be the only sharers, or at least the only ones held accountable for the money lent by Henslowe which the entry records.⁶

¹ Greg *Henslowe's Diary* 2: 80-86; Chambers ES 2: 134-139; Gurr *Playing Companies* 230-237.

² Foakes HD 21.

³ Chambers ES 2: 141.

⁴ Foakes HD 8.

⁵ Foakes notes that it occurs in a different ink than the surrounding dated entries, and so may have been added at a later time, but goes on to argue that as there is also the sharers list of c. 1596, that this list probably refers to company make-up of about the time of the surrounding entries.

⁶ Foakes HD 50.

Previous company members John Singer and Thomas Towne had left to become part of the Pembroke's Men enterprise.⁷ That this lean period in the company's history was soon remedied is evidenced in the company list of 1597 which includes William Bourne (alias Bird), Gabriel Spenser, Robert Shaw, Richard Jones, Thomas Downton, Edward Juby, Thomas Towne, John Singer, and the brothers Jeffes (HD 84). The 1598 list is very similar, but with only one of the Jeffes represented, and the disappearance of Juby: the list is supplemented by the additions of Charles Massey and Samuel Rowley. The lists of members which appear from 1597 to 1600 demonstrate a company of players whose make up is remarkably stable.

After the 1600 company list in Henslowe's records, we next encounter documentation of company construction in the Patent granted in 1606 to the company now under the patronage of Prince Henry. In this collection too, we find reference to the core of players who were listed ten years previously in Henslowe's diary. Downton, Towne, Bourne (Bird), Juby, Rowley, Massey and both Jeffes are licensed to "exercise the arte and facultie of playing" and appear again, with the additions of William Parr, Richard Pryor, William Stratford, Francis Grace, and John Shanke in Henry's Household Lists.⁸ Finally in 1613 this collection of old masters and young blood are listed with the addition of William Cartwright and the loss of Anthony Jeffes, in the patent issued for their new guise as the Elector Palatine's, or the Palsgrave's Men.⁹ The stability evidenced over time allows for the possibility of commenting on the performance practices with which these individuals were engaged.

⁷ Their defection to Pembroke's company led to a three week break in playing during Lent 1597 (Chambers 2: 151).

⁸ PRO Patent Roll 4 Jac I, pt 19; Henry's household list reprinted in Thomas Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (Dublin: G. Faulkner, 1760) 455.

⁹ PRO Patent Roll 10 Jac I, pt 25; also in The Malone Society, *Collections 1: 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909) 276.

John Long and Mary Chan have both forwarded the idea that in earlier Elizabethan drama, company members provided their own musical accompaniment, but that in the drama of our period they tended to turn to professional musicians to meet their musical needs.¹⁰ But the musical practices of the company indicate that this reaching outside for musical support was the exception, rather than the rule. Among the members of this company were several individuals who are recorded in various sources as having had an engagement with music. The most famous member of the company, Edward Alleyn, was described in 1595 as a “musicion.”¹¹ The documentation of Alleyn’s other dealings with the musical world merit some discussion here. There is a 1608 entry in the manuscript collections held at Dulwich College, in Alleyn’s hand, which records a “Rentall of Kennington att ye Court” that lists among the “copyholders” both the Admiral’s man Thomas Towne, and one of the King’s musicians, John Lanier.¹² Alleyn received an undated letter from Innocent Lanier, one of the King’s “musicians for the flute.”¹³ Edward Alleyn was visited by, and subsequently recorded payments to Mr Hopkins, the organist of the college in 1618.¹⁴ The “princes musictions Mr Ball and Mr Drewe” joined Alleyn at a dinner on 5 April 1620.¹⁵ Alleyn’s identification as a musician himself, and his documented associations with the musical world speak to his ability to engage with the musical demands of the repertory. His connections to the particular world of the music at court, demonstrated by his interactions with the professional musicians employed there, indicate at least in part the type of music with which members of the company

¹⁰ Long *Seven Comedies* 30-1 and Mary Chan, *Music in the Age of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) 32-3.

¹¹ Chambers ES 2: 296.

¹² Warner 133.

¹³ Ibid. 118; For records of Lanier as a royal musician for the flute see Ashbee RECM vol. 4.

¹⁴ Ibid. 171 and 176.

¹⁵ Ibid. 183.

would have been familiar, and able to reference and draw upon, in moments of musical performance. Alleyn's interactions with court musicians also challenges the notions of the repertory of the company as playing to a particularly plebian taste. If Alleyn and other members of the company (like Towne) had relations with musicians working at the court, then they may also have had access and exposure to the types of music being produced there. That knowledge of musical style could then be employed in a mimetic fashion when called for in the repertory. Alleyn's interaction with musicians, in fact the details of Alleyn's life in general, are more thoroughly documented than any other member of the company. But Alleyn was not the only musically active member.

In the St. Saviour registers there is a record of the baptism of Christopher, son of Thomas Downton, "musysyon" on 27 December, 1592. In subsequent records for subsequent children, Downton (Dowghton, Dowton) was referred to as a player.¹⁶ The Richard Jones who appears in the *Troilus and Cressida* and *The Battle of Alcazar* plots, but not on the Patents for Prince Henry's Men or for the later Palsgrave's Men, is identified as a "musician in the service of Philip Julius, Duke of Wolgast" in 1622.¹⁷ George Somerset, who appears in the plots of *The Battle of Alcazar*, *I Tamar Cham* and *2 Fortune's Tennis* is identified in the St. Giles Cripplegate records of the burial on 3 September 1624 of an unnamed son of John Wilson who was "from the house of George Sommerset, 'musicitian.'"¹⁸ The identification of these players as musicians in documents which do not relate to the theatre (or necessarily to the

¹⁶ Chambers ES 2: 313.

¹⁷ His travels to the continent are documented by a letter to Alleyn. See R.A. Foakes ed., *Henslowe Papers* Vol. 2 (London: The Scolar Press 1977) 2: article 111; Greg *Supplement* 94; Edward Nungezer *A Dictionary of Actors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1929) 209.

¹⁸ John Payne Collier, *Memoirs of the Principle Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare* (London: Shakespeare Society, 1846) xix.

circumstances of the actor's life, being compiled and entered by scribes who may or may not have known the parties personally) is not offered here to indicate devotion by these individuals to a musical life. Rather is it to offer documentation that these performers were capable enough musicians to have merited being recorded as such. This musical activity, though the level of ability cannot be quantified, serves to illustrate the fact that there were members of the company who were capable of producing the musical moments which appear in the extant repertory. It must be remembered as well, that these documentations of musical association are not inclusive. If Alleyn, Downton, Jones and Somerset were recorded as musicians, there exists the probability that other company members were sufficient (if not accomplished) performers on the musical instruments most often required.

Chan cites a Dutch collection of music from about 1626 that contains pieces "believed to have been made popular by traveling English acting companies."¹⁹ If players could be trusted to perform music while traveling (and if they are traveling it seems unlikely that a band of professional or semi-professional musicians would have accompanied them) then why, in performances on their own turf, would they have need to call in the Waits or the King's Music as a general practice? The musical demands of the repertory make it necessary to call on the services of professional musicians at times. But the biographical records of company members suggest that this would be exception rather than the rule for our company. In addition, records show that the company purchased and maintained instruments collectively: at least three trumpets, a drum, a treble viol, a bass viol, a bandora, a cittern and a sackbut.²⁰

In 1598-9 Henslowe advanced money to Thomas Downton (to buy a sackbut and again to buy instruments), to Richard Jones (to buy a bass viol and other

¹⁹ Chan *Ben Jonson* 32.

²⁰ Foakes HD 318 and 320.

instruments), and to the company itself to buy a drum for a provincial tour.²¹ If it had been company practice to employ outside musicians on a regular basis, or to maintain a consort as a house band, the responsibility for providing and maintaining the instruments would have fallen to the musicians themselves. Instead, the communal purchases of instruments which then became the property of the company indicate that musical performances were enacted by the players.²² The exact instrumentation cannot be known since the indication of “instruments” bought for the company is vague – but the list included in the lost 1598 inventory allows for quite a diversity of musical performance. The trumpets and drum could be used for the annunciatory and military signals. The bandora and cittern could be played on stage to accompany vocal song while the viols could provide music onstage or off to accompany dancing and other musically complex entertainments. Several horns and a bagpipe are specifically called for in the extant printed texts. While the horns could easily be assumed to be included somewhere amongst the “instruments” bought in 1598 or at another unrecorded moment in the company’s history, the origins of the bagpipe remain mysterious. Conjecturally, it is possible that the instrument was in the private collection of one of the players, or one of their acquaintances, but this is well nigh impossible to corroborate. In addition, it seems reasonable to assume that the company was in the possession of at least a partial consort of recorders, which could also be covered by the inclusive “instrument” purchases. So, with a few simple additions to Henslowe’s records (which it must be remembered are by no means

²¹ Ibid. 101, 122, 120, and 130.

²² The musicians themselves who were regularly employed by the King’s Music seem to have been responsible for the upkeep of their instruments. Alphonso Ferraboasco, Philip Rosseter, Robert Johnson, and Jeronimo Bassano are all reimbursed for instrumental upkeep. While it is of course possible that records have simply not survived for reimbursements made by the company to hired musicians, the direct role taken by company members in the purchase and maintenance of those instruments indicates direct involvement with musical production. See Ashbee RECM 4: 74-115.

complete) the company had the instrumental means to supply the great majority of its own musical performances. From the biographical information that has been recorded the company seems to have possessed the musical skill as well. The question now remains to look at the ways in which those musical demands have been recorded in the extant repertory.

The Printed Plays

Alan Dessen, in his attempts to tease out some semblance of a “shared theatrical vocabulary” has observed that “any attempt to deal with original staging or stage conventions must therefore build almost exclusively upon the evidence within the plays themselves.”²³ That evidence within the plays is generally manifest in the stage directions which survive in the printed and manuscript material which makes up the extant repertory. Though Hammond’s conception of the entire playtext as “a series of stage-directions, the great majority of which tell the actors what gestures to make with their vocal cords” is certainly a creatively inclusive way of reading a play, for the purposes of this investigation, the second category of stage directions he addresses, those that “involve properties and effects” provide the widest and most diverse witness to early playhouse practice available to scholars.”²⁴ Looking back to Richard Hosley’s classification between theatrical and fictional signals, Dessen and Thompson argue that those directions which can broadly be termed theatrical offer a

²³ Alan Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare’s Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 13; Alan Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 19.

²⁴ A. Hammond, “Encounters of the Third Kind in Stage-Directions in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama,” *Studies in Philology* 89.1 (1992): 73.

“way to stay within the realm of what was or could have been done in the original productions” of the company’s repertory.²⁵

While the provenance of the copy which serves as the basis for what becomes the printed text obviously has its import in the quest for an authentic, authorial and authoritative text, that provenance plays a rather different role in looking to the extant printed material for evidence of playhouse practice. Whether the process of transmission from stage to page is viewed in a linear fashion or as a collaborative effort involving multiple parties at multiple stages, the products of those processes are at the heart documents whose origins reside in the production of dramatic performance. Leah Marcus has remarked that “no single version of a literary work, whether Renaissance or modern, can offer us the fond dream of unmediated access to an author.”²⁶ Single versions of a play text in print, so often all that survives of the company’s repertory, are equally unable to offer us the fond dream of an unmediated record of the play in performance. That mediation has driven much twentieth-century scholarship to attempt to categorize types of copy that lie behind the extant printed texts. These categories include authorial drafts or foul papers which document the intentions of the dramatist, playhouse texts (in manuscript or print) which record annotations and preparations for performance, scribal copies which have “cleaned up” foul papers or annotated playhouse texts, and reported texts thought to represent what an observer of or participant in an early performance could take away from the playhouse. Recent textual studies have broadened this categorical breakdown of the

²⁵ See Richard Hosley, “The Gallery over the Stage in the Public Playhouse of Shakespeare’s Time,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 8 (1957): 16-7; Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) viii.

²⁶ Leah Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (New York: Routledge, 1996) 272.

processes of transmission to include the multiplicity of ways “a play might be represented as circulating in manuscript and finding its way into print.”²⁷

The indication in each of these printed texts of musical content implies that musicality was a constant presence in the theatrical world. Whether relations between each individual text and the company’s staging practices are forward looking or backward looking, the information offered by the printed materials speaks to a set of practices that did not vary greatly in scope across time. The stage directions which make it into print are included (on one side or the other of the original performances) because they were seen (by dramatists, playhouse personnel, reporters and printing house personnel) as a dependable theatrical tool.

The emphasis on the authenticity of authorial intention, as opposed to the picture painted by texts more closely associated with theatrical origins, is at the root of the Good Quarto/Bad Quarto debate that raged for decades in the early twentieth century. Within the confines of that debate the literary merit of the author’s intention was privileged over the potential information offered by the text about the plays at work in the theatre of the late Elizabethan/early Jacobean period. For a study like this, the literary merit of each playtext figures little in the search for evidence of a system of theatrical functions. The value judgments assigned to printed plays based on the provenance of the copy which made its way to the compositor, must be re-evaluated. For the purpose of investigating the practical production habits of a company, particularly if those production pragmatics are more simply rendered than the reconstruction of the spoken text, such a witness can offer extremely important data. So too, those texts in print which can confidently be assigned to copy which served as a playhouse document have much to offer. While the playhouse personnel who

²⁷ Paul Werstine, “Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: “Foul” Papers and “Bad” Quartos,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.1 (1990): 86.

engaged with these early text forms may, in the eyes of some, have created a problem for the reconstruction of the literary text, the preservation of practices in print serve to tie those printed materials strongly to the production of the play in the theatre.

This is not to argue that printed texts whose original copy was suspected of being authorial have less to offer us in considering playhouse practice. The divide between stage and page was a part of thinking about the theatrical world of Elizabethan and Jacobean England for a long time. More recent scholarship has gone far to demonstrate a very close connection between the dramatists and the companies of players with which they worked.²⁸ W.W. Greg's bibliographical studies have offered a great number of services to scholarship. However his conception of the relations between playwright and playing companies jar with more recent ideas about collaboration at work in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatrical world.²⁹ The theory that the dramatist would have created a version of the play that constantly outstrips the abilities of the company to realize it in performance has happily been revised by more recent scholarship.³⁰ The dramatists who worked so closely with the company

²⁸ For instance, see Douglas Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printinghouse: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and Their Manuscripts in the Age of Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, Authority and the Playhouse* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Kathleen O. Irace, *Reforming the "Bad" Quartos: Performance and Provenance of Six Shakespearean First Editions* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994); Scott McMillin *The Elizabethan Theater and the Book of Sir Thomas More*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987) and works cited below.

²⁹ See, for example, W.W. Greg, *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923) 46.

³⁰ Much recent scholarship has been concerned with unpacking Greg's early narratives of textual provenance and transmission. Long was an early dissenter in William B. Long, "Stage Directions: A Misinterpreted Factor in Determining Textual Provenance," *Text* 2 (1985): 121-37; Paul Werstine provides an excellent survey of the implications of subsequent dependency on Greg's early thoughts in Paul Werstine,

demonstrate a working functional knowledge of the company's musical capabilities. Tiffany Stern argues that that playtexts were created with standard character types which allowed for the casting to be shaped to the company asked to perform a number of new plays in a relatively short time.³¹ Similarly, the musical cues included by the dramatists seem to be shaped to the company's musical capabilities. The dual life of a dramatist as both literary and theatrical professional is highlighted by Dekker's preface to his reading audience. In the *Lectori* that prefaces *The Whore of Babylon* he discusses the play as a "Dramatical Poem" and in an aptly musical metaphor discusses the disparities between his printed play and the phenomenon of his play in the hands of the players:

In such Consorts, many of the Instruments are for the most part out of tune,
And no marvel, for let the Poet set the note of his Numbers, even to Apollo's
own Lyre, the Player will have his own Crotchets, and sing false notes, in
despite of all the rules of Music.³²

The poet's metaphorical notes are in fact not the musician's actual soundings, but rather the poetic dialogue on the page. The intended audience for the texts of printed plays like this were a literate public disposed to be familiar with the theatrical language employed in the playtext. This "ideal para-text" and Dessen's idea of a "shared theatrical vocabulary" speak to the establishment of a set of conventions which permeate the ways performance was conceived of on both the page and the stage.³³ Thus, even in the self-proclaimed literary nature of Dekker's *Whore of*

"Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul" Papers and "Bad" Quartos," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.1 (1990) 65-86.

³¹ See Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Page to Stage Accents* on Shakespeare (London: Routledge, 2004) 63-77 and Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 40-57.

³² Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1607) sig. A2^v.

³³ Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor with John Jowett and William Montgomery, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) 5; Dessen *Recovering* 147.

Babylon quarto the musical demands present in the printed text do not tax the musical capabilities of the company at the time. The poet's notes may be forgotten in favor of the player's own crotchets in an early playhouse performance. But the functions of the musical cues demanded, and the ways in which they are represented on the page, seem not to vary to a great degree between authorial copy and functioning playhouse texts.

The Plots

Turning to the playhouse documents that record some of the company's extant repertory provides a very rich, very specific type of information about the function of music in that repertory, and the ways in which those musical cues were created and communicated. Of the five surviving plots and plot fragments, only *Frederick and Basilea* and the severely decayed fragment of *II Fortune's Tennis* do not offer evidence as to the musical practices of the company in performance. The types of musical cues represented in the rest of these documents certainly seem to be more pragmatic than aesthetic: alarums, sennets, flourishes, winded horns and drums are all specifically and clearly called for in the plots, while tuckets and retreats have been posited as being represented in less legible parts of the texts.³⁴ Calls for "a song" or the presence of "musicke" are not indicated. The absence of what are generally more melodically complex performances in the plots may have much to do with the particular plays whose plots have survived the passage of time. The presence of the more pragmatic function-specific terms in both playhouse documents and the printed texts that make up the extant repertory indicate a continuity of usage in the theatrical language used to record these musical moments across the repertory. Alarums occur throughout the repertory. Sennets are referred to explicitly in *Look About You* and

³⁴ See W.W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouse* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931) vol. 2.

perhaps implicitly in the dozens of references to the sounding of trumpets throughout the repertory. Flourishes occur in *Hoffman* and “John of Bordeaux.” Horns are winded or blown in *John a Kent, I* and *II Robin Hood*, *Patient Grissil*, and *When You See Me, You Know Me*. Drums are played near and far in *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, *Captain Thomas Stuckeley*, *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, *I Robin Hood*, *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*, and *Tamburlaine*. This continuity in record in turn signals a continuity in practice. When an alarum is called for in a printed text or a plot manuscript, several individuals must all be capable of interpreting the practical means of producing that particular cue. In this way, the production of musical moments in the company’s repertory is dependent on a “shared theatrical language.”³⁵

The playhouse documents suggest something about how these musical moments were produced in the theatre. Calls for musical signals are generally recorded at the start of the scene in which the cue is meant to occur, indicating that some preparation is needed either in order to produce the cue, or in terms of the reactions that follow the specific sounding of it. The plots of *Troilus and Cressida* and *The Battle of Alcazar* are thought by Greg to have much in common, indicating perhaps that the main plotter was the same individual.³⁶ But the fragmented plot of *Troilus and Cressida* is much more specific about the types of musical cue demanded, whereas the *Alcazar* plot tends towards including only the indication of a sound. *I Tamar Cham* records the most attention to the detail of the type of cue, distinguishing between types of soundings (as sennet or flourish), and even instrumentation with

³⁵ Alan C. Dessen, “Stage Directions as Evidence: The Question of Provenance,” *Shakespeare, Text and Theater* ed. Jay L. Halio, Lois Potter, and Arthur F. Kinney (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999) 231; Also see Michela Calore, “Elizabethan Plots: A Shared Code of Theatrical and Fictional Language,” *Theatre Survey* 44.2 (2003): 249-258.

³⁶ Greg DD 1: 139.

drums trumpets and horns all being recorded. What all three texts demonstrate is the need to communicate where the players needed to prepare to perform or react to a musical signal. This aligns these texts with Bradley's theory that the plots were used as part of the planning out of the play before a public performance in the work of "fitting a play to the company and the company to the play."³⁷

The relationship between the textual cue and the functions of music within the fictional world becomes important, though difficult, here. Though decay and fading make reconstructing the dramatic action in *Troilus and Cressida* impossible without some degree of speculation, the plot does offer a few clear indications of the role music plays in the scenes documented. The "3 severa<ll> <T>ucketts" occur in the margins of a scene which contains much coming and going of key political figures in the dramatic action.³⁸ Deiphobus, Menalaus, Diomedes, Hector, and Cassandra are all preserved as being present in the scene at some point. At the very least, Hector, Deiphobus, and Cassandra as the children of King Priam could plausibly be announced by an individualized trumpet signal like a tucket.³⁹ There is also the possibility that this cue indicates a triple reproduction of a single melodic tucket, though without a parallel text to clarify the dramatic action, this is difficult to substantiate. The other sound cues all pertain to the commencement and endings of the battle, which presumably bear a mimetic relationship to known military signals in the non-dramatic world, as do so many of the military signals employed through out the repertory.

In *I Tamar Cham* the sennet and alarum called for in the first scene function in an annunciatory capacity associated presumably with the movements of the figures of

³⁷ David Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 84.

³⁸ Greg DD 2: V.9-10.

³⁹ Plot reconstruction based on Wiggins *Catalogue* "I Tamar Cham."

political power on the stage, in this case Mango Cam and his nobles, and possibly Tamar Cham and his crew as well.⁴⁰ The alarums presumably evoke and direct the representation of battles. In each case where an alarum is explicitly called for Tamar Cham, Otanes, and attendant nobles played by William Cartwright, Thomas Marbeck and William Parr appear in the scene, which indicates that they have a hand in the military action. Both calls for a drum are indicative of military signaling, which is consistent with the use of the instrument throughout the repertory. This plot calls for several unspecified sounds in addition to the more specific cues. The last three occur in what Greg calls the third act. The characters already associated with military action are present, which indicates that these commands to sound may cue the music of war. Sounds are called for in the left hand margin which seem to correspond to the entrance of “Three Nobles and a Drum” and with William Parr’s entrance as a “Trompett.”⁴¹ The other calls for an unspecified sound occur before the arrival of Dick Jubie in the role of the Chorus.

These Chorus-specific sounds serve a practical function which is evidenced in the printed texts throughout the repertory. While possibly serving some simultaneous function in the fictional world, these soundings function as an aural boundary for the playhouse audience between one type of narrative and another. The sounds before the Chorus enters the second time, and an entrance of a “Trumpet” with Dick Jubie before the third chorus mark a shift from the continuous unfolding narrative into the choral space, which often exists in a intermediate position between the reality of the playhouse audience and the contained realms of the dramatic action proper. The function of flagging a narrative or performative shift brings us into the consideration

⁴⁰ Greg DD 2:VII.5 and 10.

⁴¹ Ibid. 35-7; 47-8.

of the structural functions of music and here, of the practical evidence offered by the plots.

David Bradley claims that:

There can be no doubt that the governance of the music was always the responsibility of the Book. Music must be cued to dialogue and musicians need to be readied in advance of the moment they are to begin playing. It is not a matter of wonder that manuscripts and the many printed texts contain fairly full and precise directions for music and sound effects, including reading notes for singers and musicians when they are to perform in special locations. There is, in theory, no reason whatever for marking music cues on the Plot, for, it must be stressed, the Plot itself can give only a very inexact measure of time.⁴²

Bradley speaks of musicians as if they were governed by a different set of rules than the players or were relegated to a marginal position in the processes of working out the physical demands of the play. The inclusion of sound cues and calls for musical signals in the plots speaks to the position of the musicians in the company. Bradley is surely correct in observing that musical signals and cues demand a good deal of preparation which is dependent on a close relation to the spoken text of the play, but does not provide a theory as to why those musical cues are noted in the extant plots. Though this must remain speculative, it seems that rather than being regarded like gatherers as external to the company, the providers of musical cues were included as a vital part of the company's body count when planning the outcome of stage traffic in the plots. An aurally focused analysis of the plot of *The Battle of Alcazar* and its parallel quarto text will provide a place in which to explore the implications of this conjecture, and bring together the various types of evidence that has been considered during the course of this chapter, starting with the biographical composition of the company itself.

The Battle of Alcazar

⁴² Bradley 82.

Greg, Chambers, Nungezer and Kathman all indicate that the Plotter's naming of "Tho: Drom" refers to a player by that name. This plot is the only extant biographical witness to this player, whose appearance in two of the *Alcazar* dumb shows as Nemesis are the only records we have of his presence in the theatrical world of late Elizabethan London. Each time Thomas Drom appears onstage it is connected to the appearance of the Greek goddess Nemesis, whose presence on stage is subsequently accompanied by a musical cue. Previous scholarship has assumed that the Plotter's notation of "Tho : Drom" records the full name of a boy player.⁴³ Rather what seems to have happened is that the Plotter has added the "Drom" as a reminder of both the boy's role and the property necessary to enact that role. The Greek goddess associated with retribution for hubristic impunity or an overabundance of undeserved good luck, Nemesis is referred to in several sources as being clothed at least metaphorically in the trappings of military vengeance. Reference is made during the period to the power of her drum.⁴⁴ Even within the repertory itself Nemesis is characterized by militaristic accoutrements. In *The Spanish Tragedy* she is referred to as "wrathfull Nemesis that wicked power...disguised in armours maske."⁴⁵ In a repertory in which the drum so often functions as an indicator of military prowess and power, it seems reasonable to think that perhaps part of representing Nemesis in the dumb shows would be to provide her with a drum of her own. The Presenter's references indicate that Nemesis herself plays upon the drum:

Now Nemesis upon her doubling Drum

⁴³ Greg DD 2: VI.56.

⁴⁴ For example, "Thus from the dreadful shock of furious Mars/Thundring alarmes, and Rhamnusias drum/We are retired with joyfull victory" W.S. *The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine* (London: Thomas Creede 1595) sig. E2^v; This reference is to Rhamnus, a town famed for its statue of Nemesis.

⁴⁵ Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* (London: Edward Allde for Edward White, 1592) sig. B3^v.

Moved with this ghastly moan, this sad complaint,
Larums aloud into Alectos eares (B2^v, 321-3)⁴⁶

and later

Waked with the thunder of Ramusian's drum,
And fearful echoes of these grieved ghosts[.] (B3^t, 332-3)

It is of course possible that the performers of the dumb show are in fact dumb. The sound of the drums and alarums could possibly have been provided by a group of playhouse musicians in another location. But it is equally possible, and in fact simpler in terms of playhouse resources in the form of players and instruments, that the player representing Nemesis did bang “upon her doubling Drum” (B2^v, 321).

Might there be a mere coincidence of player's name and character iconography? Yes. But the Plotter has a habit of recording some boys in the company by only their given names, as in the cases of Harry and Dab. The Plotter's spelling of the percussion instrument both in relation to Thomas and to its association with the military colors is identical. In light of the inconsistent spelling practices of the time this could be coincidence. The fact that when the drum appears related to the given name it is capitalized has surely been one of the strongest signifiers that the full name of this boy player might just be Thomas Drom. But like spelling, capitalization is not systematic. Other objects which appear in the text of the plot are randomly capitalized. While the “Dead mens heads” and the “Scales” might be conjectured to warrant capitalization due to ceremonial or spectacular import, the “Chopping knife” is a clear example of scribal idiosyncrasy.⁴⁷ William B. Long has questioned the

⁴⁶ George Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar* (London: Edward Allde for Richard Bankworth, 1594) sig. B2^v; W.W. Greg ed., *The Battle of Alcazar* (Malone Society Reprints. Oxford: Chiswick Press, 1907) 321-3.

⁴⁷ Greg DD 2: VI.98; 58; 30.

specificity of instrument notation in the plots.⁴⁸ Here, there seems to be an example of a very specific recording of instrumentation.

There is also the chance that Bradley was correct when he claimed that the Plotter's description of the boy as "Tho Drom" is an example of "the common soubriquet to be found even in play-texts."⁴⁹ Tom Drum and its cognate John Drum were most common in the drama of period as the familiarized Jack Drum (the entertainment of whom was synonymous with extremely poor treatment). But the Tom form of this figure's name is found often enough in conjunction with this same poor treatment to support the idea that "Tho : Drom" was a commonplace available to the Plotter.⁵⁰ In light of this familiarity, the probability that Nemesis herself played upon the drum, and the ability to read the drum as classified as a physical object in the plot, it seems that the Plotter referred to the boy player as Tho : Drom not simply as an identity. Rather, the Plotter used a commonplace character name as an aide in recalling that young Thomas must enter as Nemesis with her drum.

The dumb shows in which Nemesis appears induce the Plotter to call for sound cues in the left hand margin of his plot. In mapping the plot onto the text of the 1594 quarto it becomes apparent that the Plotter here calls for aural signals and sound cues in ways that adhere to the various functions of music across the repertory. Although the mimetic relationships between music function in the repertory and

⁴⁸ William B. Long, "John a Kent and John a Cumber: An Elizabethan Playbook and Its Implications," *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition* ed. W.R. Elton and William B. Long (Newark: London: University of Delaware Press: Associated University Presses, 1989) 139.

⁴⁹ Bradley 124.

⁵⁰ See Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces supererogation or A new prayse of the old asse* (London: John Wolfe 1593) sig. V2^r; Alexander Hume, *A reioynder to Doctor Hil concerning the descense of Christ into Hell* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1594) sig. O1^r; Henry Crosse, *Vertues common-vvealth* (London : Thomas Creede 1603) sig. L2^r; and perhaps most famously William Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well* in Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) V.iii.323.

musical social practices in the non-dramatic world will be discussed at length in the following chapters, three of those social categories are represented in both the plot and the quarto text of *The Battle of Alcazar*. The simplest of these representative sound cues are the alarums which encompass the sounds of the battlefield. Though not solely musical in content the alarums called for in the plot and the quarto text employ musical signals (and possibly the sounds of clashing swords and human cries) that lend a sense of dangerous reality to the military conflict represented. Musical annunciation is the second of the social categories which appears in both *Alcazar* witnesses. This system of signals reflects the employment of the royal trumpeters and the civic musicians employed by the sovereign and the city fathers to publicly announce their presence. Instances where the familiarity of this system of signification is subverted or exploited will follow in the following chapters. But the extremely simplified notion that powerful figures warrant a musical annunciation plays an important part in tying the marginal notes of the plot to the quarto text. The final employment of music represented in *Alcazar* is the use of a musical signal to denote a shift in the narrative mode. The sensual flag created by a sound cue appears in several instances where there is a shift between framing devices and the dramatic action proper. In other moments in the repertory, these cues may also indicate the presence of a performance within the diegetic world, but in *Alcazar* they flag the chorus-like nature of the Presenter, who remains outside of the unfolding of the dramatic action he comments upon. Now that the uses of music in both witnesses have been touched upon, we can look at the evidence offered by these two texts about how that musical work was recorded.

If we accept that calls for musical signals in the text reflect the musical social practices of the non-dramatic world and the representational practices of the

company, we can tie the musical demands of the plot to those of the quarto. If we assume that when a king or ruler enters a musical signal is provided and that when a figure from outside of the main narrative appears that a musical signal is used to mark this shift, then nearly all calls for sound in the plot can be confidently tied to a specific point in the 1594 quarto. The table which follows this page indicates the levels of agreement on musical demands between plot and quarto text.

The sennett which is called for in the plot in relation to the first appearance of the Presenter is a more specific call than the Plotter is in the habit of making. It is the first narrative shift that the playhouse audience would have encountered. In the quarto, the Presenter introduces the dumb show onto the stage when he refers to Mahomet, “accompanied as you may now behold, with devils coated in the shapes of men” (A2^r, 22-3). Though it is hardly a ceremonial or public entrance that conventionally warrants the mimetic use of an annunciation, the Plotter surely had a reason to employ a musical signal here. This particular signal seems to be an example of the use of musical cues to highlight a change in the type of performance, or narrative mode, that the playhouse audience is exposed to. This Plotter after all, calls for musical signals in relation to all of the dumb shows that have survived intact. There is also the possibility that this specificity of signal does not represent a final decision of the Plotter as to exactly what type of cue is called for here. But there seems to be a certainty that some form of musical cue is needed.

A similar specificity of sound cue has been conjectured by Greg to announce the entrance of the second dumb show in the plot.⁵¹ The left margin is damaged enough at this point as to make a confident reading of this cue impossible. But if we accept Greg’s reading of the letter fragments then the cue seems to function in

⁵¹ Greg DD 2: VI.24-5.

relation to a narrative shift. The presenter's speech as represented in the 1594 quarto is the most closely associated with the stage action indicated by the Plotter we encounter in these witnesses. Greg's conjectural "sennet" has little mimetic reason to be employed at this moment, unless the Plotter assumes that the entrance of a deity merits the same annunciation as the entrance of a human ruler.

Throughout the repertory though, the music associated with superhuman figures remains distinct from the annunciatory cues associated with human politics and power. Rather, if Greg is correct in assuming that the tiny bit of script represents the final "t" in sennet, then the Plotter may have been working through the fact that a sound cue was needed, without considering the implications of the particular type of cue. In the 1594 quarto the Presenter's speech makes several references to the dramatic impact of the sounds of Nemesis' drum. But these references do not occur in relation to stage traffic which seems to be the concern of the Plotter. The "thundering" drum of Nemesis has already been gotten on stage by the young Thomas (B2^v, 324). So it seems that the sound cue called for by the Plotter is the signal associated with the unique narrative position of the Presenter himself, which at the early planning stage may have been thought of as a sennet.

Such planning also seems to be at work in other marginal notes in the plot. A call for sound is marked near the directions for Muly Mahomet Xequé, Abdula Rais, and Ruben to exit.⁵² Consulting the quarto offers no help in deciphering why this call for sound should be made. The scene is a public one, with the speakers attempting to rally the troops to war. But Mahomet Xequé is the only military commander present, and none of his speeches contain an explicit command to strike up the drums, or even to undertake organized military action (which might imply the necessity of such an

⁵² Greg DD 2: VI.16.

aural signal). His last and most rousing speech commands his followers to “Sheath not your swords” but ends eleven lines before the company empties the stage (B1^r, 194). It seems improbable that the drums would be called for to play while the two women offer thanks and blessings at the end of the scene. Rather, this call for sound is anticipatory. It works as an indication of the time for preparation needed for the spectacular entrance of Mahomet in his chariot which follows directly.

The Plotter anticipates the need for sound again in his plot, just before the entrance of the third dumb show.⁵³ The call for sound appears before the line which divides the stage being cleared by Stukeley and his crew, and the entrance of the Presenter. Though the scene which has just ended deals with military planning and the coercion of Stukeley and his companions to change course and join Sebastian’s side, there is no indication that military action is imminent. Were that the case, a military march by drum and trumpet might have been the cue called for at this moment. But it seems more likely that here the Plotter is adhering to his habit of calling for a sound cue in association with the entrance of the Presenter. This convention can be seen at work not just in this playhouse document, but across the company’s repertory.

Most of that repertory is extant only in single editions of a printed text, and does not offer the means to examine exactly how closely those printed texts represent playhouse practice. With *The Battle of Alcazar* the survival of two parallel texts creates a preserved site of interaction between text and performance. This site allows for the consideration of the evidence provided by the other printed texts upon which this project depends so heavily. In order to evaluate these relationships we must look at the instances where the text demands more of the musical capabilities of the company than the plot. We must ask what that can tell us about the relation of this

⁵³ Ibid. 53.

plot to this text, and more broadly what these witnesses have to say about the musical cues preserved in the printed texts of the repertory.

That the quarto text contains such clear references to musical cues not included in the plot does not necessarily stem from specific abridgments of a fuller version of the play. Obviously, the damage to the left margin of the second column prevents a positive identification of the demands of the plot from the start of the fourth act until the end of the play. But in both witnesses to the first three acts the disagreements between plot demands and quarto demands on the musical resources of the company stem from the function of the plot as a planning document concerned with stage traffic. The calls for trumpet soundings during Abdelmelec's speech in which he names his successor represent a musical moment enacted on the stage but not documented in the plot (B3^v, 375 and 389). The availability of musical experience to playwrights, players, and playhouse audiences that enables this mimetic function of music will be discussed in the following chapter. For now, it seems logical to suggest that the associations between ceremonial displays like a coronation and the presence of trumpet signals in the non-dramatic world were commonplace enough to ensure that such a mimetic employment of the instruments would be a useful theatrical tool. Within the diegetic world, the trumpets sounding add authenticity to an important dramatic moment. The company had both the physical resources (the trumpets themselves) and the personnel (players capable of reproducing some semblance of a trumpet signal). Though of course there is no way to substantiate the idea, it seems that the familiarity of the musical social practice, and the simplicity of theatrically enacting it, indicate that each time Abdelmelec refers to the payments of debt "to heaven and earth, To Gods and Amurath" the trumpets were heard by the playhouse audience as the quarto indicates (B3^v, 374-5 and 388-9).

But why was this sound cue not indicated in the plot, when so many other cues were so fully recorded? A main focus of the Plotter was where players physically went during the course of the performance, particularly in relation to the job of making sure that there was enough man-power to successfully enact the scenic requirements. Those musical signals which were called for once the bodies had gotten themselves on stage were not his responsibility. The production of musical performances within a scene by players already present on the stage was not something the Plotter had to think about: with all the other challenges he faced it seems unsurprising that he did not add more to his list. If the Plotter was called upon to note entrance and movement-related musical moments, but allowed to disregard musical performances that originated on the stage, it indicates that the majority of musical cues were provided by company members directly involved in the dramatic action. Those musical players needed to be accounted for by the Plotter when figuring the availability of company members for specific scenes. The evidence provided by the plot goes far in placing music in the hands of the company members (even little ones like young Thomas). At least in 1601 for the performances of *The Battle of Alcazar* at the Fortune then, the Admiral's company appear not to have employed a separate playhouse consort.⁵⁴

If company members were directly responsible for providing the majority of musical cues called for in the repertory, then they must surely have been aware of the mimetic functions of music in the repertory, and the ties of those functions to musical social practice in the non-dramatic world. That familiarity with social practice and its enactment on the stage relates directly to the ways in which musical cues are (and, significantly, are not) recorded in the extant play texts. In *The Battle of Alcazar*, there

⁵⁴ Lindley *Shakespeare and Music* 101-3 for references to external musicians in the theatre.

are several instances in which a sound cue is clearly called for by the Plotter, but was not included in the stage directions of the quarto. An examination of the context in which those printed directions appear makes it clear in each of these cases that the Plotter was engaging with a form of dramatic expectation. Each time he calls for a sound cue, there is dramatic action indicated by the quarto text that can be enhanced by the mimetic employment of a musical cue.⁵⁵ Clearly, the Plotter has ideas about music and meaning on the stage. This is not to argue that expectation led to a trumpet being sounded every single time a King or Queen appeared on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage. The employment of musical signals on the stage was not universal or absolute. But the circulation of a shared theatrical language between both playhouse personnel and playhouse audiences allows for the possibility that the musical moments which survive in the printed texts were not the only ones that played a part in early theatrical performances. It is reasonable to imagine that for a great majority of moments, like the entrance of an important political figure, a metonymic musical signal could have been employed. Such continuity was possible on account of a very specific set of non-theatrical practices which define the musical repertory of this company. Of course, it is only possible to analyze those moments that have been textually preserved, in order to explore the functions of music in the company's repertory. But it is important to bear in mind the nature of the records themselves. An examination of the remaining playhouse documents allows us another way to consider the practices of how music was produced and how evidence of that production has survived the passage of time.

The Manuscript Plays

⁵⁵ In TABLE 1 These performances moments are marked by "P," which indicates that the dramatic context in the quarto is right for a mimetic musical moment and the potential musical cue is called for by the Plotter, but not recorded in the quarto.

Two manuscripts annotated for playhouse use can be tied to the company's extant repertory. Though of problematic relation to the repertory, the manuscript *John a Kent and John a Cumber* offers a great deal of information about the ways in which musical moments are incorporated into surviving texts. Music plays an important role in this disguise play, and will be discussed at length in the following chapters. But for now it offers a unique opportunity to consider the inclusion of vocal songs and musical cues as integral parts of the main body of the text and as annotations related to playhouse practice. The manuscript contains vocal performances indicated with song lyrics included in the main body of the dialogue, in the hand of the primary scribe, Anthony Munday.⁵⁶ The lyric content of the songs are very closely tied to the incredibly specific dramatic needs of the action.

But earlier in the same play, a boy singer is given a marginal stage direction that reads "they play, the boy sings the welsh song" (f.5^r, 572-3). Though the boy's musical performance is anticipated in the dialogue, and the lyric content of the expected song is commented upon, Munday did not include the lyrics in his text. Assuming that the marginal stage directions were additions to the main body of the text, which includes embedded stage directions, Munday appears to be drawing on an external musical source. He may have had the song in mind while composing the scene. But the only records of the musical performances that wreak such havoc in the scene, are dialogue references to the lyric content, and marginal notes of the song titles. The two songs in this episode will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. But the phenomenon they seem to be recording here is a dramatist invoking extant songs from the non-dramatic world and presuming that a mere mention of the title will be

⁵⁶ Anthony Munday, *The Book of John a Kent and John a Cumber* Tudor Facsimile Texts Farmer, J.S. ed. ([London]: Amercham 1912) ff. 6^v-7^r, M. St. Clare Bryne, ed., *John a Kent and John a Cumber* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923) 782-846; ff. 9^{r-v}, MSR 1150-4.

enough to identify the intended song text to the players.⁵⁷ That leap of faith implies, in turn, the existence of a body of shared musical knowledge available to dramatist and company members alike.

The later manuscript of an untitled play called by subsequent scholars “John of Bordeaux” exhibits a rather different approach to dealing with the musical demands of the play. The primary scribe only includes one call for sound or music in a stage direction, and one musical performance indicated by dialogue.⁵⁸ Every other instance of music being called for in the text appears in the annotations by two separate scribes. The primary scribe seems to assume that the responsibility to clarify the musical demands for the company lies with the annotators. In this case, the annotators perform that duty quite attentively. There is a call for a sennet to accompany the entrance of “the show of Lucre” which adheres to the ways the Plotter of *The Battle of Alcazar* calls for a musical signal at the start of the dumb shows when there is no hint of that need in the text (f. 13^v, 1265-7). There is one instance of dancing that remains free of musical annotation (though there is no suggestion by the dialogue that music is actually played or heard). But the consort of musicians is given very specific directions as to when to enter, to commence playing, and when to exit in the only musically complex performance in the play.⁵⁹

The other musical demands of the play accomplish the pragmatic work of presenting musical signals of annunciation and military combat which occur so

⁵⁷ “The Welsh Song” can be identified as a tune that existed in the non-dramatic world in the period (see discussion of “Music and Cultural Identity” in Chapter Four). The “Song of the Bride’s Loss” has not been traced, but the similar means of recording its use in the manuscript suggests that it too was an extant song.

⁵⁸ Anon., “John of Bordeaux” Alnwick: Alnwick Castle Library: MS 507 f. 13^r, W.L. Renwick, ed., “John of Bordeaux” Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936) 1247; f. 8^v, MSR 765-8.

⁵⁹ Ibid. f. 8^v, MSR 764, 769, 777 and 780 all contain performance directions to the musicians.

frequently in the repertory. Both annotators use specifically descriptive terms for the signals they call for as well as the more generic “sound” Hand A specifies the use of a flourish, the trumpets, a tucket, and a chime.⁶⁰ Hand B calls for a sennet and a chime.⁶¹ For the most part, this text represents the most constant use of annunciatory signals in the repertory. The emperor is accompanied by the sounds of trumpets in all but two of his entrances. These missing explicit directions and anomalies in a fairly systematic record of musical activity during the performance can be accounted for in fairly simple ways.

The first surprising musical signal accompanies the first appearance of the emperor’s son, Ferdinand. In the left margin of the stage direction for “Ferdinand the Emperors son/and his two frend 2 noble men” to enter, the scribe calls for a “florish” (f. 1^v, 70-1). This is the only time in the manuscript that his movements are announced with a musical signal. It seems to me that this is an instance that speaks to the dynamic nature of playhouse documents. When the scribe recorded the use of a trumpet signal in connection with the young prince, he demonstrated an awareness of the potential mimetic use of such a signal. But perhaps as the dramatic action unfolded, such a use of the playhouse resources did not seem warranted. Another anomaly occurs in relation to Amurath the Turk, who is identified in the speech prefixes as an emperor, and refers in the dialogue to his “royal crown” (f. 2^r, 128 and 176). He never seems to warrant any form of musical annunciation. This neglect may have something to do with his status as a foreigner, not expected to engage with the musical social customs of English society. But it may also have to do with ideas about the representation of sovereignty and authentic authority on the stage. Looking at the

⁶⁰ Ibid. **flourish**: f. 1^v, MSR 71 and f. 5^v, MSR 499; **trumpets**: f. 13^r, MSR 1236; **tucket**: f. 13^r, MSR 1247; **chime**: f. 7^r, MSR 652.

⁶¹ Ibid. **sennet**: f. 5^r, MSR 448 and f. 13^v, MSR 1265; **chime**: f. 5^r, MSR 436-7.

treatment of Emperor Frederick ties into the idea of musical signals functioning in a creative way, directing the representation of power on the stage. Frederick's musical entrances also provide evidence about the presence (or absence) of musical cues in the extant repertory.

In the context of the dramatic world of "John of Bordeaux," Frederick represents undisputed sovereignty. He is the social and political figurehead of that world. As such, theatrical convention suggests that his public entrances into the action be accompanied by a musical cue. The original scribe is very rarely concerned with making musical provisions for these accompanied entries. The two annotators are very attentive to the need to provide mimetic musical moments announcing the emperor's presence. Part of this systematic marking of musical entries stems from the potential for music to signal an authentic political power, to create an awareness in the playhouse audience of where the true power lies in the dramatic world. That audience would have been quite familiar with the ceremonial use of the royal trumpeters to accompany the movements of the sovereign. In the repertory, such musical signals seem to be employed to help the audience trace shifts in authentic authority when questions of such powers are part of the dramatic action. "John of Bordeaux" does not represent such a struggle on the stage. However, the sole use of musical annunciation for the appearances of Frederick, and not his royal counterpart Amurath, may witness the idea that music carries with it a symbolic and signifying power on the stage.

But what about those two entrances of the emperor which seem not to be accompanied by such musical fanfare? The first missed musical cue occurs at the very first entrance of the emperor, which happens at the start of the play. This could have been missed due to the position of the entrance at the start of the play. Perhaps the

annotator had a moment of human distraction and simply did not record a call for a musical cue here. There could be any number of unsubstantiated reasons that this particular entrance does not have a recorded musical signal to accompany it. The second unaccompanied entrance of the emperor may lack a musical cue due to the uncertain space in which the scene takes place. Throughout the repertory, music is employed to define and create the specific locales in which the drama unfolds. This may be an instance where the lack of music functions in a similar way; the public presence of the emperor is announced, but when the dramatic action takes place in a more private space, his movements are unaccompanied. Again, the lack of signal for this entrance could also be attributed to human idiosyncrasy.

If we consider the practices of the Plotter of *The Battle of Alcazar* and the two annotators of “John of Bordeaux” we begin to see a pattern in which music was present in the performance in a way that was not always included in authorial or scribal copy. The original scribe of “John of Bordeaux” seems to have trusted his annotators to supply calls for music. Mapping the plot onto the quarto of *The Battle of Alcazar* suggests that a similar distribution of duties was in place. Those moments in which a musical cue that seems reasonable in relation to the mimetic ties between the playhouse and the non-dramatic world are made musical by the Plotter. It would be useful if more witnesses to performance practice of this sort were extant. Sadly, they are not. But what the missing cues in “John of Bordeaux” flag in their absence is the dark number of musical cues which may have been part of these texts in performance, but have been lost to the processes of transmission which produced the company’s extant repertory as we have it.⁶² While it is necessary to keep the potential presence of these

⁶² The printed quarto of *A Woman Will Have Her Will (Englishmen for My Money)* contains no musical cues what so ever. The Exchange Bell rings once, to mark the time, but is the only aural signal documented in the text. This does not mean that the

missing performative indications, it is on the surviving evidence that we must depend to examine the function of music in the repertory. Those surviving calls for musical performance witness an engagement by playwrights, playhouse personnel, players themselves and playhouse audience with a shared vocabulary of musical practice and musical meaning. The ability of music to carry meaning in the playhouse is in turn tied very closely to the musical social practices of the non-dramatic world. Familiarity with the ways music works outside of the theatre enables the use of that music as a theatrical tool. The means by which music was made available to both theatrical professionals and their audiences will be the focus of the next chapter.

bell was the only sound cue in the play, but that it is the only one documented by the printed text.

Chapter Three

Music in the Social World

Music played a powerful role in the cultural life of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. The presence of music in the social world allowed the company to employ music as a language of theatrical representation in the repertory, across time and venue variations. The function of music in the theatre depends on the experiences of the playhouse audience: in order for music in the drama to communicate anything, there must be an audience in place whose imaginative intellectual framework facilitates the reception of that meaning. Starting with conceptions of music as an affective force, examining the mimetic representation of functional music on the stage, and concluding with a look at the ways in which music in the social world can be seen as a means of communicating a social and cultural identity, this chapter will examine the types of musical discourse which are present in the repertory. An attempt will be made to indicate whether those discourses were available to a wide variety of potential playgoers or to a more select section of the possible audience. It is impossible to account for the individual personal experiences of an imagined historical audience. But by examining the broad social groups to which particular musical discourses were available, we can identify a potential playhouse audience capable of understanding the variety of ways in which music functioned in the company's extant repertory.

Musical Thought and Ideas about Affective Music

“He by this music doth direct our course”¹

In *When You See Me, You Know Me* the music tutor Dr. Tye claims that “the dulcet tongue of Music made the stones/To move, the irrational beast, and birds to dance.”² His lecture illuminates an idea of the affective power of music which was so common in the period as to be commonplace. The theoretical power of music to move, to influence, to seduce, to direct, to incite and to calm was referenced by the company in several texts and several ways. *The Jew of Malta*, *I and II Tamburlaine*, *John a Kent*, *Fortunatus*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Look About You*, *Patient Grissil*, *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*, and *Hoffman* all engage music’s affective powers. In the repertory, music is referenced as having the ability to console melancholy, to have physical healing powers, and to move (both literally and metaphorically). Affective music is used most often to lull characters into sleep, and for purposes of seduction. The use of music in the art of seduction will be considered more fully later in this chapter, but here will be addressed in terms of the power of music itself to seduce. The trope of music’s power to move its audiences (human and otherwise) informed not only contemporary musical thinking but poetry, religious discourse and debate, medical manuals, and historical and philosophical tracts.

Ideas about music’s ability to evoke powerful responses were made accessible to the London playgoing audience during the period primarily through invocation of biblical and classical tales of this miraculous musical function. The figure of King David was held up as able to create an effect through his use of music. Arion (the charmer of dolphins), and Amphion (the caller of Theban building blocks) loomed large in the imaginative world of musical thought. By far the most illustrative figure

¹ Munday *John a Kent and John a Cumber* f. 9^r, MSR 1108.

² Rowley G4^r, MSR 2055-6.

of music's powers to move and soothe was Orpheus, the lover whose musical skills drew stones, birds and beasts after him, and charmed the master of the dark and dangerous underworld. John Ogle questions the truth of this mythological figure in his poetic "Lamentation of Troy."³ Barnes refers to the "furies and torments" which were appeased by "the devine music of Orpheus."⁴ The myth pervades in a variety of sources, with an equally heterogenous intended audience. Towards the end of the repertory period, Francis Bacon holds up the Orphean myth not only as the source of musical theory, but as a model for philosophy itself:

The tale of Orpheus, though common, had neuer the fortune to bee fitly applied in euery point. It may seeme to represent the image of Philosophy: for the person of Orpheus (a man admirable and diuine, and so excellently skilled in all kinde of harmony, that with his sweet rauishing musicke he did as it were charme and allure all things to follow him) may cary a singular description of Philosophy.⁵

For the learned, classical tales illustrated music's power to move. The dissemination of these ideas through the non-literate orders of London society is more difficult to trace. Religious discourse provides a means by which a diverse public gained access to theories concerning the affective power of music. Henry Lok, in his *Ecclesiastes* comments on these powers thus -

His senses so shall be renewd thereby,
As sauage beasts by Orpheus harpe were tamde;
Yong Dauids harpe, Sauls furious spirit shamde,
And Dolfins did Aryons musicke heare,⁶

He illustrates the use made of ancient and biblical material in Christian writings about music. The edition in which the verse appears is a collection of sermons and

³ He asks, "Could trees and stones in Orpheus tunes rejoyce/Was he so pleasing, and dumbe things so witty?" Sir John Ogle, *The Lamentation of Troy, for the death of Hector* (London: Peter Short for William Mattes, 1594) sig. D3^v.

⁴ Barnabe Barnes, *Foure Bookes of Offices* (London: A. Islip, 1606) sig. R3^v.

⁵ Francis Bacon, *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (London: John Bill, 1619) sig. C3^v.

⁶ Henry Lok, *Ecclesiastes* (London: Richard Field, 1597) sig. P3^r.

commentaries. Sermons are a particularly useful means of disseminating ideas about the power of music as they provide access not only to the literate public for whom they were printed, but also to the large body of non-literate inhabitants of London in their oral delivery.⁷ Of course we must depend on the body of printed sermons to have any inkling as to the contents of the great number of sermons which were preached and never printed. But the consistent invocation of music's effects indicates that these episodes would have been equally present in the preached sermons of which no extant records survive. Martin Fotherby explores the ways in which music holds sway over the human heart and points out that "as the Harp is tuned, so the heart is moved."⁸ He also celebrates the use of music in worship, particularly the singing of psalms, by invoking this ability of music to produce a "holy and religious alacrity" in worshippers.⁹

The extremely well documented and widespread practice of psalm singing provides another means of access for the non-literate to theories about the power of music. David's psalm number 108 appears thus in the 1594 edition of Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Book of Psalms*:

I wake my viall and my harpe,
Sweete melodie to make
And in the morning I myself
Right early will awake¹⁰

⁷ See Thomas Playfere, *The Pathway to Perfection. A Sermon preached at Saint Mary's Spittle in London on Wednesday in Easter weeke, 1593* (London: James Roberts for Andrew Wise, 1597) p. 15; Martin Fotherby, *Four Sermons, lately preached...written by him in anno 1604* (London: Henry Ballard for C. Knight and W. Cotton, 1608). The third sermon delivered "upon the day of our deliverance from the gun-powder treason" contains a remarkable consideration of music. sig. H3^{r-v}; Thomas Jackson, *David's Pastorall Poem; or the shepheards song. Seven sermons on the 23 Psalme of David* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1603) sig. B3^{r-v}; John King, *A sermon at Paul's Cross, on behalf of Paul's Church* (London: Edward Griffin for Elizabeth Adams, 1620) sig. H3^r.

⁸ Fotherby, *Four Sermons* sig. H3^r.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London: John

The association of the figure of David with the stringed instruments upon which his musical skill had so famously soothed King Saul offers a reiteration of the musical theory implied by the episode in 1 Samuel 16:23. Such an invocation provides an opportunity for the idea of music's affective powers to become part of the intellectual framework of the psalm singers of London in the period.¹¹ Though this may seem to be a fairly select group of people, during the period the singing of psalms was a widespread activity. The practice was endorsed by the Queen in her 1559 Injunction. The number of people who took "delight in music" must have been rather large, as following the injunction the seminal psalm text by Sternhold and Hopkins went through at least 452 editions.¹² The title page of *The Whole Book of Psalms* announces that it is a volume full of works be sung in church and by

all the people together before and after morning and euening praier, as also before and after sermons, and moreouer in priuate houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all vngodly songs and ballades, which tend onely to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth.¹³

Windet, 1594) sig. E7^r.

¹¹ Thomas Jackson cites this psalm specifically in one of his sermons in which he comments on the ability of psalm singing to quicken, and stir up earnestness in practitioners. See Jackson sig. B3^r.

¹² 1599 Injunction printed in Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin eds, *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. 2 The Later Tudors 1553-1587* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969) 127-8, and H. Gee and W.J. Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan 1896) 417. See also John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen, 1961) 74-97, Lindley Shakespeare and Music 65-9, and Nicholas Temperley "'If any of you be mery let hym synge psalmes': The Culture of Psalms in Church and Home," *Noyses, sounds and sweet aires*. ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006). Between 1566 and 1687 *The Whole Book of Psalms* went through at least 452 editions with musical settings. See Nicholas Temperley, et. al., eds., "Psalms, metrical, §III: England," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007-9) 5 May 2007 www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

¹³ Sternhold and Hopkins sig. A1^r.

Psalm singing was both a public and private activity for a large portion of the potential playhouse audience. Through the connections between David and his Saul-soothing music, the psalms tie into the representation of music as an affective force, which allows for the company to engage with these theories and for those theories to be recognized by diverse “sorts” of audience members.

The notion of music’s affective power is expressed in secular discourses of musical thought as well. The eminent lutenist John Dowland translated the *Micrologus* of Ornithoparchus which appeared in 1609. The edition was touted as being “not only profitable but also necessary for all that are studious of music.”¹⁴ The introductory material expresses one of the most wide-ranging descriptions of the variety of effects of music on human behavior:

For it doth driue away cares, perswade men to gentlenesse, represseth and stirreth anger, nourisheth arts, increaseth concord, inflameth heroicall minds to gallant attempts, curbeth vice, breedeth vertues, and nurseth them when they are borne, composeth men to good fashion [.]¹⁵

Both Dowland and the original author of the work had an interest in celebrating the art of music, encouraging a literate audience to purchase their publications.¹⁶ But this notion of music’s power to sway appears in many non-musically specific publications as well. We have already seen the prevalence of the Orphean myth. The ability of

¹⁴ Andreas Ornithoparchus, *Micrologus, or Introduction: containing the art of singing Digested into foure bookes*. trans. John Dowland, (London: Thomas Snodham for Thomas Adams, 1609) sig. A1^r.

¹⁵ Ibid. sig. B1^v.

¹⁶ *The Praise of Music* (1586) and John Case’s *The Apologia Musices* (1588) both address the ways in which music effect both the mind and the spirit, though they appear in time before the period covered by this study. See also: William Covell, *Polimanteia, or, The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to iudge of the fall of a common-wealth* (Cambridge and London: John Legate, printer to the Universitie of Cambridge and J. Orwin in London, 1595) sig. F1^r, and Lindley *Shakespeare and Music* 44-9 for perceptions of music’s effects in the period.

music to soothe and sway was addressed in a variety of sources, particularly works of a medical nature.

The power of music to heal both the body and the soul was a logical outcome of the conception of music as an affective force. Music's power to affect the body via the soul is noted by Richard Greenham. He argues that because "the soul and body dwell together it is convenient that as the soul should be cured by word, by prayer and fasting....so the body should also be brought into some temperature...by music and such like meanes."¹⁷ The positive outcomes of music's effects on the health of the body was not universally accepted however. In a treatise intended for "the poorer sort of people that are not of the ability to go to the physicians" the author cautions that too much exposure to the "noise of Musicke or Singers" could be detrimental to the brain.¹⁸ But even this cautionary warning indicates the power that music was seen to hold over physical and mental health. Music's perceived influence on the mental health of the Elizabethan and Jacobean public can be seen most clearly in the often considered connections between music and melancholy.

Though Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* did not appear in print until 1621, the work witnesses theories and ideas which had been at play throughout the period covered by this study. In a remarkable section of the work, "Music as a Remedy" the reading audience is offered a thorough consideration of music's power to move, and to heal. Burton comments that music can in fact help, elevate and even extend the soul of the listener.¹⁹ He records physiological reasons for music's affective power, notes its ability to charm both man and beast, indicates that music

¹⁷ Richard Greenham, *A Most Sweete and Assured Comfort* (London: John Danter for William Jones, 1595) sig. F1^{r-v}.

¹⁸ A.T., *A Rich Store-house or Treasury for the Diseased* (London: Thomas Purfoot and Raph Blower, 1596) sig. K4^v.

¹⁹ Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short for Henry Cripps, 1621) sig. Aa4^f.

might expel many diseases, and of course devotes time to considering the power of music to both elicit and soothe melancholy. George Kirby alludes to the ability to experience music's effective powers when he argues that "the examples of times past, and our own experience every day, doth give sufficient testimony both of the pleasure and profit it [music] bringeth to a distressed and melancholy mind."²⁰ Like Dowland, Kirby's celebration of music's moving abilities may be caught up in his professional economic interests. But he is not alone in citing music as a means of addressing a melancholic nature. William Bullein cites music, and virtuous exercise as ways to keep a "heaviness of mind" at bay.²¹ Despite notions surrounding music's ability to ease a troubled mind, it was not always seen as an entirely sufficient means by which to make the melancholic merry. Though Thomas Rogers expected to find "comfort in sweet Music" after the loss of a beloved lady, he is forced to beg the question, "how can Musicke solace humane eares,/ When strings are broke & harts are drownd in tears?" Rogers' verse also references the "songs of sorrow" which are so often associated with a melancholic nature.²² In the repertory, as in the non-dramatic world, music was seen not only as a means of comforting the melancholic, but also as a means of denoting that nature.

The practice of singing lullabies to calm and soothe is referenced in an incredibly diverse range of print literature of the period, including sermons, humorous discourse, histories and prescriptive literature.²³ Musical settings for this very specific

²⁰ George Kirby, *The First Set of English Madrigalls to 4. 5. & 6. Voyces* (London: Thomas Este, 1597) sig. A2^f.

²¹ William Bullein, *The Gouernment of Health* (London: Valentine Sims, 1595) sig. M4^v.

²² Thomas Rogers, *Celestiall Elegies of the Goddesses and the Muses* (London: Richard Bradocke for Joan Broome, 1598) sig. C3^f.

²³ For **sermons** see: William Harrison, *Death's Advantage Little Regarded* (London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, 1602), Thomas Walkington, *Salomon's sweete harpe* (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1608), William Leigh. *The First Step Towards Heaven*

type of performance have survived in the printed collections of Thomas Ravenscroft and Martin Peerson.²⁴ The sleep-inducing power of music was not relegated simply to the domestic realm of mothers and children. Richard Johnson offers up a tale of musical enchantment which is fairly typical of the period. Johnson tells the tale of Saint David of Wales' run-in with some garden spirits who

continually kept him sleeping for the tearme of seauen yeares: one while singing with sugered songes, more sweeter and delightfuller than the Syrens mellodie: another while with rare conceited Musicke, surpassing the sweetnes of Arions Harpe, which made the mightie Dolphins in the Seas, to daunce at the sounde of hys sweet inspiring Melodie: or like the Harmonie of Orpheus when he iournied downe into hell, where the diuelles reioyst to heare hys admired notes, and on earth both trees and stons did leap when he did but touch the siluer stringes of hys luorie Harpe²⁵

What is compelling about this illustrative example of the affective power of music to induce sleep, is the way it ties back into the broader cultural references of musical agency. The invocation of classical figures in a text concerned with the celebration of Christian heroes and their adventures illustrates perfectly the ways in which this musical discourse was disseminated in the period.

Widespread familiarity with a singular theory or idea can lead to the establishment of that idea as a feature of the intellectual framework of a relatively

(London: Nicholas Okes, for Arthur Johnson, 1609) Thomas Adams, *The Happiness of the Church* (London: G. Purslowe for John Grismand, 1619); For **humor** see: Anthony Copley, *Wits fits and fancies* (London: Richard Johnes, 1595), Nicholas Breton, *Wit's Private Wealth* (London: Edward Alde for John Tappe, 1612); For **histories** see: Robert Parry, *Moderatus* (London: Richard Jhones, 1595), John Weever, *The Mirror of Martyrs* (London: Valentine Simmes for William Wood, 1600), Robert Chester, *The Annuals [sic] of Great Britain* (London: E. Alde for Mathew Lownes, 1611); for **prescriptive literature** see: Marcos Martinez, *The sixth book of the Mirror of Knighthood* (London: Thomas Creede for Cuthbert Burby, 1598), Ercole Tasso, *Of Mariage and Wiving* (London: Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burbey, 1599).

²⁴ Thomas Ravenscroft, *A briefe discourse* (London: Edward Alde for Thomas Adams 1614); Martin Peerson, *Private musicke. Or the First booke of ayres and dialogues* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1620).

²⁵ Richard Johnson, *The Most Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendome* (London: J. Danter for Cuthbert Burbie, 1596) sig. M4^r.

large portion of the populace. Ideas concerning music as means by which to move the heart of its hearer towards romantic love and sexual passion were so prevalent as to be a trope of literary, dramatic, and cultural expression. It is to this purpose that the affective powers of music are most often invoked in the extant repertory of the company. The representation of courtship ritual on the stage, particularly via musical means allows the company to engage with the discourses surrounding music's seductive powers in the non-dramatic world. This ability of music to seduce was often seen as potentially dangerous to its object – generally a female listener. Though members of both genders were cautioned against the potential dangers of the affective powers of music, women were represented as being particularly susceptible to music's power to move.

Conceptions of woman as a vessel to be filled by external forces and influences stemmed from biblical characterization.²⁶ Thomas Lodge offers an argument as to why women were so susceptible to external forces when he lists these causes:

First, by reason of their credulitie, next because of their frailtie and infirmity: Their credulitie appeareth in that they were first and soonest tempted; their fragility, in that they are more prone to lust: and therefore Peter called women the weaker vessels, because they are soonest wrought.²⁷

Though Lodge is here referring to reasons that women fall prey to devilish seduction, the construction and idea of woman as malleable and easily influenced accounts for the view that woman were especially susceptible to music's charms. In slightly more celebratory tones, Castiglione notes that at court music is one of the "many things

²⁶ "Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour unto the woman, as unto the weakest vessel, even as they which are heires together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not interrupted." 1 Peter 3.7

²⁷ Thomas Lodge, *The Diuel Conjured* (London: Adam Islip for William Mats, 1596) sig. C2^r.

[that] are taken in hand to please women withal, whose tender and soft breasts are soon peirced with melody and filled with sweetness.”²⁸ Women, who were viewed as able to be “transported up and down” with amorous passions especially were the ideal medium on which music could work its effects.²⁹ The most dangerous of these effects for the lady listener was that of being led by melodic means into an ecstatic state ruled by lust and bodily desires. It is this phenomenon that Stubbes cautions against. He claims that if parents would have their daughters “whoorish, bawdie, and uncleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her up in musicke and dauncing, and my life for yours, you have wun the goale.”³⁰ This is not to say that when music was employed in the rituals of courtship that its primary goal was to induce in the beloved a state of unmitigated passion. But the connections between music as an affective force and fears surrounding its ability to sway its female listeners into socially unacceptable immodesty may have played a role in the choice of music as means of courting. When Michael Drayton’s Matilda asks King John if princes generally woo their ladies “with rarest music, which the hearing charms” she is not accusing all princes of a desire to corrupt the women they court.³¹ Rather, the literary reference here draws upon a similar cultural commonplace as the company’s repertory; to employ music in the pursuit of romantic and sexual fulfillment is to draw on a particular strain of music’s affective powers.

In the repertory as in the non-dramatic world, the usual unfolding of courtship practices moved from the man as agent to the woman as object. Again in both

²⁸ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier of Counte Baldessar Castilio* trans. Thomas Hobby (London: Thomas Creede, 1603) sig. F6^f.

²⁹ Leon Battista Alberti, *Hecatonphila. The arte of loue Or, loue discovered in an hundred seuerall kindes* (London: P. Short for William Leake, 1598) sig. E2^v.

³⁰ Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses* (London: Richard Jones, 1595) sig. R4^v-S1^r.

³¹ Michael Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (London: James Roberts, 1597) sig. D2^v.

spheres, this structure was occasionally subverted. Austern argues that Elizabethan women often acted as musical performers and agents. From the position of producer of music, and with that music its potential effects, musically active Elizabethan women were faced with a dilemma. She sees the conflict faced by these musically productive women at play between their desire to engage musically with the mixed gender social world and the dangerous power of music to incite desire:

It was clearly immodest and therefore unfeminine to encourage inordinate masculine desire under normal circumstances, but this is precisely what women were taught would happen should they play or sing before men.³²

That musical women could be the producers of desire indicates that despite the focus on women as being susceptible to music's wayward influence, men were potentially equally affected. In the repertory, it is only those women whose behavior deviates from the idealized conception of femininity expressed in the prescriptive literature of the time who are represented as willing and able to employ music for the purposes of courtship and seduction.³³ Even in the subversion of the normative employment of music's affective power, awareness of that power is evidenced. From these considerations of music's theoretical effects, we will move on to the more pragmatic uses of music in the non-dramatic world as reflected in the extant repertory of the company. But before we come to the musical practice of the social world represented in the repertory, the use of music to invoke the otherworldly, the supernatural, and the arcane must be attended to.

³² Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Sing Againe Syren' The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42.3 (1989): 434.

³³ The use of musical agency as a shorthand to indicate character type will be discussed below in "Music and Cultural Identity" as well as in the corresponding section in Chapter Four.

Otherworldly Music

*Enter Oberon and Fairies dancing before him, and music with them.*³⁴

The division between practical and speculative musics, as well as received notions about the musical/mathematical organization of both the physical and spiritual worlds, allowed music to be employed in the public theatre as a signifier of otherworldly influences. Magicians and conjurors employing music in their arts, music produced by inhabitants of the world beyond the world, and music associated with forces of extra human power punctuate the drama of the period, across boundary lines of company, dramatist, and venue. In the extant repertory music is associated with otherworldly forces in both texts of *Doctor Faustus*, *John a Kent*, *Fortunatus*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Devil and His Dame*, “John of Bordeaux,” and *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*. The ability of music produced by theatre practitioners to reflect the presence and experiences of the possible forces operating in realms beyond the everyday, has its roots in contemporary theories surrounding the music of the spheres. Contemporary wisdom held that the human body as a microcosm echoes the structure and organization of the macrocosmic universe. This idea is then reflected in the theories concerning *musica mundana* (the music of the spheres) and *musica intrumentalis* (the music physically produced by the human voice or instruments) which had a similarly proportional relationship. In the macrocosm/microcosm construction, the human figure was read as an embodiment of the higher organizing principles at work in the universe as a whole. In a similar fashion, the music produced by the physical means of this world was read as reflecting the music produced by the

³⁴ Thomas Dekker, *Lust’s Dominion (SMT)* (London: F.K., 1597) sig. D6^r, Fredson Bowers, ed., *Lust’s Dominion*. Vol. 4. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) III.ii.74.1-2.

very planets in the heavens. Though this spherically produced harmony was inaudible to the human ear, the idea that this inaudible music existed allowed for a connection between *musica instrumentalis* and a great range of possible phenomena. Contemporary musical thought accepted the simultaneous existence of a music which could be both produced and consumed within the bounds of human experience, and a music that existed but could not be received by the human ear. This willingness to accept a music that could not be heard is at the heart of the ability to use music as a signifier of the otherworldly, the arcane, the occult, and the magical, in the theatre.

Boethius is a key figure in the evolution of musical education. He translated a number of Greek philosophical writings and thereby forged a link between classical ideals and medieval thinking, which continued to influence thinking about music via the university education system throughout the period. In the celebrated treatise *De institutione musica* he establishes the distinctions between *musica mundana*, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis*. He theorizes that music is an essential part of the human condition and a means of blending soul and body: “music is so naturally united with us that we cannot be free from it even if we so desired.”³⁵ But it is his taxonomic classification of music into categories which exist both within this world and outside of it which has such a powerful impact on the ability of music to represent “the inaudible and unseen in the theatre.”³⁶ These classifications both act upon, and are drawn from the classical philosophies of Pythagoras and Plato concerning the harmonic construction of the universe.³⁷ The philosophies of universal harmony and

³⁵ Boethius, “De Institutione Musica” trans. Calvin M. Bower *Fundamentals of Music* ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) 181.

³⁶ Linda Phyllis Austern, “‘Art to Enchant’ Musical Magic and Its Practitioners in English Renaissance Drama,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115.2 (1990): 206.

³⁷ For an introduction to the ties of classical learning to contemporary musical thinking in the period see Lindley *Shakespeare and Music* 15-25.

the music of the spheres, are adapted to become part of the Christian conception of the universe by manifesting themselves in the conception of the celestial harmonies of heaven.

References to this heavenly harmony appear in sources available to a heterogeneous audience whose social standing runs the gamut from yeoman and the meaner sorts up the ladder of privilege to the higher orders and the nobility. The sources of these references take a great variety of forms, indicating the prevalence of the concept of this otherworldly music. Prescriptive literature, political histories, personal histories, military manuals, poetical fictions, sermons, and what John Taylor described as “gallimawfry[s] of sonnets, satyres, and epigrams” from the period are peppered with references to this heavenly phenomenon.³⁸ Though the dedicatees and addressed readers of these works in print are primarily gentleman readers and “no less deservedly renown’d ladies” there is evidence that a broader spectrum of the literate

³⁸For **prescriptive literature** see: Thomas Churchyard, *A musicall consort of heavenly harmonie (compounded out of manie parts of musicke) called Churchyards charitie* (London: Ar. Hatfield for William Holme, 1595), Gervase Markham, *A health to the gentlemanly profession of servingmen; or, The servingman’s comforts* (London: W. White, 1598); For **political history** see: C.M., *The first part of the nature of a woman Fitly described in a Florentine historie* (London: Valentine Simmes, for Clement Knight, 1596), William Warner, *Albions England* (London: The Widow Orwin, for Joan Broome, 1597); For **personal histories** see: Robert Parry, *Moderatus* (London: Richard Jones 1595), Emanuel Ford, *The first part of Parsimus, the renowned Prince of Bohemia His most famous, delectable and pleasant history* (London: Thomas Creede, 1615), John Hind, *The most excellent historie of Lysimach and Varrona* (London : Thomas Creede, 1604); For **military manual** see: John Norden, *The mirror of honor* (London: The Widowe Orwin for Thomas Man, 1597); For **poetical fiction** see: Christopher Middleton, *The historie of heaven containting the poeticall fictions of all the stares in the firmament* (London: J. Orwin for Clement Knight, 1596); For **gallimawfries ect.** see: John Taylor, *The sculler rowing from Tiber to Thames* (London: Edward Allde, 1612); see also: Richard Barnfield, *Cynthia* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1595); Francis Davison, *A poetical rapsodie* (London: William Stansby for Roger Jackson, 1611); and John Davies, *The muses sacrifice* (London: T.S. for George Norton, 1612).

populace was seen as potential consumers of these texts.³⁹ Thomas Churchyard, in prefatory material headed, “The Author to his book” indicates the diversity of his intended audience:

Win courts goodwill, the countries love is gaind
With wise men stay, from forward wits beware;
At plow and cart, plaine speech is not disdained;⁴⁰

Similarly, Gervase Markham addresses his work to both masters and servants; the servants he addresses are in fact of a diverse nature as well, ranging from the reader who might be “a Gentleman borne, and a Servingman by profession,” to those who might be “a Yeoman’s sonne.”⁴¹ For his part, John Norden addresses his treatise on god-fearing military behavior to men from all walks of military life, from “the generall, chieftans and high commanders, to the private officer and inferior solider.”⁴² The inclusions of references to the music of the heavens in sermons of the time, both in print and (ostensibly) in practice allowed for the dissemination of a concept of that heavenly harmony to a wider audience than the printed materials could reach.

The evidence of what parishioners heard from the pulpits is only accessible to us via the sermons which made it into print. What these sermons tell us are the subjects addressed and the rhetorical devices by which those subjects were presented to those present in church. Individual proclivities notwithstanding, the recorded sermons at least offer up some idea of what was happening in the public forum of the church. Musical allusions and references occur frequently in the sermons of the

³⁹ John Davies, *The Muses Sacrifice* (London: T.S. for George Norton, 1612) sig. **3^r.

⁴⁰ Thomas Churchyard, *A Muscicall Consort of Heavenly Harmonie (compounded out of manie parts of musicke) called Churchyards Charitie* (London: William Holme, 1595) sig. B1^r

⁴¹ Gervase Markham, *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen; or, The Servingman’s Comforts* (London: W. White, 1598) sig. A4^f.

⁴² Norden sig. A1^r.

period; this is not surprising considering the debate which raged about the use of music as a part of worship, and the number of biblical references to music and musicality. Preached sermons were available not just to the literate but also to that large portion of London's play-going population who were non-literate. The idea of "the harmony of the heavens" and "heavenly musicke" is included in sermons across the period of years which define this study.⁴³ Thomas Adams' treatise, *The Devil's Banquet*, is worth quoting here for the complex ways it references the heavenly music of the otherworld, and ties that unheard music to the music produced in this very physical human world:

So I have read, that worthy Essay, sitting among other Divines and hearing a sweet consort of Musicke, as if his soule had bene bourne vp to Heauen, tooke occasion to thinke and speake thus; What Musicke may we thinke there is in Heaven?"⁴⁴

He later goes on to point out that "Angels and Cherubins, the colestiall [sic] Choristers make musicke before the Throne of God."⁴⁵ He illustrates that heavenly harmony in terms of the music of the mortal world; referencing the sweet consort and the role of angelic singers as Choristers, Adams' sermon speaks to the relationship that the music of this world bears to the inaudible, perfect music present in the otherworld.

The idea of celestial music in both classical philosophy and Christian dogma provides an imaginative space in which music was associated with phenomena that are part of this world of human experience, and simultaneously with phenomena which exist outside that realm. Ironically, the concept of heavenly harmony makes

⁴³ William Leigh, *Queen Elizabeth paraleld in ther princely virtues with David, Iosua and Hezekia* (London: Thomas Creede for Arthur Johnson, 1612) sig. B5^r; William Harrison, *Death's advantage little regarded* (London: Felix Keynston, 1602) sig. P3^v

⁴⁴ Thomas Adams, *The Devil's Banquet* (London: Ralph Mab, 1614) sig. Ff2^v.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* sig. Gg4^r.

possible the use of music in the theatre to represent paranormal, occult, and arcane forces at work. Because the play-going audience had opportunity to engage with the discourses surrounding otherworldly music in its Christian incarnation, the use of music in the theatre becomes a theatrical tool capable of representing the spectacular forces of magic at work.

Musical Annunciation

*The trumpet sounds, the king is now at hand*⁴⁶

Unsurprisingly, the company's repertory is punctuated by the functional use of music to announce the comings and goings of figures of social and political importance. Like the military signals employed throughout much of the drama of the period, the flourishes, tuckets, and sennets generally sounded by the trumpets mark appearances, entrances and exits in well over half of the extant texts associated with the company between 1594 and 1621. *The Battle of Alcazar, The Massacre at Paris, I and II Tamburlaine, The Spanish Tragedy, The Comedy of Humors, The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green, I Tamar Cham, "John of Bodeaux,"* the later text of *Doctor Faustus, Fortunatus, I and II Robin Hood, Look About You, Hoffman, Troilus and Cressida,* and *When You See Me, You Know Me* each witness the mimetic employment of aural signals of annunciation. By far the most common textual indicator of this type of signal is some variation of the imperative "trumpets sound." Calls for more specific soundings in the form of flourishes, tuckets and sennets occur throughout the chronology of the repertory and in texts associated with all

⁴⁶ Anthony Munday, *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon (I Robin Hood)*. (London: R. Bradock for William Leake, 1601) K4^v-L1^r, John C. Meagher, ed., *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913) 2695

performance venues. The use of instruments besides the trumpet, or the trumpet and drum combination, is a rare occurrence. The employment of these cues is primarily mimetic throughout the repertory, though there is the possibility of reading simultaneous metonymic or practical functions, as we shall see in Chapter Four. The consistent employment of these signals in the drama of the period implies that the signals served as a functional theatrical language of representation which carried meaning for the playhouse audience.⁴⁷

Using such aural signals in the theatre represents the practices of the world outside the theatre. The crown maintained an extremely well paid company of trumpeters throughout the period.⁴⁸ With the establishment of individual royal households during James' reign, each figure maintained their own trumpeters, though on occasion these household musicians were rewarded for playing for other members of the royal family.⁴⁹ The trumpeters accompanied their patrons when they traveled. Several were granted special wages for their "attendance in his majesty's said several journies from Whitehall...and to cease upon his Majesty's return" which may say something of the specificity of their musical duties.⁵⁰ But these musical signals would in general be heard only by the elite nobility in the presence of the sovereign. It is to the more public uses of these musical signals that we must turn to establish their use in the theatre as a functional means of representation. The royal entries and Lord Mayors' shows provided a means by which the general public was exposed to the use of musical and aural signals in regards to powerful social and political figures.

⁴⁷ Dessen and Thompson cite roughly 250 examples of the use of trumpets (237), over 500 instances calling for flourishes (94), sixty calls for a sennet (191), and twenty calls for a tucket (239) in a slightly expanded period in their *Dictionary of Stage Directions*

⁴⁸ Ashbee RECM vols. 4 and 6.

⁴⁹ Ashbee RECM 4: 200, 208, 213-15.

⁵⁰ Ashbee RECM 4: .95 see also pp.70-116 for similar references.

Thomas Dekker begins his report of *The Magnificent Entertainment* offered by the city of London to mark James I's official entry into the city by referencing the fact that by "the sound of trumpets that proclaimed King James; All men's eyes were presently turned to the North."⁵¹ Stephen Harrison's description of the triumphal arches also indicates the presence of musical signals when he notes that, "from a Gallery directly ouer the gate, the sound of loud Musicke (being the Waites and Hault-boyes of the City) was sent forth."⁵² Harrison marks the more celebratory festive music which accompanied this functional music on the occasion thus:

the conduits of Cornhill, of Cheape and of Fleete Street that day ran Claret wine very plenteously; which (by reason of so much excellent Musicke, that sounded fourth not only from each serverall Pegme, but also from diverse other places, ran the faster and more merrily downe into some bodies bellies.⁵³

Other royals also merited such music to mark their presence in the city. Henry Roberts records the royal visit of the King of Denmark to the city as a spectacular public event. Describing the procession through London, he notes that "with these delights, and other musicall noise of drums and trumpets, they passed on until they came to the Tower."⁵⁴ Two of his Majesty's trumpets, eleven of Denmark's trumpters, and "the King of Denmark's Drum...a thing very admirable to the common sort and much admired" accompanied the procession.⁵⁵ According to Roberts, when they arrived at St Dunstan's Church, "They were presented with a noyse of cornets, which showed their cunning to be excellent, and very pleasing to both their Majesties."⁵⁶

⁵¹ Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment* (London: Thomas Creede, Humphrey Lownes, Edward Alde for Thomas Man, 1604) sig. A3^r.

⁵² Stephen Harrison, *The Arches of Triumph erected in Honor of the High and Mighty Prince. James* (London: John Windet, 1604) sig. C1^r.

⁵³ *Ibid.* sig. I3^r.

⁵⁴ Reprinted in John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (London: J.B. Nichols, 1828) 2: 64.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 65.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 69.

A similarly rich array of musicians and musical symbols attended the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales. Samuel Daniel describes the arrival of the barges of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London for the procession as decked with “sundry sortes of loud-sounding instruments aptly placed amongst them.”⁵⁷ He then proceeds to describe the ceremony itself, for the benefit of his reading audience who did not have access to the ceremony noting that the King and Prince left by “water together, the trumpets sounding in the row-barge all the way as they went.”⁵⁸

The civic pageantry of which Anthony Munday’s *London’s Love, to the Royal Prince Henry* is a good example, provides further evidence about the use of annunciatory signals, the sounds of trumpets and occasionally other instruments, to mark the presence of political power. This power was most publicly demonstrated in the annual Lord Mayors’ Shows which marked the ascension of a new Lord Mayor. That music played an important role in the dramatic performances which occurred along the route of the pageant procession is witnessed by the many calls made for musicians to play in the extant texts associated with these occasions. But the complaint, printed in the description of the 1609 Lord Mayors’ show, that the “weak voices” of the children, “which in a crowd of such noise and uncivil turmoil, are not any way able to be understood” indicates that the musical cues which were to reach the masses gathered for the event had to be powerful enough to carry over that noise.⁵⁹ The blast of the trumpets certainly had that ability. Lord Mayors from a variety of companies brought in trumpeters to play during their celebratory procession

⁵⁷ Samuel Daniel, *The Order and Solemnie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie, Eldest Eonne to Our Sacred Soueraigne, Prince of VVales, Duke of Cornewall, Earle of Chester, &c.* (London: William Stansby for John Budge, 1610) sig. A4^v.

⁵⁸ Ibid. sig. B3^r.

⁵⁹ Anon., *Camp-bell, or the Ironmongers Faire Field* (London: E. Allde, 1609) sig. B2^v.

through London, announcing the arrival of a new figurehead of civic power. The records of the Merchant Taylors, the Mercers, the Haberdashers, the Ironmongers, and the Grocers all note payments to trumpeters (and often drummers, fifes, and occasionally the city waits) for service during their processions.⁶⁰ The records of the 1605 procession are quite specific as to the roles these different instruments should play. The company proceeds with “the drum and fife and Colors but not sound, Then a full noise of Trumpeters.”⁶¹ Orazio Busino echoes the use of such signifying instrumentation when he writes about the 1617 Lord Mayor’s show which he attended. There, “Salutes were fired, and a number of persons bravely attired played on trumpets, fifes and other instruments.”⁶²

But for whose benefit were these visual and aural signals performed?

Bergeron notes that

the audience at civic pageants cut across all social strata, especially in the Lord Mayor’s Show and the royal entries. Great and small could come. Foreign ambassadors jockeyed with one another for key places from which to witness the entertainment; members of the guilds resplendent in their livery took appointed places along the route; ordinary citizens peered through windows or took their chances in the streets.⁶³

Laroque agrees about the construction of the audiences of these events, noting that though they were aristocratic and costly affairs,

⁶⁰ Malone Society, *Collections Volume III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954) 59;61;65;68;72;74;75;79;84;86-7;92;96

⁶¹ Malone Society *Collections* 3.68; the silence of the drum and fife is noted here, but the “noise” of trumpets, while signifying a group of musicians in the period, also suggests that those musicians were in engaged in the production of musical signals. At the very least, they are not noted as being silent which suggests that they played.

⁶² Allen B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1617-1619* (London: Stationary Office, 1909) 59.

⁶³ David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 2003) 6.

these entertainments (most of them free and accessible to all and sundry) thus clearly had a popular side to them, if only through the presence of the public that flocked to see them.⁶⁴

Thus the heterogeneous audience to these public performances were granted access to the use of the annunciatory music which punctuated the daily lives of those associated with wealth and power.

These reconstructions of this diverse audience are supported by contemporary commentators. The public nature of processions and pageantry implies a sizable audience; the diversity of that crowd often struck observers enough to be included in their records of such events. Nicolo Molin notes the size of the crowds gathered for James' triumphal entry into London. He observes the difficulty the processional parties had in climbing the stairs from the barges onto land, "owing to the large crowd which had gathered to see their majesties."⁶⁵ Henry Roberts records that,

unnumberable was the number of of the Citizens of London, as well of the better sort and gentry as the commons, and other adjoining parishes and townes which flocked together⁶⁶

to see the entry into the City of James and the King of Denmark. A similar heterogeneous collection seems to be invoked at Henry's procession to his creation as Prince of Wales. London showed its love indeed as Daniel records that the streets "swarmed with multitudes of people which stood waiting with greedy eyes to behold his triumphant passage."⁶⁷ Busino was impressed by the "fine medly [sic]" of well dressed English and foreign women, sundry gallants, "old men in their dotage;

⁶⁴ François Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage* trans. Janet Loyd. Rev. Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 72-3.

⁶⁵ Horatio Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1603-1607* (London: Stationary Office, 1900) 139.

⁶⁶ Reprinted in Nichols *James 2*: 60.

⁶⁷ S. Daniel sig. A4^f.

insolent youths and boys...painted wenches and women of the lower classes carrying their children” who had gathered to see (and hear) the festivities of the Lord Mayor’s Show.⁶⁸ The records of the diversity of these audiences (many of whom were potential playgoers) indicates that the use of annunciatory signals would have been a language of representation recognized by the vast majority of playhouse patrons. Despite the very definite association between musical annunciations and the higher orders, members of all social strata had the opportunity to experience the use of trumpets and other instruments to announce the presence of politically powerful figures.

Musical Military Signals

*Sing warre thy loud and loftiest notes*⁶⁹

The sociopolitical world which provided a context for the company’s extant repertory was shaped by an acute awareness of military culture. In the last two decades of Elizabeth’s reign, the perceived threat of Spanish domination in Europe, military engagements in France, Ireland, and the Low Countries, and developments in the technology by which military actions were carried out helped to establish the trappings of warfare as a factor of life for London inhabitants across the boundaries of social standing. Even the relatively peaceful reign of James I was characterized by an enthusiasm for militarism, indicated by the return to fashion of the “municipal artillery gardens or grounds.”⁷⁰ That military customs and practices were accessible to

⁶⁸ Hinds CSPV 1617-1619 60.

⁶⁹ Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1607) II^r, Fredson Bowers, ed., *The Whore of Babylon* Vol. 2. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955) IV.iv.143.

⁷⁰ Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638* Studies in Political History (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) 215.

a large body of the playgoing population of London during the years covered by this study is evidenced of the use, across the dramatic literature of the period, of military signals in the representation of warfare on the public stage. In the drama of a slightly extended period, Dessen and Thomson cite roughly 400 examples of the use of alarums, 360 calls for drums, and 200 instances of marches and marching being employed, as well as indications that charges, parleys, and retreats occur continuously.⁷¹ These signals appear, in remarkably similar vocabularies, regardless of company, venue, or dramatist.⁷² Musical military signals are employed in both the plot and the text of *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Massacre at Paris, I and II Tamburlaine*, *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *The Spanish Tragedy, II Robin Hood*, *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, *I Tamar Cham*, *Hoffman*, and *The Whore of Babylon*. The constant employment of these specifically military signals indicates that their implications would be familiar enough to the playhouse audience as to render their use effective in a representative context.

The body of non-dramatic musical practice from which this theatre vocabulary is drawn is well documented by the numerous military manuals and military histories published during the years of this study. These texts not only reference the use of

⁷¹ Dessen and Thompson *Dictionary* 3, 79, and 140.

⁷² John H. Long points out the possibility that these signals have been preserved, though with great mediation, in the manuscript collection *My Lady Neville's Book* (London: BL: Mus 1591) which contains a set of military themed pieces by William Byrd in John H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971) 4-5. He assumes these pieces recreate the military signals of the period, but fails to take into account the purpose to which the collection was put: the musical education of a privileged lady. Never the less, these pieces may suggest something of the texture of several military musical signals. "The Battle" also appears unascribed in John Sturt's manuscript collection of tunes (London: BL: MS Add. 38539 f. 23^v).

military instruments, but record their communication functions. Noting, but casting the use of the fife or whistle as an “instrument of pleasure,” Francis Markham comments upon the proper use and understanding of drum signals by commanders and common soldiers alike, “for to mistake and do contrary, as to beat Retrait when one is commanded to Charge, or to beat a Charge when men are to retire, were a thing of that danger, that the armie might perish by the actions.”⁷³ He also provides a detailed description of the drum signals which are “the most behouefull and vsefull for euery raw Souldier to learne,” the use of drums for military funeral rites, in the carrying of ransoms, and the delivering of challenges and defiances, “provided it bee vpon foot.”⁷⁴

That all sorts of people, from the meaner through the middling to the gentle, took part in military life during the period has been richly discussed by military historians, notably Cruikshank and Boynton.⁷⁵ These current and ex-soldiers have been documented as being part of the playgoing audiences, particularly in the last years of Elizabeth’s reign.⁷⁶ But what of the large percentage of the playhouse audience who did not have this kind of direct experience and necessary knowledge of the finer points of musical military cues? Their exposure to this set of signifiers was less direct, to be sure, but the constant invocation of these signals indicates that a great majority of the playgoing audience had at least enough knowledge of those military practices to warrant their constant employment in the playhouse. Public displays of military practices in the form of exercises, drills, and presentations offered

⁷³ Francis Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622) sig. I2^r.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ C.G. Cruikshank, *Elizabeth’s Army* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1968) and Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1967).

⁷⁶ See Gurr *Playgoing* Appendix 1.

Londoners an opportunity to develop the knowledge necessary to interpret the musical cues employed by the company to represent military action.

The Trained Bands present in London (and indeed throughout the provinces) were “permanent militia units, with established organizations, rather than a simple levy of men who could be called upon in times of crisis.”⁷⁷ Between 1594 and 1599, over 30,000 men were pressed into service in the army.⁷⁸ A large majority of their officers, and presumably a fair number of the soldiers from the counties trained in London. As an established force which could be called upon at any point, these militia bands were required to train several times per year, to keep their military abilities up to snuff. This training “was to be done on holidays or convenient working days, in the afternoons during a period of two or three months [following Whitsuntide].”⁷⁹ Jorgenson locates the areas in which this public displays of military training took place as being at “Mile End, where citizen soldiers drilled on holidays.”⁸⁰ He goes on to point out that here, “Londoners would readily become familiar with the uses of the drum for the march, and particularly with the prominence of this instrument in the basic drills.”⁸¹ By 1598, the Company of Citizens, which practised arms in the “Artillery Garden” numbered about 600 members, including the Lord Mayor, most of the Aldermen, and all the Officers of the trained bands.⁸²

⁷⁷ John S. Nolan, “The Militarization of the Elizabethan State,” *The Journal of Military History* 58.3 (1994): 399.

⁷⁸ Paul A. Jorgenson, *Shakespeare’s Military World*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956) 130.

⁷⁹ Boynton 114.

⁸⁰ Jorgenson 25.

⁸¹ Paul Jorgenson, *Shakespeare’s Military World*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956) 25. He also goes on to flag specific dramatic references to Mile End and the military training which went on there.

⁸² G. Goold Walker, *The Honorable Artillery Company 1537-1926* (London: John Lane, 1926) 22.

In 1610 the king granted privileges to a society known as the “Military Garden.”⁸³ Its members revived the public training of military officers, who, after spending time with this society were better able to serve as commanders of the Trained Bands, both in London and in the provinces. The support and continued practise of military training is indicated by royal patronage, the continued growth of membership in the company and even the celebration of the company and its practices by non-military writers. During his time as dramatic patron Prince Henry lent his support to the Artillery Company by becoming its patron in 1611. After his death, his brother Prince Charles would take over that role. By 1616 the company was so well known as to be the inspiration for Thomas Dekker’s poem, *The Artillery Garden*.⁸⁴ The location of the Artillery grounds to the east of the city centre in the vicinity of Mile End, was an area easily accessed by a diverse cross section of London inhabitants. As Bruce Smith has indicated, the military signals employed during these drills would have occupied space at the top of the imaginable aural limits of the citizens of London in this period. Amidst the shouts and street cries, the clamor of horse and ox carts along the cobbled streets, and the general bustle of city life, the commanding sounds of military drill would have reached the ears of many London inhabitants.

Another source of exposure to the practice of musical signaling by the military bears mention here: the printed records of military practice as evidenced by contemporary military theorists.⁸⁵ Though historians like Holinshed illustrate the

⁸³ Other terms used to describe what Walker sees as essentially the same organization are, “Companie of Citizens of the Military Yarde,” “Societies practicing Armes in the Artillery Garden,” “Society of Armes, Citizens of London,” “Societe of Cittizens of London practicing Armes and military discipline” see Walker 24 for discussion.

⁸⁴ Boynton 215-6.

⁸⁵ For a full study of the production of these materials see Maurice Cockle, *Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642* 3rd ed. (London: Holland Press 1978).

necessity of music to military practice it is in the printed military manuals that the richest descriptions of the functions of military signals are found.⁸⁶ John Norden's *The Mirror of Honor* offers an excellent indication that these manuals were printed for consumption by a diverse audience, not simply the gentleman officers. The manual contains sections which detail "how inferior officers in armies, the common and private soldiers should behave themselves, as touching their obedience to God, their Prince and Commanders."⁸⁷ The author goes on to indicate that his work is not alone in addressing these common soldiers, but that "Many divine labors also of men learned and heavenly disposed, are offered to all, to the end that all excuses bothe of idelness and ignorance might be taken away."⁸⁸

One of the earliest witnesses in print to the function of musical instruments in military practice is Garrard William's *The Arte of Warre*.⁸⁹ William notes that every soldier must "learne to vundertand the assured sound of the drum, thereby to know always whereunto he is appointed, and what thing is to be done and obeyed, which of duetie is accustomed to be done, since that with the instrument souldiers are giuen to vnderstand, during the warres, what things be necessarie to be executed."⁹⁰ He also goes on to detail to what uses the instruments of war (primarily the drum) may be put. Sir John Smythe in his *Certain Instructions, Observations, and Orders Militarie*

⁸⁶ Raphael Holinshed, *The Third volume of Chronicles* (London: Henry Denham, 1586) is a particularly rich source of musical military references.

⁸⁷ John Norden, *The Mirror of Honor* (London: The Widow Orwin for Thomas Man, 1597) sig. F3^v.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* sig. H4^r.

⁸⁹ Garrard William, *The Arte of Warre* (London: Roger Warde, 1591). The early publication date does not cause a problem here; books don't recognize chronological limits and early publications still provide access to information for potential playhouse patrons.

⁹⁰ William sig. D2^v.

indicates that trained Captains may command “by the stroke of the drum.”⁹¹ Thomas Smith indicates the necessity of understanding the function of drum signals to identify oneself as a soldier in the period by claiming that the man who “knoweth by the sound of the Drum, and Trumpet, without any voice, when to march, fight, retire &c...may well be called a trained souldier.”⁹² In 1597 Norden refers to drums as “the noise of warre” while in 1604 Thomas Digges uses the sound of the “Drumme or Trumpet” to represent war itself.⁹³ Perhaps Robert Barret captures the prevalent associations between music and military life when he claims that, “the Drum is the voice of the Commander in the field.”⁹⁴ An exhaustive study of the printed manuals to military training and behavior would have to be undertaken to track the development of the musical signals employed. But these select instances gesture towards a print culture which re-enforced for its readership the function of music in the military. This evidence in print supported the public military displays which took place in London’s environs as means of exposing the playgoing residents of London, regardless of status and direct military experience, to the military signals employed by theatrical companies.

Funeral Music

*...the drums sounding a dolefull march*⁹⁵

⁹¹ Sir John Smythe, *Certen Instructions, Obseruations and Orders Militarie* (London: Richard Johnes, 1594) sig. C2^v.

⁹² Thomas Smith, *The Arte of Gunnerie* (London: William Ponsonby, 1601) sig. A2^{r-v}.

⁹³ Norden sig. B2^r; Thomas Digges, *Foure paradoxes, or politique discourses* (London: H. Lownes, 1604) sig. K4^r.

⁹⁴ Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practice of Moderne Warre* (London: William Ponsonby, 1598) sig. K4^r.

⁹⁵ Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Richard Jones, 1597) sig. H7^v, David Fuller, ed., *I and II Tamburlaine Vol. 5 The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) III.ii.3.

Of the two universal human experiences, birth and death, the latter is significantly easier to stage. In the company's repertory, the aspect of funerary rites that occurs most often is the funeral march. *The Massacre at Paris, II Tamburlaine, The Spanish Tragedy, II Robin Hood, Hoffman* and *The Whore of Babylon* each offer the players a chance to perform the solemnity surrounding the moving (or removing) of a body towards its final resting place. Mourning practices are also represented in the company's repertory both with and without musical accompaniment. The London theatregoing public was able to partake in the public funeral processions, which often used music as a part of ceremony, as auditors and spectators. Woodward notes that the "performative approach to ritual acknowledges a complicity between the actors, directors and audiences of ceremonial occasions."⁹⁶ Particularly in the case of funeral processions which marked the communal loss suffered by a nation deprived of a sovereign, the aural and visual cues to the wealth and sociopolitical standing of the deceased were presented in no uncertain terms as the funeral processed through London streets. Such signifiers were at work in the funeral processions of many public figures in the period.

Though falling before the start of the company's settlement at the Rose theatre, the spectacular military funeral of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586 was such a public event that the use of music in the procession forms part of the cultural knowledge upon which the language of theatrical representation was built. Sidney's funeral was rather more spectacular than most military funerals in London at the time; as such, it was more richly documented than most. Other very public funeral processions in London during the years of the repertory include the ceremonial processions of the

⁹⁶ Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (London: Boydell and Brewer Ltd., 1997) 9-10.

third and fourth Earls of Huntingdon (1596 and 1604 respectively), Lord Hunsdon (1596), and Lord Burghley (1598). These processions are much less documented than the obsequies for Sidney.⁹⁷ The description of the funeral procession which accompanies Thomas Lant's pictorial record of Sidney's procession provides a witness to the very public nature of such a spectacle:

He was carried from the Minorities (wh is without Aldgate) along the cheefe streets of the cyte unto the Cathedreall church of St Paules the which streets all along were so thronged with people that the mourners had scarcely rome to pass, the houses likewise weare as full as they might be.⁹⁸

Lant's record of the procession shows two distinct groups of drum and fife players. The first, near the head of the procession is described as "fifes and drums playing softly." The second, towards the end of the processions is described only as "dums and fifes" though these musicians also appear to be in the midst of playing their respective instruments.⁹⁹ This portrayal of drummers playing a part in the military funeral resonates with the description of the drums' duties as described by Francis Markham.¹⁰⁰ This funeral procession, which Woodward claims commanded "national attention" certainly offered to Londoners both elite and common a memorable exposure to the type of military funeral, and its musical practices, which would be represented by the company in their extant repertory.¹⁰¹ Memorable as that public display must have been, however, it surely was out-displayed by the

⁹⁷ For the idea that the ostentation of Sidney's funeral was very much related to the recent execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, eight days earlier, see Woodward 75-81

⁹⁸ Thomas Lant, *Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris* (London: 1588) plate 30 reproduced in A.J. Colaianne and W.L. Godshalk eds., *Elegies for Sir Philip Sidney (1587)* (New York: Scholars' Facsimilies & Reprints, 1980).

⁹⁹ Ibid. plates 4 and 25. For further description of the funeral see John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth Vol.2* (London: John Nichols, 1788) 483-94.

¹⁰⁰ F. Markham sig. I2^r.

¹⁰¹ Woodward 75.

ostentation of the royal funerals which occurred over the course of the company's repertory.

Richard Niccols published the *Expedium* in 1603, which contains, along with a "funeral oration, upon the death of the late deceased Princess of famous memory, Elizabeth" a description of the "true order of her Highness' imperial funeral." There are three groups of four trumpeters indicated as part of the procession. The funeral procession is documented visually in two records. The first is a woodcut on a roll by William Camden.¹⁰² The second is an ink drawing by an anonymous artist.¹⁰³ The Camden woodcut clearly shows the three groups of four trumpeters, the children of the chapel, and the gentlemen of the chapel in rich robes. All three groups of trumpeters are depicted in the act of marching rather than playing. Their instruments are clearly depicted, which may be indicative of the fact that they were played at some point during the procession, as opposed to being carried as signifiers of pomp. Likewise, the chapel children are depicted as carrying books, perhaps the written source of their musical performance during the procession. The gentlemen of the chapel carry no texts or indication of performance. The third group of four trumpeters, the ones closest in proximity to the hearse bearing the royal corpse are all depicted carrying their trumpets with the bells facing upwards. The unanimous position of their instruments may indicate a shared moment of musical performance.

The second witness, the anonymous ink drawing, also represents the groups of trumpeters in procession caught in a moment of movement, rather than one of musical action. There are four figures carrying visible trumpets with banners hanging from them. The children of the chapel are particularly visible in their light colored surplices in the anonymous rendering dominated by the inked mourning blacks worn by the

¹⁰² London: BL: MS Add. 5408.

¹⁰³ London: BL: MS Add. 35324 ff.26-39.

majority of the processors. In addition to the trumpeters and choristers recorded in the visual representations of Elizabeth's funeral, Henry Chettle also records musicians having taken part in the procession.¹⁰⁴ Musical members of the royal household – the violins, recorders, flutes, hautboys and sackbuts, lutes, trumpeters, drums and fifes, and members of the chapel, as well as the singing men and choristers of Westminster were granted allowances for mourning liveries.¹⁰⁵ It is uncertain to what extent these musicians participated musically in the funeral procession. It is possible Chettle was simply recording the presence of an easily recognized group in the procession from a purely visual perspective. It is equally possible that this ambiguously recorded collection of musicians did in fact provide additional musical performances to those of the trumpets and choristers, to enrich the public display which defines the royal funeral procession. These musical performances would have been accessible to the crowds of onlookers (and listeners) who gathered to view the ceremonial procession.

These crowds are documented by Sir Charles Cornwallis who records that at Prince Henry's funeral, there were "to be seen an innumerable multitude of all sorts of ages and degrees of men, women, and children." He goes on to describe how the procession, and seemingly the crowds as well, moved on to Westminster Abbey, "the burial place, where after the dolefull musick of all sorts being ended, the Coffin was set under a great stately hearse."¹⁰⁶ Similarly Foscarini reports that the trumpeters in the procession "by the sound of their funeral march, most beautifully played, they

¹⁰⁴ Henry Chettle, "The Order and Proceedings at the Funerall of the Right High and Mighties Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland from the Pallace of Westminster, called Whitehall: to the Cathedral Church of Westminster 28th April 1603," *Englands Mourning Garment* (London: Thomas Millington, 1603) sig. F1^v.

¹⁰⁵ Ashbee RECM 4: 1-4.

¹⁰⁶ Sir Charles Cornwallis, *The Life and Death of our late Most Incomparable and Heroique Prince, Henry, Prince of Wales* (London: John Dawson for Nathanael Butter, 1641) sig. F5^v; For an illustration of the hearse, see William Hole's engraving, 1612. This is reprinted in Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson 1986) 168.

drew tears from the eyes of all who heard.”¹⁰⁷ The Lord Chamberlain’s accounts record the granting of mourning liveries to the Master of the Children and the Children of the Chapel, the trumpeters to the Prince, the trumpeters to the King, two drummers and a fife player, twelve ambiguously recorded musicians (one of whom as a musician to Prince Charles, who acted as the principal mourner at his brother’s funeral), twenty of the gentlemen of the Chapel, and to musicians from the Queen’s household, including five Dutch musicians, and four French musicians.¹⁰⁸ Chapman’s record of the funeral indicates the presence of an even greater number of musicians for the ceremonial procession; in addition to the two drums and a fife, and groups of trumpeters he records the presence of about sixty Chapel Children, sixty gentlemen of the Chapel, and a further sixty musicians.¹⁰⁹ Though there is no record of the musical performances of these groups, their presence implies at least the possibility for the multitudinous crowds to make an association between the music of the funeral march, the ceremonial procession in the non-dramatic world, and the use of that music as a representational theatrical tool in the playhouse.¹¹⁰

Wedding Music

¹⁰⁷ Brown CSPV 1610-1613 468.

¹⁰⁸ For the concept, tied to the funeral of Sidney, that the use of military percussion in his funeral procession was an appeal to the heroic genre and that via this inclusion Prince Henry’s death was “translated into that of a military hero” see Woodward 156; For liveries granted to musicians see Ashbee RECM 4: 35-38.

¹⁰⁹ George Chapman, *An Epicede or Funerall Song* (London: Thomas Snodham for John Budge, 1613) sig. A4^r.

¹¹⁰ For the use of these musicians in providing musical accompaniment to the more private funeral rituals, which indicates the role of the musicians in general, but provides little access to those musical rituals for the majority of London playgoers see Chapman *Epicede* A3^v-A4, “the corpse was solemnly carried into the Chappell of that house, and placed under a canopy in the middle of the Quire, the Bishop of Lich-field read the Service, and the Gentlemen of the King’s Chappel, with the children thereof, sung diverse excellent Anthems, together with the Organs, and other winde instruments, which likewise was performed the day following, being Sunday.”

*Let's to the Brydes, to haue mony for our song*¹¹¹

Like birth and death, the solemnization and celebration of marriage provided an opportunity to participate in communal ritual for a very large portion of the Elizabethan and Jacobean London population. *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Patient Grissil*, and *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's*, or, *The Almanac* each engage with these practices. Music, feasting, drinking and dancing all play a role in the festivities which accompany the religious rites of the wedding ceremony. The simultaneous presence of religious and secular aspects at the celebration of nuptials encouraged the documentation of these practices by their critics, who focused on the revels which followed the religious services.¹¹² From the bride-ales which accompanied weddings in the country and for the meaner sorts, through to the more elaborate formal banquets, dancing and masking which marked the occasions of weddings for the wealthier sorts music played a role in the celebrations.¹¹³ But it is particularly the festivities preceding the wedding, the bridal procession, with which our company engages. In his *Admonition to the Parliament*

¹¹¹ Munday *John a Kent* f. 5^v, MSR 595.

¹¹² For characterizations of the boisterous nature of wedding festivities see Thomas Dekker, *The Batchelars Banquet* (London : Printed by T[homas] C[reede and others] 1603) and Richard Brathwaite, *The Good Wife* (London : Printed [by John Beale] for Richard Redmer 1618) sig. B8^r.

¹¹³ Ben Jonson, *Hymenaei* (London: Valentine Sims for Thomas Thorp, 1606); Thomas Campion, *Description of a maske, presented before the Kinges Majestie at White-Hall, on Twelfth Night last* (London: John Windet for Iohn Brown, 1607); Ben Jonson, *The description of the masque celebrating the happy marriage of John, Lord Ramsey, Vicount Hadington, with the Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe* (London: 1608); Francis Beaumont, *The masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inn* (London: Felix Kingston for George Norton, 1613); George Chapman, *The memorable masque of the two honovrable Hovses or Innes of Court* (London: F.K. for George Norton, [1614?]); Thomas Campion, *The description of a maske* (London: E. Allde and Thomas Snodham for Laurence Li'sle, 1614); for personal accounts see letters in Nicholls *James* 2.34-5 and 189; for focus on marriage masques see Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990) 125-170.

John Feilde took great offense at what he saw as inappropriately secular behavior on the way to weddings. He describes how brides approach the church bareheaded “with bagpipes and fiddles before them, to disturb the congregation, and that they must come in at the great door of the church or else all is marred.”¹¹⁴ The musically accompanied bride and her escorts formed what Richard Brathwaite called a “frolicsome crew.”¹¹⁵ In 1602 Nicholas Breton describes the leaving of a wedding, which he claims reflects the procession to the wedding, in a characteristically colorful way:

When going home, in order as they went,
The Fidlers played before them all the way:
And not a maide that had her aperne rent,
Her face cleane washt, and had not a cleane stay,
Her shooes well blackt, was held a slut that day.¹¹⁶

The ritual of beginning the bridal festivities by waking the brides with music and accompanying them to the church are invoked in the ballad which begins:

The night is passed & joyfull day appeareth
Most cleare on every side;
With pleasant music we therefore salute you,
Good morrow, Mistress Bride!¹¹⁷

This ballad text lends a title to the tune preserved in the Shirburn manuscript as *The Bride's Good-Morrow*.¹¹⁸ Simpson suggests that though the Symcocke text is dated

¹¹⁴ John Feilde, *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). *Puritan Manifestoes*. ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (London: Ayer Publishing, 1972) 27.

¹¹⁵ Richard Brathwaite, *The Good Wife; or a rare one amongst women* (London: John Beale for Richard Redmer, 1618) sig. B8^r.

¹¹⁶ Nicholas Breton, *The Good and the Badde, or Descriptions of the Worthies, and Unworthies of this age* (London: George Purslowe for John Budge, 1616) sig. D3^r; In his *I Would and Would Not*, Breton captures another bridal procession when he wishes, “I would I were a Fidler, and could play,/A thousand quauers in a minutes space:/And at a Bridale, brauely leade the way,/Before the Bride, and giue the Groome, a Grace” (A4^v).

¹¹⁷ Charles Hindley, ed., *The Roxburghe Ballads*. 2 vols. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1873) 1: 82.

by a Stationers' Register entry in 1624, "it is evidently a reissue of a sixteenth century original."¹¹⁹ This ballad tune may indicate the type of music employed to start off these festivities. The survival of a ballad specifically employed for the purpose is an excellent witness to the ways in which music was employed in this part of the marriage ritual.

These disparate witnesses speak to the standard employment of music not only in the celebrations of marriage festivities, but in the preparation and movement towards the ritual space of the church. As David Cressy notes, a "cavalcade of dancers, prancers and musicians added to the honour of the participants and to the delight of the occasion and singled out the ceremony as a significant rite of passage."¹²⁰ Engaging ritual in the celebrations of nuptial rites transgressed socioeconomic boundaries. The nature of these rituals, particularly the secular aspects which involve hospitality and entertainment, varied according to the wealth and status of the participants. But the employment of music as a marker of festivity was a practice which would have been recognizable to a very large majority of the London playgoing audience. For the majority of that audience, the direct experience of marriage festivities in their own lives would have been preceded by a series of courtship rituals which were often marked by musical performance.

Music for Courtship

*This musick I prepar'd to please thine ears
Love me and thou shalt hear no other sounds.*¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Andrew Clark, ed., *The Shirburn Ballads* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907) 186-7.

¹¹⁹ Stationers Register 14 December 1624: Arber 4: 93; Simpson BBB 66.

¹²⁰ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 367.

¹²¹ Dekker *Lust's Dominion* (SMT) D4^v, Bowers *Lust's Dominion* III.ii.31-2.

The use of music as an aid in the arts of seduction, courtship, and wooing occurs in the repertory throughout the years covered by this project, across the boundaries of time and place. *The Jew of Malta*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Look About You*, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, and even *Hoffman*, in an indirect fashion, engage with the discourses surrounding the role that music plays in achieving sexual and romantic union.¹²² In relation to music as a means of romantic pursuits, Robert Greene begs the question,

Shall I say that Music was only invented by love, yea truly, for either it mittigateth the passions wherewith men are perplexed, or else augmenteht their pleasure so that daily they invent diverse kinds of instruments, as Lutes, Citrons, Viols, Flutes, Cornets, Bandoras, whereon they play Madrigals, Sonnets, Pavans, Measures, Galiards, and all these in remembrance of Love.¹²³

The author of *Politeuphuia, Wit's Commonwealth*, claims that “Love maketh a man that is naturally addicted to vice, to be endowed with virtue, forcing him to apply himself to all laudable excercise; that thereby he may obtain his lovers favour...to excel in music, that by his melody he many entice her.”¹²⁴ Thomas Morley, certainly the most cited of the music theorists of the period, offers advice in the voice of the master in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*. He warns that those who compose madrigals and canzonets for love ought to be eschewed in favor of those musicians who dedicated themselves to the grave and godly style of the

¹²² Darwin's idea that music developed as a human version of animalistic mating cries might have something to do with this oft-invoked association. See Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. ed. Adrian, Desmond and James Moore (London: Penguin Classics 2004) and Wallin L. Nils, Bjorn Merker and Steve Brown, eds., *The Origins of Music* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2000).

¹²³ Robert Green, *Greene's Card of Fancy* (London: Humphrey Lownes for Mathewe Lownes, 1608) sig. K4^{r-v}.

¹²⁴ N.L. [Nicholas Ling?], *Politeuphuia Wit's Commonwealth* (London: J. Roberts for Nicholas Ling, 1598) sig. D3^f.

motet.¹²⁵ Though ironically disapproving, this advice indicates not only the presence of music in the practices and rituals of courtship, but also what type of music was deemed suitable for such performances. The proper musical genre for courting is also alluded to by Robert Burton, who cautions young men not to be “some light inamorato, some idle phantasticke, who capers in conceit all day long, and thinks of nothing else, but how to make Gigges, Sonnets, Madrigals in commendation of his Mistresse.”¹²⁶ The autobiography of Thomas Whythorne provides a fascinating look at a professional tutor and musician who was in a position to know and court a wide range of Elizabethan gentlewomen. Through the course of his somewhat tumultuous career, Whythorne romanced the women he encountered through his musical gifts. Believing that “a giant heart never got fair lady,” Whythorne offers this description of the ways in which courtship could be enacted through musical means:

At this time I had gotten two or three pretty ditties made of love, the which, because I durst not deliver to her in writing for fear of afterclaps, I would sing them oftentimes unto her on the virginals or lute; by the which I made my first entrance into my suit unto her... Then, instead of giving rich gifts, I did supply the want of the same.¹²⁷

So if we consider the presentation of music as part of the ritual gift giving associated with courtship, we must then recognize the social and spatial framework in which those practices were set.

Courtship, according to Bell, was very often a game with many players, a mediated and delegated joint effort.¹²⁸ Yet despite the employment of intermediaries and “go-betweens” in the pragmatic playing out of the drama of courtship, the act of

¹²⁵ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597) sig. V4^v.

¹²⁶ Burton Aa4^v-Aa5^r.

¹²⁷ James M. Osborn, ed., *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) 64-5.

¹²⁸ Iona Bell, *Elizabethan Women and the Poetry of Courtship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 33-53.

gift giving was essentially a private one. The presenter (whether in their own person, or via a messenger of some sort – a relative, a servant, perhaps even a musician as we shall see) was generally the male party, with the receptor equally often being female. The gifts from pursuer to pursued were offered up in a particularly domestic space. The presentation of romantic gifts in courtship in the form of rings, lace, household goods, poetry, or music, was not a spectacle meant for public consumption. It was an intimate act of communication generally fully contained within the domestic sphere of the woman who was positioned as the object of the courtship.

The monumental work of Lawrence Stone has indicated the importance of ritual exchange in the courtship practices of the nobility.¹²⁹ Loreen L. Giese's thorough study of the London Consistory Court records have demonstrated that in London at least, the practices of gift exchange occurred in the courtship rituals of a wide socioeconomic spectrum.¹³⁰ The use of music specifically as a courtship gift is not regularly recorded in these records, which are more concerned with the materiality of physical gift objects.¹³¹ As with the direct experience of so much music, the ability to encounter music as a courtship gift largely depended on the financial resources of the parties involved. The employment of musicians to deliver messages of love was obviously only available to those parties who could afford to

¹²⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); also see Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹³⁰ Loreen L. Giese, *Courtships, Marriage Customs, and Shakespeare's Comedies* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006) 81-97.

¹³¹ The reticence to record music as a courtship gift is echoed by modern scholarship on the matter. Giese, in her reading of gift exchange in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, makes reference to the song Thurio's musicians offer to Sylvia on his behalf, and notes that "the main courtship presents are love letters, songs and sonnets." However, she devotes no time to considering the non-material gift of the performed song itself.

hire musicians (whose efforts were not universally successful for the hopeful lover). Andrew Copley includes this humorous anecdote of musicians being employed in courtship:

A Portugez had hir'd a Musition to play and sing for him at his Maistresse window: The Musition did so, and sung her a sonnet, whereof part went thus: Faire maistresse, hether am I come for you: Wherefore vouchsafe to pity me now. &c. The Portugez wax'd jealous heerat, and all to bombasted the poore fellow, saying: What (villaine) thou come for her? and she to pitie thee? I marie shall she, goe hang thee thou errand knaue.¹³²

To woo directly by the use of music was an option open to a wider range of social sorts. Gentlemen are noted by Copley to have performed for purposes of seduction (though the nature of his treatise presents the musical romantic failure of the gentleman in a comic light):

A Gentleman that plaid verie well vpon the Bandore, and had but a bad voyce, plaid and song in an Euening vnder his Maistresse window, and when he had done, ask'd her how she liked his musicke: She answered: You haue plaid very well, and you haue sung to[o].¹³³

Just as the more documented range of courtship gifts could vary in expense according to the parties involved, it seems safe to assume that the type of musical gift could vary in a similar fashion. If a merchant's son of the middling sort wished to court an appropriate prospective mate, he could, were he musically inclined, offer up a song composed by himself with the aid of Morley's printed advice about setting songs. For members of the lower orders, self-made music, or even melodies drawn from the stock of familiar ballad tunes, may have been used as affordable (and hopefully effective) tokens of affection. The private nature of courtship rituals makes these possibilities difficult to prove by any quantifiable means. But the possibility of direct social experience of the theory that music was a powerful tool in the quest for

¹³² Anthony Copley, *Wits Fits and Fancies* (London: Richard Jones, 1595) sig. I3^r.

¹³³ *Ibid.* sig. I4^r.

romantic and sexual fulfillment certainly seems to exist for a large portion of the London playgoing audience, across the boundaries of social position.

Music for Banquets

*Love me and thou shalt hear no other sounds.
Lo, here's a banquet set with mine own hands.*¹³⁴

The rich feasts represented in the company's repertory as being accompanied by music occur across time and venue: *The Spanish Tragedy*, the plot of *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* and both texts of *Doctor Faustus* contain formal banquet scenes. Each is presented in the context of the social experience of the higher orders within the diegetic world. The ability to provide and enjoy lavish entertainments was limited to those with the financial means to supply food, drink, and musical performances. The representation of these feasts in the drama of the period has been examined by C.D. Meads, who notes that "banquets were understood as a special form of eating occasion, outlined in cookery books, attended by courtiers and high society, and consistently dramatized by playwrights with an eye to their theatrical potential."¹³⁵ What the lower orders of society knew of the confluence of celebratory banqueting and music is much more difficult to trace in the records. But Thomas Deloney's reference to a clothier who "could not digest his meat without music" indicates that the practice was not unheard of amongst the middling sort.¹³⁶

Across socioeconomic boundaries, festive occasions often included feasting, drinking,

¹³⁴ Dekker *Lust's Dominion (SMT) D4^v*, Bowers *Lust's Dominion III.ii.32-33*.

¹³⁵ C.D. Meads, "Banquet Scenes in English Drama 1585-1642" Diss. University of Birmingham 1988, 8. see also Chris Meads, *Banquets Set forth: Banqueting in English Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

¹³⁶ Thomas Deloney, *Thomas of Reading* (London: R. Blower for Thomas Pavier, 1612) sig. A4^r.

and dancing for all sorts of people who represent the possible playhouse audience. At wedding celebrations and the marking of holiday periods, music played an important role for a large portion of London's playgoing public.

Woodfill points out that London officials such as the Lord Mayor, alderman, and sheriffs "habitually called the waits to perform privately for them."¹³⁷ He offers as evidence a record in the Repertory of the Court of Aldermen about the musicians not being available to perform at a wedding which states that "when they [the musicians] come to any magistrate's house of the city they demand unreasonable for their pains."¹³⁸ This indicates that the municipal musicians were both able and expected to provide entertainment for those citizens who could afford their services. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the occasions at which they were present, records of the type of events to which they were called are scanty. That the Merchant Taylors' company increased the annual fees they paid to the waits in 1602, to recognize the need of at least six performers to fulfill the company's musical requirements may indicate that the services of the waits was required for more than just the Lord Mayors' Shows on which that company spent so much time and money during the period. But again, there is little to indicate to what purpose the musicians' talents were put. The author of the treatise "Some Rules and Orders for the Government of an Earle," indicates in about 1605 that an earl ought to employ five musicians who would undertake the following duties at a banquet:

¹³⁷ Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953) 41.

¹³⁸ 9 February 1612 (1613). Corporation of London. Repertories of the Court of Aldermen vol. 31. f.44^v; Woodfill 41.

At great feastes when the Earles service is going to the table, they are to play upon Shagbutts, Cornetts, Shalmes and such other instruments going with winde. In meale times to ply upon vials, violens or other broken musicke.¹³⁹

Though the author was writing generally about practices of the preceding decades, the employment of music during feasts and entertainments appears to have continued throughout the period. A consort of strings which fits the description above can be seen at the banquet, behind the wedding masque, in the portrait of Sir Henry Unton.¹⁴⁰ The use of the loud instruments of annunciation as well as the softer broken consort or string consort of course depended on the financial resources of the host; but the practice of employing at least some musical performance at important feasts seems to have been fairly consistent. Thomas Cooper can offer his sentiments on what sort of music ought to be provided to accompany an important feast:

If any think music is not an unseemely companion of state feasts, surely as I gaine-say it not altogether in them; so would I wish great wisdom to be used therein both for the makers of the music, that they be not of the ordinary mummeries, in that kind and for the manner of the music; that it be grave and reverent: as also for the use, that it bee rather only to show that I have liberty therein, then to enter on a more liberal use thereof, lest it tend to the satisfying of the flesh.¹⁴¹

The presence of music in association with important feasts is corroborated by Robert Armin's description of holiday festivities in *A Nest of Ninnies*:

At a Christmas time, when great logs furnish the hall fir...Amongst all the pleasures provided, a noise of minstrels and a Lincolnshire bagpipe was prepared – the minstrels for the great chamber, the bagpipe for the hall – the

¹³⁹ Richard Brathwaite (?), *Some Rules and Orders for the Government of an Earl*, reprinted in Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 127.

¹⁴⁰ *Sir Henry Unton Portrait*, National Portrait Gallery, London. Reproduced in David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981) 44

¹⁴¹ Thomas Cooper, *The Churches Deliuerance* (London: G. Eld for T. Adams, 1609) sig. B4^v-B5^v.

minstrels to serve up the knight's meat and the bagpipe for the common dancing.¹⁴²

Cooper and Armin refer to the use of music particularly at the lavish entertainments enjoyed by the wealthy. By their nature, the cultural activities of the higher orders of society are more likely both to have been recorded in the first place, and to have survived the passage of time to offer an extant record. Paul Hentzner notes that while the guards bring in dinner to the Queen at Greenwich, "twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together."¹⁴³ This use of annunciatory music at formal banquets is echoed in the description of the feast which followed the investiture of Henry as Prince of Wales. Daniel notes, "then the trumpets sounding, the second course came in, and diner done, that day's solemnities ceased."¹⁴⁴

A more lavish musical entertainment at dinner was provided for his father by London citizens. The records of the Company of Merchant Taylors describe a banquet given to King James I at their Hall in 1607. It included "seven singular choise musicans playing on their lutes, and in the ship, which did hang aloft in the Hall, three rare men, and very skilful, who song [sic] to his majesty," loud music, a pair of organs, the Children of the Chapel, and diverse singing men.¹⁴⁵ The extravagant nature of this musical entertainment was certainly specific to a royal visitation. But it illustrates the accepted convention of providing musical accompaniment during the course of a banquet. This kind of luxury could only have been directly experienced by wealthier members of the London theatre going public whose social circles could afford to employ musicians for this service. There is of course the opportunity offered

¹⁴² Robert Armin. [*A Nest of Ninnies*] (London : Printed by T. East for John Deane, 1608) sig. B1^r, printed in Woodfill 233-4.

¹⁴³ Reprinted in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*. 2 vols. (London: John Nichols, 1788) 2: sig. B5^v.

¹⁴⁴ S. Daniel sig. B3^v.

¹⁴⁵ Reprinted in Nichols *James 2*: 138-9.

to the indirect audiences at such feasts – the serving staff of the venue who would have been privy to this connection between music and banqueting. But in general, the employment of music at a banquet as a representational tool would have been most readily accepted and interpreted by the wealthier sort of playgoer.

Music for Hunting
*A noise of hunters within*¹⁴⁶

With the winding of horns and the musical representation of the hunt, both onstage and off, the company engages with a musical discourse available to a very select portion of their possible playhouse audience. The aural cues associated with the hunt – the shouts and hallowing accompanied by the signaling of the hunting horns are employed in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Patient Grissil*, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, and *I and II Robin Hood*. The entrance of these plays into the company's repertory span the breadth of the years covered by this study, and include performances at the Rose, the Fortune and at court. The venues, and the audiences present therein offer a varying degree of possible direct experiences of the hunt and its aural cues. As Edward Berry has noted in a study of Shakespeare's particular relation to the sport, "throughout the plays, as in Elizabethan society, the language, symbolism, and activity of the hunt center upon a social elite."¹⁴⁷ The plays in the repertory do not diverge from this general practice, though their employment of it,

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemakers Holiday. Or The Gentle Craft* (London: Valentine Sims, 1600) D1^r, Fredson Bowers ed., *The Shoemakers' Holiday* Vol.1 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) II.i.0.1.

¹⁴⁷ Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 12.

and the implications of power and privilege which it carries is manifest in several unique ways.¹⁴⁸

But each figure associated with the sound of the hunt in the repertory is, in some way, a privileged figure, whether that privilege is royal or civil. In the non-dramatic world, hunting was very much the prerogative of the court. The game which provided the opportunity for the chase was relegated to enclosed parks and forests during the period, which were the exclusive property of the crown. Under Queen Elizabeth, the right to use local hunting grounds was restricted to gentlemen in possession of lands with at least forty shillings a year.¹⁴⁹ Both Elizabeth and James were enthusiastic participants in this recreational sport. James in particular sought to increase the privilege required for participation. Throughout his reign, James initiated changes to the laws limiting the ability of lesser nobility and the less privileged gentry to participate in what he viewed as an exclusively royal activity. In his addresses to Parliament he stressed the usefulness of hunting and the necessity of maintaining these private spaces specifically for the maintenance of the royal health.¹⁵⁰ This conception of hunting as an opportunity restricted to the highest of the higher orders is expressed not only by the sovereign, but by numerous writers of the period.

Gervase Markham touches on the art of hunting in the first book of his *Country Contentments*, the first edition of which appeared in 1615, and which seems to have been intended for literate husbandmen and their wives. But the majority of works concerned with instructing and praising the art of hunting and its rhetoric are

¹⁴⁸ These will be examined in the considerations of these plays in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

¹⁴⁹ George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1611) sig. A4^v.

¹⁵⁰ For examples see: James I, *Proclamation at Hampton Court* (London: Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie 1603); James I, *Proclamation at Hampton Court* (London: Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie 1609); also see Berry 1-38.

dedicated solely to members of the higher orders. These manuals carry titles like *A Jewel for Gentry* and dedications which speak to a culturally identified readership of the privileged members of society. Thomas Cokayne, for instance, describes his treatise on hunting as being “compiled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen.”¹⁵¹ In 1598, John Manwood produced *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forrest* which he addresses to an audience of “learned” and “gentle” readers.¹⁵² The 1611 edition of George Gascoigne’s *Noble Arte of Venerie* was “translated and collected for the pleasure of all noblemen and gentlemen.”¹⁵³ Though these dedications might be interpreted as a marketing tool to encourage wealthy book buyers to purchase the works via flattery, the royal prerogatives associated with hunting indicate that producers of these texts were accurate describers of their intended audiences. Even ballads that concerned the hunt were sometimes directed at an elite audience, directed to be sung to “a new court tune.”¹⁵⁴

Two of the manuals mentioned above contain the only extant records of what exactly all that winding of horns sounded like. The earlier witness, which falls outside the years of this study, but which provides the richest musical record we have, is found in Gascoigne’s *The Noble Arte of Venerie*.¹⁵⁵ In the 1575 edition of this work, the notation in score for the various horn signals indicates at which point during the hunt they are to be employed, and how many breaths, or winds, are to be used in the

¹⁵¹ Thomas Cokayne, *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (London: Thomas Orwin for Thomas Woodcocke, 1591) sig. A1^r.

¹⁵² John Manwood, *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forrest* (London: Thomas Wight and Bonham Norton, 1598) sig. A2^v.

¹⁵³ Gascoigne sig. A1^r.

¹⁵⁴ See William Basse, *Maister Basse his careere, or, The New hunting of the hare, to a new court tune* (London : By E.A. [ca. 1620]).

¹⁵⁵ Long mistakenly attributes this work to Turberville. Turberville’s treatise, *The Book of Falconry or Hawking* is often bound with Gascoigne’s, which may explain the mix-up. The musical figures do not pertain to falconry or hawking, however.

production of the signals on the hunting horn.¹⁵⁶ Musical notation is used and indicates that Gascoigne and/or his printer felt that representing these signals in musical terms was important enough to justify the labor-intensive process of printing musical figures. But in practice, the notation indicates that the same tone is to be used throughout each of the signals. The pricking out of this notation has more to do with the rhythmic nature of the horn signals, than with its melodic content. This treatise was reprinted in 1611, with the musical notation reproduced exactly.¹⁵⁷ This repetition indicates that though a number of years had passed between editions, the aural signals being used as part of the sport had not changed much.

The later record of these signals is derived from *The Boke of Saint Albans*, attributed to Juliana Berners. The Saint Albans text went through several editions, but with the 1614 publication of an extract entitled *A Jewell for Gentry* ascribed to T.S., an independent treatise on hunting, fowling, and fishing, was created. In this treatise appears a section titled, “the true and perfect measure of Blowing.”¹⁵⁸ There follows a description of a system of short and long horn soundings. The fact that there is no reference to tonality, or tonal changes agrees with the expression in score found in Gascoigne’s work. These cues were employed to signal the type of animal being hunted and by what means, to communicate between the hunting parties to signal movement and the death of the quarry, and to communicate with groundskeepers at the close of the hunt.¹⁵⁹ They would have formed part of the direct experiences of those members of the playhouse audience to whom hunting was an available pastime, and of the playgoing servants employed by them.

¹⁵⁶ This notation can be found in Gascoigne sig. +1^r – +2^v.

¹⁵⁷ In the 1611 edition the musical notation appears at sig. Q5^r-Q6^v.

¹⁵⁸ T.S., *A Jewell for Gentry* [sic] (London: John Helme, 1614) sig. H1^v.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* sig. H1^v-H2^v.

Music and Cultural Identity

*...let your sweet strings
Speak louder (pleasure is but a slave to Kings)¹⁶⁰*

The idea that music functions as a marker of social and cultural identity is not a new one. But the use of music as such a signifier in the company's repertory resonates with more recent theories concerning the ways in which identity is both constructed and reinforced. Through the invention of and participation in aesthetic practices by members of a specific cultural group a shared identity is enacted. The use of music a marker of identity, or identities, occurs throughout the company's extant repertory. Almost all of the extant texts use music to locate characters within the dramatic world in terms of nationality, gender and social standing. In terms of twentieth-century cultural identity, Stephen Firth argues that

different sorts of musical activity may produce different sorts of musical identity, but how the musics work to form identities is the same. The distinction between high and low cultural, in other words, describes not something caused by different (class-bound) tastes, but is an effect of different (class-bound?) social activities.¹⁶¹

The idea that a particularly musical aspect of cultural identity is the direct result of the social participation in specific musical discourses is what makes this very modern theory resonate with the historical practices being explored in this project.

The recognition of national identities in terms of musical genre and a recognized set of stylized musical practices during the period demonstrate a willingness to see aesthetic taste as playing a role in defining an idea of Englishness.

¹⁶⁰ Dekker *Lust's Dominion (SMT) D5^v*, Bowers *Lust's Dominion III.ii.62-3*.

¹⁶¹ Stephen Firth, "Music and Identity," *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Ed. Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1996) 112.

The stylistic musical developments in Italy, and their dissemination into contemporary English culture provides a rich means of tracing the way in which cultural identity is voiced, both literally and figuratively. The extraordinary rise of the English madrigal school just prior to the period covered by this study offers an example of the artistic and stylistic importation and borrowing of nationally recognized forms of musical expression.¹⁶² The “Englishing” of this Italian song form is practised by professional musicians in the period. The printed texts which document this process have come down to us indicating both the power of music to signify nationality itself, and the specific socioeconomic groups to which those international borrowings and nationalistic reclamations of foreign musical forms were available. The massively influential collection *Musica Transalpina* published by Nicholas Yonge in 1588 is identified as being a book of madrigals, with no indication as to the various nationalities represented therein. Later collections that appeared during the company’s time at the Rose and the Fortune add emphasis to a very distinct madrigal form being developed. These collections advertise on their title pages that the contents are specifically English. The very prominent display of nationality expressed by these collections allows for the use of music as a means by which to signify the otherness of figures associated with foreign musical forms.¹⁶³ It is to a particular sort of person that these musical-national discourses would have

¹⁶² See such monumental works as E.H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948) and Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (New York: American Musicological Society 1962) to trace this development.

¹⁶³ For a fascinating look at the way a nationalistic spirit is celebrated in the printed texts, see George Kirby, *The first set of English madrigalls to 4. 5. & 6. Voices* (London: Thomas Este) sig. A2^r, John Farmer, *The first set of English madrigals to foure voices* (London: William Barley, 1599) sig. A2^v; for first person detail of the international travels for the purpose of acquiring musical skill see John Dowland, *The first book of Songs or Ayres in four parts with tabliture for the lute* (London: Peter Short, 1600) sig. A3^r.

been accessible. Though Dowland claims to have collected the pieces in *Lachrimae* with “an earnest desire to satisfy all,” the intended audience for the vast majority of printed musical scores were those who could afford to purchase music in print.¹⁶⁴ Thomas Morley’s anonymous gentleman, who took care of the charges for printing Morley’s *Consort Lessons*, “for his private pleasure, and for diverse others his friends which delight in Music” seems to represent the target audience for these printed works that record the confluence of musical practice and national identity.¹⁶⁵

In the repertory, there are several characters whose foreign nationality is defined in part through their connection with specific musical types. Insultado in *Fortunatus* and the Lady Sydannen in *Look About You* are both associated with musical performances which highlight their nature as outsiders. Lacy in *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, Castilliano in *The Devil and His Dame* and Barabas in *The Jew of Malta* employ music to strengthen their disguises within their fictional worlds, to lend an air of realism to their performances of foreign nationality. This representational use of music to identify characters in disguise, to signify their otherness within the structure of the dramatic world, is made possible through the recognition of a set of musical practices recognized by a specific portion of the audience as being English. This acceptance of a body of music as English allowed for the simultaneous recognition of a body of music which was equally non-English. By engaging with ideas concerning the creation of a national identity through musical means, the company was able to employ a language of musical metonymy able to situate characters at the periphery of the diegetic social world.

¹⁶⁴ John Dowland, *Lachrimae, or Sevean Teares Figured in Seaven Passionate Pauans* (London: John Windet, 1604) sig. A2^v.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Morley, *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (London: William Barley, 1599) sig. A1^r.

Music also plays a role in the way religious figures are represented in the repertory. Though such figures do not appear often, their musicality offers a means to identify and locate them within the diegetic world. The very public debates concerning the use of music in worship practices made music a site of contention, particularly in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.¹⁶⁶ This controversy added strength to music's position as tool in the theatre able to carry meaning. Two plays in the repertory employ music to identify religious affiliation: both texts of *Doctor Faustus*, and *The Whore of Babylon*. In both instances, the musical performance is recorded as being sung in Latin. Though there is the possibility that other musical content was employed, the familiarity and notoriety of the Sarum Rites of the Catholic Church ostensibly provided the musical content of these specific performative moments. Like the use of music as a marker of a particular nationality, the religious affiliation of these figures marks them as outside the normative Protestant construction of their respective fictional worlds. The aural effect of their Latin chants both add authenticity to that characterization, and further enforces their position as outsiders.

In addition to employing music as means of signifying the national or religious identity of a character, music is used throughout the repertory to signify social and economic standing. Annunciatory signals locate their subjects in a particular social stratum. Another specific social group identified on the stage by association with their musical practices in the non-dramatic world are the tradesmen, skilled workers, and pedlars who populated London in the period. Past scholarship has taken the musical life of these craftsmen (in conjunction with references in the

¹⁶⁶ The 1549 Act of Uniformity established the Book of Common Prayer as the seminal text of the Church of England. Here, the older Sarum rites were replaced by the Offices of Matins and Evensong. For more on the complex issue of the effects of the Reformation on musical development in England, see Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London : Herbert Jenkins, 1970); J. Stevens *Music and Poetry* 74-97; Lindley *Shakespeare and Music* 63-7.

prescriptive literature about the necessity of musical training for members of the higher orders) to paint a picture of a very musical “merrie England.” This England was populated by collections of songsters and songstresses who wandered through their days singing complex polyphonic songs. Though this idea of an inherently musical culture has been overstated, there is contemporary evidence that music did occupy a place in the daily lives of London tradesmen. Burton’s references to “laboring men that sing to their work” resonate with the use of music to locate the professional identities of characters in the company’s repertory.¹⁶⁷ Castiglione too, alludes to the use of music by laborers as means to make their labor pleasant.¹⁶⁸ The preservation of particular tunes associated with specific professions also supports the idea that in the non-dramatic world the musical practices of these professionals played a role in constructing a cultural identity.

The tune known as the Carman’s Whistle comes down to us with variations, by William Byrd in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.¹⁶⁹ In a manuscript collection known as the Dowland Lutebook (c. 1600) there is a tune preserved with variations called the “Cobbler’s Jig.”¹⁷⁰ Both tunes indicate musical forms associated with their

¹⁶⁷ Burton sig. Aa4^r.

¹⁶⁸ Castiglione sig. F7^r.

¹⁶⁹ Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum: MU MS 168; the tune also appears in: London: British Library: MS Add. 30485: f. 65^r and in lute settings in: London: British Library: Egerton MS 2046: f.32^v and Cambridge: Cambridge University: MS Dd.5.78.3 f. 48v; for later settings see Simpson BBB 85-6.

¹⁷⁰ Folger Shakespeare Library MS. V.b.280.; see also J.M. Ward, “The So-called “Dowland Lute Book,”” *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 9 (1976), 5–29; for a potential collation see J.M. Nosworthy, “A Elizabethan Jig,” *Malone Society Collections IX* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977) 24-9; for later settings see John Playford, *The Dancing Master* (London: 1686) and discussion in William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time* 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1965) 1: 277.

respective trades.¹⁷¹ In both instances the tunes are used as the basis for musical variants composed for the use in performance by members of the wealthier classes. Such borrowings and reinventions of the music of tradesmen by professional musicians indicates that the more privileged playgoers of the time would have had access to the role musical practice played in the daily lives of those tradesmen. The use of music as a signifier of professional identity in the repertory then was a theatrical language of representation whose significance would have been understood by a large portion of the playhouse audience. Members of the particular trades represented on the stage, those who interacted with those tradesmen directly, and even the more removed higher orders who were privileged enough to be exposed to the cultural practices of those tradesmen via the musical quotations by professional musicians were all in a position to understand the process of identification at work in those musical moments.

The extant body of ballad tunes provided fodder for appropriation and adaptation by professional musicians. In the extant repertory of the company engagement with ballad literature occurs specifically in *II Robin Hood*, *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore*, and *Hoffman*. Jinny and the Friar pose as singing pedlars in the country, Bellafront's man Rogers is directed specifically to sing "the ends of old ballads" and the lyrics to Lucibella's songs document a direct engagement with ballad traditions.¹⁷² When Shadow enters singing in *Fortunatus* and Patch sings in *When You See Me, You Know Me*, the nature of their song-texts is not recorded. This

¹⁷¹ A variety of trades are named in the extant ballad literature, but these are the examples that specify the musical forms which are part of the system of signifiers by which tradesmen could be identified.

¹⁷² Thomas Dekker, *The Honest Whore with, the Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife* (London: V. Simmes, 1604) C3^v, Paul Mulholland, ed., *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore, Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, Gen Eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007) 6.0.6.

absence of specific musical documentation reflects the means by which ballad tunes were connected to the printed broadsides of the period.¹⁷³ Texts sung “to the tune of” a particular melody imply the existence of a body of musical knowledge from which the consumers of such printed material would be able to draw. This corpus of widely known melodies ostensibly provided the means by which ballad hawkers advertised their wares.¹⁷⁴ But who were the Londoners in the period for whom the extant ballad literature played a role in their everyday experiences?

Bruce Smith presents the idea of the ballad as “a complete system of communication, involving certain people in certain kinds of situations, communicating certain kinds of experiences in certain kinds of ways.”¹⁷⁵ The certainty and specificity of ballad culture which he offers, without situating that cultural identification amongst a particular sort of people, stems from the tremendous diversity of the body of extant ballad literature. The oral tradition of balladry and its relation to the practices of minstrelsy (which was a quickly fading musical cultural practice in the years leading up to the company’s habitation at the Rose) indicate the potential participation in ballad culture by both the literate and the non-literate. Simpson highlights this when he points out that the “broadside ballad was essentially an urban variety of subliterate expression.”¹⁷⁶ There are many factors relating to the

¹⁷³ See Diana Poulton, “The Black Letter Broadside and Its Music.” *Early Music* 9.4 (1981) 427-437; These instances could also be related to Stern’s theories behind the loss of songs in printed plays (see Chapter Two consideration of *John a Kent*) but the inclusion of parts of the burden in the body of the text does not seem to support the loss of a separate song sheet in these cases. This theory will be considered fully in Chapter Five, “*The Shoemaker’s Holiday*.”

¹⁷⁴ Tunes such as *Jenny Gin*, *Bonny Sweet Robin*, *The Maiden’s Joy*, *Welladay*, *Flying Fame*, *In Edinburgh Behold*, *Light o’Love*, *Aim Not Too High*, *Virginia*, *The Black Almain*, *Wigmore’s Galliard*, *Chevy Chase* and *Walsingham* are called for in the period as the settings for printed ballads. See Simpson BBB for collations of these tunes and others common in period that have survived in musical settings.

¹⁷⁵ B. Smith 172.

¹⁷⁶ Simpson BBB x.

reception of ballad culture in the period. But the “subliterary” nature of this musical textual communication, and its availability as means of entertainment for the lower orders goes some way to account for the amount of scorn expressed about the ballad form during the period.¹⁷⁷

Ballad makers, ballad hawkers, and ballad singers all come under derision by contemporary commentators.¹⁷⁸ The association of the body of ballad literature with the lower classes of London has shaped the history of scholarship concerning ballad production and practice. Even while pointing out the “urban bourgeoisie” audience to whom the extant ballad literature belonged, Wurzbach explicitly situates ballad culture as catering for “a mainly lower-class, relatively uncultured, practically minded public.”¹⁷⁹ That the broadside ballad was a medium of mass communication as well as a form of literary and aural entertainment for both the consumers of the printed texts and the audiences of the tunes in the market place contributed to an association between the ballad form and a particular sector of the London populace. The representation of the ballad singer on both the stage and the page, as well as the liberal borrowings of ballad tunes for adaptation by professional musicians provided access to this body of musical settings for the more privileged orders as well.

Ballads are not the only socially specific musical form documented in the extant repertory. A range of musical material comes into play in the company’s repertory; from bawdy vocal songs to music identified specifically with the court, the full gamut of musical expression is employed by the company. Each of these musical moments carries with it its own unique collection of dramatic functions. But the

¹⁷⁷ B. Smith offers a more complex reading than is possible here, of the surfeit of ballad criticism in the period 168-205.

¹⁷⁸ For an excellent survey of this reception literature see Nataschia Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990) 242-284.

¹⁷⁹ Wurzbach 26.

relations between musical form and social identity in the non-dramatic world allows for that broad range of musical performances to be used as a dramatic language of representation. The employment of music as signifier of that social identity provides a means by which the subversive nature of a character can be represented. This function of music as a signifier is most clearly at play in the association between music and the female characters who do not conform to the idealized femininity called for by the prescriptive literature of the period. The women who appear as musical agents, particularly as producers of vocal song, in the company's repertory stand in direct opposition to the ideals of the silent woman celebrated in the conduct literature. Through their demonstration of musical training and their engagement with prescriptive ideals these women are identified as occupiers of a specific social stratum by their musical performances. Female singers of songs which are not derived solely from ballad tradition are present in *Hoffman*, *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore*, *II The Honest Whore*, and *The Roaring Girl*. Their vocal performances challenge the idea of the admirably silent woman through musical means.

Though prescriptive literature and conduct manuals of the period certainly cannot tell us how women behaved, they are able to indicate to us the way women were asked to behave, and provide an interesting critical framework for the presentation of female characters in the repertory. The encouragement of silence in the female subject marks the use of musically performative women in the company's repertory as a means of engaging with the ways women's idealised behaviours were represented (and here subverted) on the stage. Nicolas Breton is worth quoting at length on the virtue of silence in constructing oneself as a lady.

A quiet woman is like a still wind, which neither shills the body nor blows dust in the face. Her patience is a virtue that wins the heart of love, and he wisdom makes her will well worth regard...Her tongue is tied to discretion and her heart is the harbour of goodness...She is her husband's down bed, where

his heart lies at rest, and her children's glass is the notes of her grace....She scorns fortune and loves virtue, and out of thrift gathereth charity...In sum, she is a jewel unprizable, and a joy unspeakable, a comfort in nature incomparable, and a wife in the world unmatched.¹⁸⁰

In sharp contrast to the celebratory tone describing the silent woman, Swetnam claims in his 1615 *Arraignment of Lewd Women*, that “their faces are liars, their beauties are baits, their looks are nets, and their words charms, and all to bring men to sin” and goes on to warn young men that women have “siren’s songs to allure thee.”¹⁸¹

His reference to the alluring power of the siren’s songs ties in to the representation of a specific type of musically, and socially, subversive figure on the stage – the prostitute. Though Austern claims that “music is the whore’s most powerful allurements” and goes on to cite numerous literary figures and characters to illustrate this point, there is little contemporary evidence that indicates a body of musical practices which function as a signifier of trade membership for prostitutes, as there seems to have been for say, barbers, carmen and cobblers.¹⁸² The dramatic and literary representation of siren-like sex workers engage rather with the discourses of music as an affective force, and very possibly the use of music in more formalized courtship practices, than with music as marker of a particular trade identity. Primarily this representation is dependent upon the recognition of the idealized normative feminine behavior. Making music and practising the world’s oldest profession both challenge the ideals presented in prescriptive literature. But it is not just punks who make such beautiful music.

¹⁸⁰ Breton *The Good and the Bad* E2^v-E3^r.

¹⁸¹ Joeseeph Swetnam, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (London: George Purslowe for Thomas Archer, 1615) sig. B2^v.

¹⁸² Linda Phyllis Austern, ““Sing Againe Syren’ The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 42.3 (1989): 444.

The use of music as a signifier of social standing functions for a variety of characters present in the extant repertory. Prescriptive and conduct literature was available primarily to those literate members of the playgoing public who could afford to purchase such printed material. Those more privileged playgoers were also the members of society to whom private musical instruction and professional musical performances were most readily available in the period. Characters in the repertory who demonstrate musical skill and patronize professional musical performance reflect the direct experiences of the upwardly mobile middling sorts and wealthy nobility. Music performed for private recreation and pleasure within the diegetic world is present in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Fortunatus*, *Patient Grissil*, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, the B text of *Doctor Faustus*, *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Look About You*, *II Robin Hood*, and *When You See Me, You Know Me*. Many of these musical moments function mimetically by reflecting the use of music in the non-dramatic social world in ways already discussed – for festive and ceremonial occasions like banquets and courtship practices.

Several times in the repertory the company offers performances within their performance. Sometimes simplistic, sometimes lavishly complex, these formal embedded performances are always presented as part of an entertainment for the higher orders of the social hierarchy within the diegesis. The circumstances of their presentation within the diegetic world indicates a mimetic relationship with social practice in the non-dramatic world. Such embedded performances that include music occur in *Fortunatus*, *II Robin Hood*, both texts of *Doctor Faustus*, *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, “John of Bordeaux,” *The Whore of Babylon*, and *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's, or, The Almanac*. Only the last two bear a resemblance to the spectacular

masques of the Jacobean period with its formal structure, its focus on the monarch and the inclusion of its audience in the revels.¹⁸³ The other representations in the repertory of this type of courtly entertainment focus much more strongly on the disguise and dance aspects of the entertainment than on the celebration of important figures or the integration of the diegetic audience in the revels. This makes sense when the chronology of masque development and of the company's repertory are considered.

Most of these embedded entertainments engage with Elizabethan dance forms and practices. Social dancing was an important part of life at the court of Elizabeth. The monarch herself was known by her contemporaries for her skill in and enjoyment of the art.¹⁸⁴ But the idea of such courtly entertainment was not restricted to those who could directly take part. Printed and manuscript sources which record specific dance choreographies were available to the reading public outside the court.¹⁸⁵ Thomas Morley provides a very rich description of the character of many courtly dances in the *Plaine and Easie Introduction*.¹⁸⁶ Dance tunes are often included in music collections printed for the dissemination of music amongst the middling

¹⁸³ The form and function of the Jacobean Masque is a rich subject for study that falls outside the limits of this project. For excellent works in the area see Andrew Sabol, ed., *Four Hundred Songs and Dances From the Stuart Masque* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England for Brown University, 1982), David Lindley, *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995), Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford: Oxford UP 1996), David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, eds., *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1998), Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹⁸⁴ See Andre Hurault, *A Journal of All that was Accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse, Ambassador in England 1597* Ed. G.B. Harrison and R.A. Jones (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931) 95; Nichols *Elizabeth 3*. Letter from Stanhope.32; Mary Anne Everett Green ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1601-3* (London: Longman and Co. 1870) 179.

¹⁸⁵ For example, see Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography* (Langres: 1589) and John Ramsay's commonplace book (Bodleian MS Douce 280).

¹⁸⁶ Morley *Plaine and Easie* sig. A24^{r-v}.

sorts.¹⁸⁷ The inclusion of these tunes has more to do with the development of musical training than for purposes of accompanying actual dancing. But the exposure to this music increased the awareness of court practice for those who could afford to purchase printed music collections. The presence in much prescriptive literature intended for the already noble and upwardly mobile also increased the awareness, if not the direct experience, of formal dance performance as a culturally specific activity.¹⁸⁸ The enjoyment of formal dancing was a public and communal (if privileged) act. But representations of private and domestic music making in the repertory also serve to locate the boundaries of the fictional world within a social sphere that contained a musically literate population.

When Thomas Elyot comments on the relationship between musical knowledge and the training of noblemen he makes explicit a number of ideas which influence the ability of the company to use music as a representative language on the stage. Though writing half a century earlier than the period under investigation here his observations illustrate several key theories about the practice of musical education by nobility in the period of this study:

it [music] only serveth for recreation, after tedious or laborious affayres. And to shew him, that a Gentleman playing or singing in a common audience, appayreth [impaireth] his estimation: The people forgetting reverence when they behold him in similitude of a common servaunt or Minstrell, yet

¹⁸⁷ See John Dowland, *The first booke of songes or ayres of fowre partes with tableture for the lute* (London: Peter Short, 1597); John Dowland, *Lachrimae, or Seauen teares figured in seauen passionate pauans* (London: John Windet, 1604); Thomas Robinson, *The schoole of musicke wherein is taught, the perfect method, of true fingering of the lute, pandora, orpharion, and viol de gamba* (London: Thomas Este 1603); For collections of dance music in the Jacobean period in a modern edition see Andrew Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances From the Stuart Masque* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England for Brown University, 1982).

¹⁸⁸ See Richard Mulcaster, *Positions* (London: Thomas Vautrollier for Thomas Chard, 1581); Castiglione *The Courtier*; Peacham *Complete Gentleman*; an earlier generation of dance critics like Gosson and Stubbes may have increased awareness of this social practice as well. Controversy sparks conversation, after all.

notwithstandinge, hee shall commende the perfecte understandinge of Musicke, declaring how necessarye it is for the better attayning the knowledge of a publyque weale, which as I before sayde, is made of an order of estates and degrees, and by reason thereof containeth in it a perfect harmonie.¹⁸⁹

He makes it clear that the primary function of music is recreation. Music was (and is) a site of aesthetic pleasure for both its performers and its audiences. Elyot depicts the nobleman particularly as the performer in this instance, warning that a public demonstration of musical knowledge might serve to blur the boundaries between master and servant, undermining the societal structure of estates and degrees so well illustrated by the harmonic principles at work in musical performance. This threat of social instability and the chance that musical performance offers to permeate the barriers of social identity are echoed throughout the period of the company's extant repertory. The injunction that music was a fine and necessary skill to be encouraged in the instruction of young noblemen and women, but only in the private sphere, was echoed by later conduct literature.

Castiglione's conduct manual, *The Courtier* was advertised as being "necessary and profitable for young gentlemen and gentlewomen abiding in court, palace or place."¹⁹⁰ In England, it appeared first in 1561 translated by Thomas Hoby. The work ran to more than twenty editions, and was translated into several languages. Castiglione has much to say about the necessity of musical training for properly educated nobility.¹⁹¹ He particularly draws attention to the necessity for the nobleman to confine his musical performances to the domestic sphere, indicating that men who publicly "without much entreating set out themselves to show as much as they know"

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Elyot, *The booke, named The Governour* (London: Thomas East, 1580) sig. C4^{r-v}. Though the first edition appeared in 1531, the later 1580 edition is quoted here as its publication is closest in time to the period under consideration.

¹⁹⁰ Castiglione sig. A1^r.

¹⁹¹ See Castiglione sig. F6^r-F7^r and H2^v-H3^v

might be mistaken for those servants for whom music “is their principall profession.”¹⁹² Henry Peacham’s oft quoted treatise, *The Compleat Gentleman*, appears in print just after the period covered by the repertory. It draws on ideas which were current for the last several years of the company’s time at the first Fortune and echoes Castiglione’s concerns. Peacham’s hope that a young gentleman would be able “to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to your selfe” indicates the musical experience required of the nobility while relegating that musicality to the private sphere.¹⁹³

The primary evidence of private music-making and performance in London is more difficult to trace than instances of civic, royal, or institutional music making, for which records of payment and presence often survive. Music in the domestic sphere is certainly less apt to be recorded, as there is less cause for an individual to keep detailed record of their daily life. It is safe to infer from the prefatory material of many of the printed collections of music as being “easily learned,” or intended for those who would “learn to play a lesson” that there existed in London a reasonable market for music collections and manuals aimed at amateur or student musicians.¹⁹⁴ Indeed teaching was one of the primary means by which professional musicians were able to make their living. These teaching manuals were produced to allow an even more diverse audience access to musical knowledge than those who could afford a private music teacher. Many of these collections were made to “offer help to young

¹⁹² Castiglione sig. H2^v.

¹⁹³ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1622) sig. O4^v.

¹⁹⁴ Morley *Plaine and Easie* F2^r; Thomas Robinson, *New citharen lessons with perfect tunings of the same* (London: J. Windet for William Barley, 1609) sig. A4^v.

beginners, and such as oftentimes want a Teacher.”¹⁹⁵ The proliferation of these musical instruction books establishes the presence of music in the domestic sphere of a wider variety of the London theatre going population than simply the nobility who were the subjects of the prescriptive literature.¹⁹⁶ This documentation of a musically literate population allows the representation of the domestic performance and enjoyment of music on the stage to be read as a mimetic language whose meanings would have been accessible to a large majority of the playhouse audience.

¹⁹⁵ Robert Dowland, *Varietie of lute-lessons viz. fantasies, pauins, galliards, almaines, corantoes, and volts* (London: Thomas Snodham for Thomas Adams, 1610) sig. A2^v.

¹⁹⁶ For example, see: John Mundy, *Songs and Psalmes* (London: Thomas Est, 1594), William Barley, *A New Book of Tablitures* (London: J. Danter for William Barley, 1596), William Bathe, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song* (London: Thomas Este, 1596), Morley *Consort Lessons*, John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs of Ayres* (London: Thomas Este, 1600), Thomas Robinson, *The School of Music* (London: Thomas Este for Simon Waterson, 1603), Richard Alison, *An Hour's Recreation in Music* (London: John Windet, 1606), Alfonso Ferraboasco, *Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 Viols* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609), Thomas Robinson, *New Citharn Lessons* (London: J. Windet for William Barley, 1609), Robert Dowland, *Variety of Lute Lessons* (London: Thomas Snodham for Thomas Adams, 1610), Ravenscroft *A Brief Discourse*.

Chapter Four

Music at Work in the Repertory

The function of music in the extant repertory of the company often bears a close mimetic relationship to the musical social practices in the contemporary non-dramatic world explored in the preceding chapter. This chapter will follow the format of the previous one by maintaining the categorization of musical behaviors in terms of broad social functions and theories. Within each category, evidence about the musical practices of the company will be drawn from extant texts which represent the repertory as a body. In consideration of the fact that discussions of the repertory in its development across a variety of venues will follow, the evidence in this chapter will be drawn from texts which will not feature in the following chapters. With a few exceptions, chronology dictates the structure of the presentation of musical moments within each social practice category. By dealing with the plays in the order in which they appeared in the records of the repertory during our time period, the variety of functions music served in the repertory as it unfolded in time will be highlighted. The theoretical framework for talking about the ways music functions in the repertory which were established in the introduction and the function categories presented in the first chapter will be employed as strictly as possible for each of the musical moments considered.¹ Not all of these categorizations will be simply delineated and clear-cut. The overlappings and interconnections of form and function will only add to the view of music as working in a multiplicity of ways within the extant repertory.

Otherworldly Music

¹ See Chapter One “Speaking of Music.”

*Hark, hark my Lord, the holy Abbot's harp
Sounds by itself so hanging on the wall²*

Music plays a very powerful role in the representation of supernatural powers at work in the repertory. The manuscript of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, and *The Devil and His Dame* each contain episodes that engage with the ideas about the connections between music and the supernatural world. These musical cues identify supernatural figures, demarcate the enchanted spaces in which they move and tie directly into discourses in the non-dramatic world about the existence of otherworldly music.

In *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, music functions as one of the most important signifiers of arcane power. Both Kent and Cumber in their roles as conjurers employ music as a means of enchantment and as a signifier of their skills in the art of magic. For John a Cumber, music plays an important role in his ability to disguise himself as his rival, John a Kent. While disguised, he presents an Antic show to the rival lords (ff. 6^v-7^r, 773-849). The music is provided by the very worldly musicians who made up the rustic consort that appeared earlier in the play.³ Within the diegetic world, this music lends authenticity to the Antic figures playing at being supernatural beings. For the playhouse audience who has seen Cumber make his very worldly arrangements with the rustic musicians, the Antic show and its musical content appear as part of Cumber's disguise (f. 6^v, 739-41). They tie Cumber's

² John Tatham [Haughton], *Grim, the Collier of Croyden, or, The Devil and His Dame in Gratiae Theatrales, or, a Choice Ternary of English Plays* (London: printed by R.D 1662) Three Centuries of Drama: English, 1642-1700. Huntington Library sig. G8^r (from here on, this playtext shall be attributed to the dramatist, Haughton). William Baillie, ed., *Grim the Collier of Croyden in A Choice Ternary of English Plays* (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 1984) I.iv.53-4.

³ Munday ff. 3^v, MSR 334-367; Munday ff. 5^{r-v}, MSR 555-645.

illusions firmly to the human world of the diegetic audience, and to his particular version of the magical arts. The music that plays from within also serves to mark beginning of the embedded entertainment for the playhouse audience, as does the music that he calls for to mark his “magical” presentation of the lords and ladies on the walls (f. 7^v, 916-920).

Cumber’s rival once produces a musical signal himself, on a winded horn that serves simultaneously to announce the arrival of the lords Griffen, Powesse, and their train, and to flag his ability to foretell that arrival. A marginal stage directs indicates that Cumber must “wind his horn” (f. 4^v, 469). But for John a Kent, the invocation of music as a badge of otherworldly power comes through the performance of his servant, Shrimpe. One of the most continuously musical figures in the repertory, Shrimpe uses vocal song and instrumental performances to magically carry out Kent’s commands. He imposes his own lyrics at Sydannen’s window, leads the escaping lovers through the forest with instrumental music, and lulls them to sleep with a lullaby.⁴ His songs highlight his otherworldly nature by being heard by part or all of diegetic audience though Shrimpe cannot be seen by them. In addition to Shrimpe’s performances, a chime is called for in the marginal notes several times to accompany Kent’s magic.⁵ The first sounding is noted by Lord Powess who commands his companions, “Listen my Lords methinks I hear a chime/ Which John did promise.” (f. 9^r, 1140-1) Though this text is rich in musical examples of the supernatural variety, its uncertain identification as part of the repertory limits its usefulness for considering the functions of music within that repertory. So we will now turn to other invocations of music’s otherworldly associations in the company’s extant repertory.

⁴ Munday *John a Kent* ff. 5^r; 9^f; 9^v, MSR 579-83; 1098-9; 1150-3

⁵ Munday *John a Kent* ff. 9^r and 9^v, MSR 1138-1141 and 1158-64

The entrance of Oberon and his dancing fairies in *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* is an innocuous one in a play so wholly grounded in the very human politics of the diegetic world (D6^f, III.74.1-2). This embedded performance may represent a moment in which the company had to reach outside of its membership to meet the musical demands of the play. The fairies enter dancing. We know that there is musical participation from the players on the stage. Generally in the extant repertory when the company turns to professional musical help, the musicians are kept out of sight or presented functionally as musicians playing themselves. But there is the chance in this musical moment that an instrumental accompaniment was provided by a group of professional instrumentalists.

Within that fictional world the appearance of these otherworldly figures introduces a prophecy of action that follows. The music which accompanies their entrance serves to identify these arcane figures as truly of another realm. It is the creative function of this cue. The process of mimesis allows the musical performance to participate in creating these characters. The appearance of Oberon and his train follows Maria's traumatic experience with the king in which she has given him a sleeping potion to avoid his sexual advances. Once the king is asleep, a stage direction says she "offers to go" (D6^f, II.ii.74). This directed action is supported in performance by the dialogue in which Oberon must urge her to stay.

This brings us to the structural function of this otherworldly musical performance. What stays her is fascination with the audiovisual spectacle of the "dancing and singing" fairies (D6^f, II.ii.8.1). The music that accompanies the entrance of these occult figures serves to bookmark the enchanted space created by their entry. If Oberon and his fairies did not keep Maria in the room with the king's sleeping body, the Queen Mother would not have had an explicit excuse for killing the young

woman. Of course, rather than an elaborate occult spectacle, an earlier entrance for the Queen Mother and the Spanish peers would have served a similar purpose. The prophesy Oberon offers is fulfilled just twenty-eight lines later. This seems to indicate that a great deal of dramatic anticipation was not the primary motive for the inclusion of this musical performance.

It is the audiovisual spectacle of this performance which seems to be the intent behind introducing it here. Oberon's prophecy of Maria's death is fulfilled almost as soon as it is pronounced. That the Queen Mother wants to usurp Maria's place in Eleazar's bed has previously been presented to the playhouse audience. Maria makes no use of this information before she dies in the following scene. This brief magical interlude, then, seems to serve primarily as an opportunity for the company to offer their extra-diegetic audience the sensual pleasure of the music and dance performed by the fairy train. By offering a chance for the playhouse audience to experience this occult performance with Maria, this musical moment functions in an interactive way.

When Dunstan's harp sounds miraculously while hanging on the wall in *The Devil and His Dame* we encounter one of the most creative and unique employments of a performed musical moment in the company's repertory (G8^r, I.iv.52.1). Within the fictional world, the source of this otherworldly sounding is a site of contention.⁶ Both the holy man Dunstan and the devilish Belphagor (here disguised as Castiliano) claim to be the source of the music being heard; for Dunstan the phenomenon of music being played by an invisible force illustrates the power of his integrity and the testimony of his truth. For Belphagor/Castiliano, the music serves as a signifier of his devilish powers. Belphagor's claim to being the source of the music proves the stronger; Dunstan tries in vain to master his sounding harp. Within the boundaries of

⁶ Baillie quotes Holinshed as a source for the episode in which Dunstan's harp sounds miraculously, while hanging on the wall. Baillie *Choice Ternary* 315n.

the diegetic world, only Belphegor knows that the source of the music is devilish in nature. To the stage audience of this dramatic musical moment, the harp's sounding is the result of the extraordinary conjuring powers of the figure who introduces himself as a Spanish doctor thus:

Now shall your Lordship's see a Spaniard's skill
Who from the plains of new America
Can find out sacred Symples of esteem
To bind, and unbind Nature's strongest Powers (G8^f, I.iv.93-6)

The combination of music as a signifier of occult forces as work, in addition to the magical herb juice which cures Honorea's muteness, serve to authenticate Belphegor's disguise as a foreigner who stands outside the normative social construction of Honorea's world. The exoticism of the disguise, in combination with the occult significance of the mysterious musical performance, highlights the peripheral position of the wheeling and dealing devil in relation to the human social world to which he is a hellish emissary.

Practically speaking, the harp being played has the interesting pragmatic implication that the company was in possession of two harps - one to hang on the wall, as a prop, and the other to sound from a non-visible location, within or above, to create the sound to which the characters react. There is the possibility that the company owned only one harp that was capable of being played, while the harp onstage was a prop which gave a realistic enough semblance of being playable to create the illusion that it was the source of the music heard. The music that was heard by both the stage and playhouse audiences acts as an offering of aesthetic pleasure to both groups. Within the boundaries of the diegetic world, the enjoyment of that musical performance may have been underscored by the debate surrounding the heavenly or hellish source of the performance. For the playhouse audience who were

well aware of the representational nature of the unfolding scene, the harp being played provides an opportunity to enjoy a performance which Dunstan claims is “heavenly music” (G7^v, I.iv.57). Where else but the theatre would the playhouse audience get to hear that elusive heavenly harmony? Indeed, this dramatic musical performance serves to illustrate my earlier point about the imaginative connection between the sounding of “heavenly musick with an Angel’s hand” and the music associated with darker magical forces represented in the theatre (G7^v, I.iv.57).

Obviously we have passed from the considerations of the diegetic function of this musical moment into considering its interactive extra-diegetic effects. For the playhouse audience, the association between Belphagor and the demonstrably demonic music functions as a means of identifying the devil through his disguise. It connects him to that supernatural realm, the hellish Synod to which the playhouse audience had been privy. He has recently announced his presence in disguise, and his intentions to seek the hand of the mute Lady under the cover of being a foreign physician. The harp music works to alert the audience to the dual nature of Belphagor’s/Castiliano’s identity. It also serves a structural purpose as a marker of a performance within a performance. By flagging the devil’s original, otherworldly characterization within his performance of the Spanish doctor, the music marks a site in which the multiple layers of performance occur. Both complex and simple narratives in the repertory are punctuated by the bright sounds of musical annunciation.

Musical Annunciation

Go hang the Trumpeters, they mocke me boldly...not telling what I am, but what I seem⁷

⁷ George Chapman, *A pleasant comedy entituled: An humerous dayes myrth* (London: Valentine Syms 1599) sig. C4^v-D1^r, David Nicol Smith, ed., *An Humorous Day’s*

The powerful sounds of the trumpets playing flourishes and sennets accompany the movements of politically and socially important figures in the company's repertory, just as they were known to do in the non-dramatic world. Occasionally, horns and other instruments serve the purpose. Though the use of a horn to wake up the drunken butler offstage in *Two Angry Women of Abington* might be read as an annunciation of a particularly inebriated state, it would be an unconventional reading of a unique musical cue (E2^r, 968).⁸ *The Massacre at Paris*, *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Comedy of Humors (An Humorous Day's Mirth)*, *Look About You*, *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, and *The Tragedy of Hoffman* all indicate the continuous use of more conventional mimetic signals throughout the body of the repertory. These cues function in a multiplicity of ways to identify, signify, create, and locate political and social power.

Despite the continuous focus on political power and the comings and goings of powerful figures, *The Massacre at Paris* contains only two instances of explicit annunciatory cues in the text. The celebratory entrance of the newly crowned Henry, to the accompaniment of trumpets and shouts from within of "Vive le Roy" bears a direct mimetic relation to the function of the king's trumpets in the non-dramatic world (B7^{r-v}, 14.0.1-11).⁹ The trumpet signals here, within the diegetic world, are the first trappings of royalty that Henry dons in public. For the fictional audience both on

Mirth The Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1937) ll. 769-774.

⁸ Henry Porter, *The Pleasant Historie of the Two Angrie Women of Abington* (London: Edward Allde for Joseph Hunt and William Ferbrand, 1599).

⁹ Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris With the Death of the Duke of Guise* (London: E.A. for Edward White, n.d.); Edward J. Esche, ed., *The Massacre at Paris Vol. 5 The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

stage and within, this trumpet signal validates Henry's claim to royal authority. For the extra-diegetic audience in the playhouse, that specific invocation of royal prerogative, to be announced by trumpets, works creatively to establish Henry in a position of enough political power to make his fall from that power an affective phenomenon.

At a structural level the trumpets sounding within serve as a compelling cue to shift attention away from the previous scene and to direct attention to the action which is moving from within towards the stage. The use of aural signals here does not seem to be indicative of a shift in the location of the dramatic action, but rather as a call to direct attention to the repopulation of the same imaginative space. Navarre and Plesh want to avoid the coming king and so are forced to exit the stage. The newly crowned king can then enter to occupy the same space which has just been emptied.

The second instance of annunciation in the text brings together King Henry of France and the King of Navarre, united in their attempt to overpower the Guise. Though the "Dumme and Trumpet" combination is a common signifier of military action and power, it is possible to read this sounding of instruments as functioning in several ways (D3^v, 1423-6). Within the diegetic world, the import of the military prowess of both parties is indicated by the presence of soldiers with the company, and the militaristic instrumentation which directs their movements. But the trumpets here were also available to be used in an annunciatory capacity. The uneasy alliance of these previous enemies suggests that both parties would employ every portable signifier of political strength and power. The employment of recognizable trumpet signals would serve within the diegetic world as a sensual reminder of the status of both parties. The cue creates and signifies the power of each.

For the extra-diegetic witnesses to this political union, the employment of the trumpet calls resonate with the presence of recognized authority in the non-dramatic world. That resonance allows this signal to function creatively as a kind of representational shorthand. The union of these monarchs is accompanied by the sound of trumpet calls. When Navarre is made King of France the alliance that was validated by this musical signal is made more acceptable by the alliance that the trumpet call announces here.

Structurally speaking, this trumpet signal serves as an aural barrier between the plottings of Dumaine and the poisonous friar to murder Henry. The pair exit the stage after hatching their plot, while the procession of both kings and their trains repopulates the stage. The bright sounding of the trumpets serves to draw the attention of the playhouse audience away from the intimate scene they have just been exposed to, towards the public meeting of two powerful figures. Of course the outcome of both Dumaine's plotting and the union of France and Navarre must intertwine for the dramatic action to be resolved. But this musical cue keeps those two threads of plotline separate in order for the action to unfold.

Annunciatory cues serve similarly creative purposes in *Captain Thomas Stukeley*. Three times the trumpets are recorded as being used to announce the entrance of important political figures. There may have been other instances of annunciation in the performance, but the trumpets are recorded as sounding only for the Spanish King Philip, King Sebastian of Portugal, and the opposing forces of Muly Hamet and the Portugese Prince, Antonio.¹⁰ Each trumpet sounding creates an

¹⁰ Anon., *The Famous History of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley* ([London]: Printed [By William Jaggard] for Thomas Pauyer 1605) sig. H3^r, Judith C. Levinson, ed., *The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley* The Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1975) 2044; Musical annunciation also occurs at sig K2^r, 2510 and sig. K3^r, 2575-6.

awareness of the political power these figures carry. Creatively, each of these soundings helps to establish the privileged setting and nature of the exchanges that follow them. Structurally, each of these cues signals the arrival of forces that affect the unfolding of the dramatic action. Phillip's entrance is followed by a demonstration of his power that liberates Vernon while the meeting of Muly Hamet and Antonio sets in motion the military conflict that concludes the plot.

Though the unfolding of the dramatic action could have been aided by the inclusion of more musical signals, there are very few musical cues recorded in either extant text of *The Spanish Tragedy*. Of course this does not mean that those which have been captured in the text are the only cues heard during early performances of the play. But the cues that have been textualized mark complex moments. These signals participate in the creative processes of locating particular characters and the structural introduction of embedded performances. When the banquet is brought in with the king and the ambassador, the trumpets sound (C1^r, 524).¹¹ Within the diegetic world, this cue announces the imminent presence of the king, giving the gentlemen courting Bel-Imperia a chance to recover themselves and prepare for the appearance of the king and the Spanish ambassador. These trumpeters may also serve a dual purpose: both announcing the king's entrance, and serving as a part of the "pompous jest" and entertainment provided by Hieronimo (C1^v, 547).¹²

The annunciatory capacity of this moment brings together both the extra-diegetic and structural functions of the aural cue. For the playhouse audience, the

¹¹ Thomas Kyd. *The Spanish Tragedy* (London: Edward Allde for Edward White, 1592); W.W. Greg and D. Nichol Smith, eds., *The Spanish Tragedy 1592* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949).

¹² For more on the multiple layers of theatricality in this play see David Lair. "The Inserted Masque in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama," Diss. U of Wisconsin 1955, 62-79 and Sarah P. Sutherland, *Masques in Jacobean Tragedy* (New York: AMS Press Inc. 1983) 9-15.

imposition of the mimetic use of a trumpet signal to accompany the king's entrance works in a similar fashion as it does within the diegesis. The trumpet blast confirms the presence of the king anticipated by Horatio, and alerts both audiences to his appearance (C1^v, 518). In a creative fashion this trumpet cue functions as a means by which the mood of the private exchanges which have just take place between Bel-Imperia and her would-be lovers is shaken off. The sonic impact of the blasts of the trumpet help to shift the flavor of the dramatic action from private to the very formal and public entertainment of the ambassador. Though there is no shift in dramatic location, the focus of the dramatic action shifts perceptibly at the trumpet's call.

Often it is the conflict between actual and perceived authority that is flagged through the use of annunciatory cues. The sole call for a musical signal in *A Comedy of Humors (An Humorous Day's Mirth)*, is the trumpet sounding which announces the entrance of the king (C4^v, 768).¹³ He comments on the function of such a musical cue within the diegetic world: "Go hang the Trumpeters, they mocke me boldly, and every other thing that makes me knowne, not telling what I am, but what I seem" (D1^r, 772-4). This musical cue is part of the trappings of royal sovereignty, creatively representing the power the King is perceived to have. The concerns of this king relate to his own particular ability to wield that power truly while suffering the pangs of love. But the trumpet cue announces to both the stage and playhouse audiences that this king continues to wield, if only superficially, the perceived power of the monarchy.

At the extra-diegetic level, the king's commentary draws attention to the musical annunciation. This is a twist on the general practice in which the musical

¹³ Geroge Chapman, *An Humerous Dayes Myrth* (London: Valentine Syms, 1599); David Nicol Smith, ed., *An Humorous Day's Mirth* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937).

signal was employed as a sensory flag. Though this is the only textual evidence of the use of trumpet signals to introduce the comings and goings of the king, it is possible that other cues were used in performance and have not survived in the text. But whether this was a singularly employed musical cue, or part of a continuous, though undocumented system of musical signifiers we cannot say. It remains that this cue is highlighted by the focus lent to it by its own subject. The episode raises questions about the location of true authority, while at the creative level reinforcing the status of the king by investing him with a recognized signifier of that authority. Despite his emotional role in the comedic chaos of the dramatic action, this king is continuously wearing the mantle of authority which in the end allows him to offer a resolution to the comedic conflict.

Structurally speaking, this cue functions as sensual-structural barrier between the specific locations of the dramatic episodes that it separates. Following the laying of plans which will bring about the resolution of the adulterous confusion, the stage must be cleared. For all of the assignments to function effectively the plotting by both parties must be kept separate. Pragmatically, the trumpets which announce the king also cover the exit of one party and the entrance of another. By dividing the two parties in both time and space, this musical cue plays a small role in the successful unfolding of the dramatic action.

In *Look About You*, the dramatic action is initiated by a conflict about the proper holder of monarchical power. The first time a musical annunciation is employed the identity of the rightful wearer of the crown is in question. Trumpets sound here to announce the entrance of not one, but two kings to the stage with separate trains composed of lords and princes. Henry the Second enters crowned, as does “Henry the sonne” (A3^f, 76-8). Conflict ensues as to who rightly wears the crown. The textual

representation of the cue for the trumpets to sound does not indicate in what way they sounded. In the non-dramatic world, the employment of trumpeters as servants to specific members of the royal family suggests that each party would have a recognizable flourish to accompany their movements and announce their presence. In performance, this single cue may actually have been enacted as two separate musical moments: separate soundings for each wearer of a crown. At the end of the scene, the parties “Exeunt with trumpets two waies.” This also suggests that there were separate trumpeters for each faction and very possibly two distinct soundings provided. A call later in the play for a trumpet to be sounded “far off” allows Henry the son to recognize that “the old King comes.” (3^v, 1002-3). This recognition of the identity of the figure being announced by the trumpets goes some way to support the idea that the signals heard at the start of the play were distinctive and related to the identity of each crowned king. So within the dramatic world, these musical signals serve not only to announce the royal presence, but to differentiate which claimant is being announced by the signal.

The trumpets here also serve creatively to help shift the setting from the Hermit’s abode to the interior of a court chamber. Stage furniture must have played some part in establishing the setting for the scene as there are several references to characters being seated, and one refusal to take a chair. But the initial blast of the trumpet serves as a cue to the playhouse audience that they have left the outdoor setting of the previous scene in favor of the interior court. That initial aural divide created by the musical cue also blurs the boundaries between the realms in which this particular musical cue functions. Though these signals can be read as functioning within the diegetic system which defines the fictional world, they also carry with

them a set of meanings for the playhouse audience which stem from the mimetic relationship between dramatic representation and non-dramatic practice.

The musical cues produced here function as a means by which the playhouse audience can construct dramatic meaning. They invite interaction. It is not possible to pin down the exact nature of that meaning, or set of meanings, but only to offer possible readings. In allowing the possibility that a playhouse audience could draw upon experiences and associations from the non-dramatic world to situate the dramatic action such a reading is possible. The challenge in offering a reading of this particular performative moment is problematized by the lack of scored musical signals associated with these texts. If we had a score to analyze that indicated the type of flourish associated with the respective Henries, the job of decoding the inherent meaning of these signals would be that much easier. Alas, such records do not exist. What can be said, however, is that by invoking the uses of musical signals in the non-dramatic world in this moment, the company employs these musical signals as an aural shorthand in which the political conflict of the scene can efficiently be established. The presence of two distinct trumpet calls signifies for the stage and playhouse audiences that there are two very powerful parties present in their midst.

Such specific political power is flagged in a similar way by the trumpets which sound to mark the last entrance of the king and his train in *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. The trumpets here function both diegetically and extra-diegetically to announce the presence of a powerful political figure to the stage audience and their playhouse counterparts. Textually this annunciatory cue follows an act break signaled by a call for cornet music.¹⁴ The entr'acte music called for most probably relates to a

¹⁴ Henry Chettle and John Day, *The blind-beggar of Bednal-green* (London: Printed for R. Pollard, and Tho. Dring, 1659) sig. I2^v; music is also called for between Acts 2-3 (E2^v).

later performance. It was not the practice of the company to employ music between the movements of the dramatic action during the period covered by this study. Instead, during performances at the Fortune, the company would have played continuously over this textual break.¹⁵ Diegetically, the annunciatory signals form part of the expected soundscape of the courtly world. For the extra-diegetic audience, the mimetic function of these signals simultaneously creates and reinforces the authenticity of the world in the king and his train move.

The sound cue here also serves the very practical function of creating an aural boundary between the physical locale of the preceding dramatic action and the imaginative space to which the king enters. Whether the musical cue sounded before the king's entrance or simultaneously with it is impossible to say. But as the king and his train seem to enter together, the signal provides an efficient means of establishing a sense of place in which the following action can unfold. By serving this practical function, this music of annunciation filters through the permeable barriers between diegetic and extra-diegetic functionality, working creatively to locate the king's presence in a newly identified imaginative space for both the stage and playhouse audiences.

In its extra-diegetic guise this music of annunciation carries with it the possibility of signification in the eyes of the audience members who can draw on direct experience of annunciatory trumpets in the non-dramatic world. Working not just in a mimetic fashion, but metonymically as well, the trumpet signals here seem not only to represent the presence of the king, but to lend weight to the powers of resolution he is able to enact. The king here represents the authority by which order can be restored and the narrative can be neatly wrapped up. He enters with the

¹⁵ Chan *Ben Jonson* 15.

trumpets and stays on stage for the remainder of the dramatic action. In his presence, and often at his behest, Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort are reconciled and a “new born peace” is established as a consequence (I3^r). Momford’s innocence is made known. A match is agreed between Bess and the upstanding Captain Westford, and Momford finally sheds his disguise as the blind beggar. The king leaves the doling out of punishment to Gloucester, but constructs a positive resolution to the narrative by granting Momford the office of Treasurer and young Westford a generalship. Thus, the king himself, announced by trumpet signals, marks the presence of the authority necessary not just to rule the fictional world, but to bring the dramatic action to an acceptable conclusion.

The first musical annunciation in *The Tragedy of Hoffman* sounds at the first appearance of Duke Ferdinand and his train (B4^v, 240-1).¹⁶ Within the diegetic world, Ferdinand occupies the highest position of social and political power. As such, the use of an annunciatory cue works mimetically to provide an instantaneous measure of characterization about the entering figures. The sound of the flourish also goes far to establish a specific location in which the following dramatic action will unfold. The uncertain length of this flourish indicates that it may have functioned to cover the necessary action of clearing the stage before the Duke and his party enter.

The playhouse audience has just witnessed Hoffman undertake the beginnings of his revenge by gruesomely murdering Ferdinand’s nephew. The body of the young prince must be removed in some way. It is possible that the spectacular murder was staged in a curtained space, but Hoffman’s command to Lorrique to “enter the cave” makes this potential improbable (B3^r, 150). The flourish which announces Duke

¹⁶ Henry Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (London: John Norton for Hugh Perry, 1631); Harold Jenkins and Charles Sisson, eds., *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (Malone Society Reprints. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951).

Ferdinand may have offered some cover for the necessary action of getting the body off stage. Its structural function engages with the use the company makes of musical signals to indicate the start of embedded performances. Hoffman's unfolding plot of revenge starts when he kills Charles and runs continuously through the play. But he classifies his first violent act as "but the prologue to the'nsuing play" (B4^r, 237). After his creation of himself as a type of framing device, the flourish follows and echoes the use of musical signals to mark the start of performances for the extra-diegetic audience.

Once the dramatic action has gotten under way, the music of ceremonial annunciation is again employed. At the ceremonial creation of Hoffman (now disguised as the dead Charles who is sometimes called Otho) as heir, musical signals are employed to lend authenticity to the proceedings.¹⁷ The processional entrance of the Duke and his train is recorded as being accompanied by hautboys. The flourishes which mark the herald's official annunciation and the Duke's decision to quit the stage in the same scene clearly reflect musical practice in the non-dramatic world (C4^r, MSR 494 and 500). Such signals were absolutely within the capabilities of the company to produce, even if a large number of attendants were introduced in the staged moment.

Attendants certainly appear at the final use of annunciation in the play. At both the diegetic and extra-diegetic level, the flourish marks Martha, mother to the (true and unfortunately dead) Prince Charles, and sister to Duke Ferdinand, as a figure of social and political import (H1^r, 1681-3). The employment of the flourish may also serve to highlight the rather spectacular visual entrance Martha makes onto the stage

¹⁷ The confusion about Hoffman/Charles being called Otho in the text stems from later censorship due to sensitivity about Charles being used as the original prince's name. See Wiggins *Catalogue* "The Tragedy of Hoffman" and Jenkins and Sisson vii.

and into the dramatic world, between a lane created by “as many as may be spared,” with lights, while “Martha the Dutchesse like a mourner with her traine passeth through” (H1^r, 1681-3). At an even more pragmatic level, the sound of the trumpets may help to cover the entrances of those who kneel to form the lane through which Martha and her train enter the playing space. This simple mimetic cue, like so many others, works in a multiplicity of ways.

Musical Military Signals

*What means the warning of this Trumpet sound?*¹⁸

In a repertory that has been classified as consisting of “drum-and-trumpet-trash” the frequent employment of musical military signals is no surprise.¹⁹ *The Massacre at Paris, A Knack to Know an Honest Man, Captain Thomas Stukeley, The Spanish Tragedy, Sir John Oldcastle, The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green, The Tragedy of Hoffman, and The Whore of Babylon* all employ musical military signals to a surprising number of ends. These mimetic moments accomplish a great diversity of effects throughout the repertory.

The “alarums within” which accompany the death of the Duke of Joyeux in *The Massacre at Paris* represent the only access to playhouse audience would have had to the military action which leads to the Duke’s death (C3^r, 18.0.1). In a diegetic sense, these alarums function to direct the military action of both sides. This combat, which takes place offstage, is related in short retrospective bursts by the King of Navarre and Bartas as having been a “storme” in which many men had lost their lives, and in which the whole of Joyeux’ troops were dispersed (C3^v, 18.18). To have directed this complicated battle narrative, the multiple soundings which are

¹⁸ Kyd A4^v, MSR 202-205

¹⁹ Cook *Privileged Playgoer* 7

represented by this stage direction must have been both powerfully loud and contextually specific. Military writers like Markham indicate that the range of instrumental signals employed both in training and on the field of battle had to be both simple enough to be understood by the soldiers and specific enough to communicate efficiently. The fact that textually this cue is recorded in the plural indicates that a number of different signals were employed; for the characters bound by the limits of the fictional world, these cues would efficiently direct their military action.

Pragmatically, these musical military signals offer the company a chance to avoid the difficulties of presenting large scale battle on the stage. By employing such clear aural signifiers of military combat the company avoids the necessity of presenting two royal armies whose forces had been richly described in earlier scenes as rather spectacular. It is tempting to argue that by locating the dramatic action outside the visual range of the audience the company also avoided the difficulty of removing Joyeux's dead body from the stage after he had been slain, but numerous deaths occur onstage and demand the removal of bodies throughout the play.²⁰ The prevalence of violence in this play makes the employment of aural signals to narrate non-visible dramatic action somewhat surprising. In a performance so obviously populated by violence and death, why miss the opportunity for another violent spectacle? The reasons lie in the difficulty of representing mass conflict on the stage. The massacre which gives the play its title is represented not by a visual mass killing, but by a scene of chaotic chase across the stage and the individual deaths of particular representative victims. Similarly, the staging of the violent conflict later described by

²⁰ The Old Queen dies by sniffing poisoned gloves, the Admiral is stabbed in his bed by the Guise's men, Loreine the protestant preacher is stabbed on stage, as is the scholar Ramus.

the king and Bartas is sidestepped through the employment of specific aural signals capable of representing mass military conflict.

The capability of these signals to transmit narrative information obviously depends on the ability of those signals to function at an extra-diegetic level. The set of meanings carried by these aural signals is constructed through the associations between military action and instrumental communication present in the non-dramatic world. By invoking that association in relation to the dramatic action, the company is able to represent a complex military narrative in a non-visual way. These particular alarums also function in a creative way. Though the courtly scene which has just passed has not been conflict free, the type of conflict represented is of a personal and private nature. The sensory impact of the loud military instruments provide a kind of aural boundary between France's indulgent court, and the post-battle planning of Navarre to "beat the papall Monarck from our lands,/And keep those relicks from our countries coastes" (C3^v, 18.16).

Enabling the shift from private domestic conflict to mass public action is not the only work that musical signals do in the repertory. In *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, the single musical/aural cue preserved in the extant text occurs in relation to a militaristic single combat that is about to take place. The stage direction "Here sound Trumpets" marks an aural cue which calls the individual combatants as representatives of the warring factions (E2^f, 93).²¹ In the diegetic context, the musical cue sounded here functions structurally to bring the dramatic action to a head, in the form of armed combat. For the Duke of Milan, Brishio comes forward, offering to

²¹ Anon, *A Knacke to Know an Honest Man* (London: Printed for Cuthburt Burby, 1596); H. De Vocht and W.W. Greg., eds., *A Knack to Know an Honest Man* The Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910).

fight valiantly, despite the fact that he is an old man (E2^f, 916). For the Duke of Florence, Lelio fights. The parties fight,

...for dowry
 The which the Florentines denies to pay:
 In right of marriage, with faire Orrelio my wedded
 wife. (E1^v, 908-11)

The militaristic signal sounded here functions as a means of communication within the fictional world, just as the trumpet and drum signals are recorded as functioning in contemporary military manuals.

In a structural fashion, this musical moment covers the time in which non-verbal action takes place which is central to the unfolding of the dramatic plot. In the space of this aural signal, the combatants have enough time to size each other up, and recognize the nature of their relationship as father and son-in-law. Their joy at finding each other serves to dissolve the tension between the dukes, thereby avoiding both single combat and possibly more extensive military action. The reunion of these two characters, accompanied by the sound of the trumpets, also serves a catalyst for later dramatic action. Once these two have been reunited, Brishio's sons can beg Lelio to turn himself into the Venetian authorities so that their father can be delivered from banishment.

The function of this cue at the extra-diegetic level, of course, depends on its mimetic relationship with military signals in the non-dramatic world. This signal serves to situate the dramatic action and heighten the dramatic tension of the scene. The conflict between the two dukes, and the potentially violent nature of the means by which their conflict will be resolved, are reinforced by the use of mimetic aural signals here. This particular military signal also serves as a site of ironic juxtaposition. The trumpet call whose presence as a signifier of military action, armed

force, and potential (often literal) violence on the stage here serves as a musical accompaniment to a moment of rediscovery and reunion. The emotional dialogue which follows this cue is hardly what would generally be expected to follow similar militaristic cues in the repertory, or indeed in the theatre in general during the period.

The trumpets which are sounded function in a structural way as well. The musical moment works as a sensory flag. Though we cannot know if this cue is indeed the only musical signal which occurred during early performances of the play, the fact that it is the sole textual survivor of its type suggests that this particular cue had a dramatic effect on the parties who provided copy to Cuthbert Burbye.²² Whether the copy was provided “surreptitiously from actual performance” or by more authorial means, the dramatic moment of recognition is aurally flagged, for the playhouse audience.²³

Not every aural signal in the repertory announces such moments of structural import. Often the function of a musical military signal is primarily contained within the diegesis. Within the dramatic world, the military signifiers of the drum and soliders who enter with the ensign and the lieutenant in *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, serve to unify the marching entry of the army. In the previous scene Curtis has been summoned “to the guild hall, about the soldiers/That are to be dispatched for Ireland” (C4^r, 705-7). The gathering here reads as a type of muster, in which the troops gather to be inspected by Curtis, and by young Stukeley, who arrives later in the scene. Employed in a mimetic function, the drums would have directed the movements of the troops, just as the training maneuvers of the Armed Bands were directed by aural signals at Mile End and the various Artillery Gardens.

²² The play is registered to Burbye in the Register of the Stationers’ Company. Arber 3: 54.

²³ De Vocht and Greg vii; more recent scholarship challenges this theory. See Laurie Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1996) 271-3.

Creatively, the sounding of the drums serves as an aural barrier between the physical setting of the previous scene, and the shift to the Guildhall. The stage space available for such a shift indicates that both players and audience must imaginatively reconstruct the playing space as the stage is cleared at the end of the previous scene. Though the action takes place in the same physical space on the stage, engagement with the fictional world demands that both audience and players recognize a transformation in dramatic locale. The sharp sounding of the drums serves as a sensory indicator that such a shift has taken place. Utilizing both the intensity of the sensory experience of the drums and the implications of the mimesis at work in the representation of a military presence, this aural cue serves to divide one dramatic locale from the next. The mimetic function of this cue allows it to signify a shift in scene setting.

By creating a new dramatic space for the following scene, the aural signifier of the drum serves to create both a literal and metaphorical distance between the Stukeley that was and the Stukeley that is. In the previous scene he was shown repaying his many outstanding debts, the details of which indicate the truth in earlier claims that he has been living as “a lewd and prodigal...spendthrift” (B2^v, 331). A shift in character has obviously taken place. The spendthrift bears little resemblance to the man praised by his troops in the dialogue which follows their entrance (C4^{f-v}, 723-744). When Stukeley commands, “Sound drums I will not hear no more” he allows the sound of the drum to drown out the piteous pleading of his new bride and the upbraiding comments of his father-in-law (D2^f, 838). Both of the figures represent Stukeley’s ties to his civilian life, which had been defined by his loose living. The sounds of the drums which he commands serve not only to call his troops to attention, but to punctuate the shift in both the lifestyle and the character of this young captain.

Indeed the next body of musical signals employed in the play concern Stukeley's new military life. The drums that announce Stukeley's arrival in Ireland with his forces serve a creative purpose (D4^v, 1009-1029). For both the stage audience and playhouse hearers, the drums work as a signifier of military identity. Announcing the arrival from "a far off" the drums extend the physical boundaries of the fictional world (D4^v, 1009). Once he has arrived on the scene, Stukeley commands the drummer to "tap [his] tapskins hard across the pate" (D4^v, 1028). His command invokes the structural function of this cue. By doing its mimetic job of communication the military signal also affects the unfolding of the plot. It draws Vernon forth by announcing Stukeley's presence in Ireland. The presence of his rival, signaled by the drums, drives Vernon out of Ireland.

Stukeley follows Vernon from Ireland but only after defeating the Irish rebels. That conflict is begun by the unique call in the repertory for a bagpipe, with a drum, to indicate the threat of the Irish forces (E2^v, 1166). Creatively, the bagpipe is obviously part of a military signal. It also enhances the national specificity of that signal. Sounded alarms and retreats direct the action of the battle, which takes place in full view of the audience (E2^v, 1170-1176). In a pragmatic fashion, these military signals work in the playhouse similarly to the ways they work in the non-dramatic world. They cue action. Entrances and exits are determined in this conflict by the military musical signals employed. The drums that accompany Stukeley's re-entrance after the battle do not convince his rivals to let him re-enter the gates (E3^f, MSR 1201). The military presence they signify seems not to intimidate Stukeley's recent allies. The captain leaves the town to its fate and pursues his own path. That path

involves him in the final battle sequences, which are similarly represented and directed by musical signals.²⁴

That final military action is presented very visually. This is not always the case in the company's repertory. For a play in which violent struggle and bloody death play such a large role, *The Spanish Tragedy* has surprisingly little to do with representing the actualities of battle on the stage. But military action sets in motion the sequence of events which lead to the bloody unfolding of the plot; the relations between that military action and what happens on the stage must be indicated to keep both imaginative spaces part of the diegetic world.

The relation between imaginative spaces is addressed in the narrative framing device of *The Spanish Tragedy*. The exchange between Revenge and the ghost of Don Andrea, followed by the intricate word painting of the general's description of the battle, establishes that the source of this conflict was the death of Don Andrea. The breadth of the fictional world plays a role in defining the relationship between the framing device and the realm of the dramatic action proper. The spatial reality of that realm is implied by the "tucket" which is sounded.²⁵ The distant signal indicates the end of the battle and the approach of the surviving troops. Within the diegetic world, this particular aural cue takes the king by surprise. He wonders at the warning of trumpet's blast but is reassured by the general that it is an annunciatory cue, despite its military context (A4^v, 201-6).

In both texts, the cue for the trumpet to sound follows directly on the heels of Hieronimo's wish that his beloved son might die "unless he serve my liege" (A4^v,

²⁴ Anon., *Stukeley* L1^v, MSR 2770 is the last explicit call for a musical military signal, while the use of such instrumentation in the representation of unseen combat may be implied by the "excursions" that occur at K4^v, MSR 2686.

²⁵ Kyd A4^v, MSR 199; The stage direction calls for a "tucket" in 1594 and for a "Trumpet" in 1602 A4^v

198). For those playhouse audience members familiar with the plot of this play (which had an incredibly rich stage history by the time the company performed it at the Rose, and an even richer one when it was revived again at the Fortune) this sudden aural invasion marks the first allusion to the tragedy which will inevitably follow. At a pragmatic level in the playhouse, the cue here would have served well as a signal that the players representing the procession of the king's armed forces and their prisoners ought to ready themselves to enter at the correct time.

Some of those players who were cued by the sound of the trumpet blast may also have taken part in the only other use of military signaling in this play. Though as actual battle plays such a small role in the dramatic action, it should come as no surprise that this signal is not a simple mimetic representation of the military practices of the non-dramatic world on the stage. Rather, when Hieronimo enters "with a Drum" as part of the entertainment for the ambassador the drum serves as a marker of performed military identity (C1^r, 521). Though there is no textual cue to specify that this drum is in fact played during the dumb show, the use of musical cues to introduce embedded performances occurs across the company's extant repertory. The trumpets have already sounded to introduce the banquet, and possibly to offer a more complex musical performance as part of the entertainment. Banqueting practices in the non-dramatic world document the role that music played in these social occasions. These factors suggest that this stage direction to enter implies the use of the drum as a musical instrument, rather than simply as a visual signifier. This cue is contained within a fictional world inside the diegesis, and so has little pragmatic implication within the main narrative thread. At the extra-diegetic level this cue functions almost metatheatrically: there is the use of a drum as a signifier of military action, within a

performance that forms part of a performance in which drums are used to signal and direct the fictional military action.

Similarly invisible but sounded military action occurs in *Sir John Oldcastle*. The alarum which cues the re-entry of the King, Sir John and their company of fellows and prisoners is the only clue to the dramatic action which has just taken place offstage (G1^v, 1640-1).²⁶ The non-specific nature of the record leaves us in questionable territory as to the exact nature of the performative moment. Whether this particular alarum was a single drum and trumpet signal to communicate only the conclusion of the military action, or whether a more complex set of signals were employed to create an aural narrative of the unseen action, cannot be known. But the textual preservation of this moment has the alarums sounded first and the entry subsequent to that sounding. This suggests that these aural cues relate to the unseen military combat.

The military signal is a practical means by which to indicate not only the type but the location of action taking place beyond the view of the playhouse audience, yet within its aural frame of reference. This play opens with displays of armed conflict (which must have been quite a skirmish - the stage directions describe the Bailiff getting knocked down and the Sheriff running away). The development of the plot is dependent on the religious and political conflicts which move the action forward. But this is the single instance of military force being represented within the diegetic world. Yet even this invocation of Henry's military prowess, and the loyalty which Sir John claims he will enact during the course of that combat, is removed from the

²⁶ Anthony Munday [and Drayton, Wilson, and Hathway], *The First Part of the True and Honorable Historie, of the Life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham* (London: Valentine Simmes for Thomas Pavier, 1600) Percy Simpson and W.W. Greg, eds., *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* Malone Society Reprints ([London:] The Chiswick Press, 1908).

sight of the audience. The sound of the alarum serves to alert them to the military conflict going on while simultaneously shifting the location of the dramatic action. The action moves from the camp in which the King and Sir John had just been enjoying a game of dice through to the extended dramatic space of the offstage battlefield, and finally to the re-invented stage space to which the King and his company return to deal out justice to the rebels.

The indicative power of this aural signal obviously rests on the extra-diegetic function of the musical cue. For the characters bound up in the fictional world of the play, the alarum is simply a military signal, or set of signals, to be attended to. But in its work as a cue for the playhouse audience, this performative moment acts as a sensory flag for the shift in dramatic action. It serves as an aural boundary between dramatic spaces, and marks a moment in the dramatic action that is structurally important to the further development of the plot. The sharp punctuation provided by the military signals at work here accompany Sir John's enactment of his true support for the King's causes. If the alarum was a single sound which brought the battle to an end, or a more elaborate sounding of battle offstage, it follows hot on the heels of Sir John's pledge to "bestir himself" in support of the King (G1^v, 1628). This alignment later comes under attack when the rebels accuse Sir John of collusion in their treasonous rebellion. But in the political twists and turns which follow, the loyalty which Sir John claims, and which the aural signal of the alarum accompanies, is borne out to save the reputation of this "good Lord Cobham" as a friend to king and country (G2^v, 1699).

Such information about political positions and alliances is often carried through the representational shorthand of aural signals, as is information about military intention. When the King of Portugal and Philip enter with their train in *The*

Spanish Moor's Tragedy, these military signifiers make their intentions explicit (E4^r, IV.i.0.1-2). The sounded cue serves in a creative way to redefine the playing space, which had just been occupied by the plotting Eleazar and Queen Mother. But primarily this cue, and the sounded march that announces the arrival of Eleazar and his troops, create a space in which the coming battle can take place (E4^v, IV.i.47.1). When the combat commences a few lines later, it is represented by both aural and visual means (E5^r, IV.i.41.1). This creative use of musical signals to authenticate the performance of combat on the stage continues throughout the battle sequences which follow (E10^r, IV.ii.135.1-6). The structural function of these musical cues is alluded to in relation to the drums which enter with the cardinal and the Queen Mother. When the cardinal commands his drummer to “Drum swiftly hence! Call back our fierce pursuing troops!” he highlights the ability of military signals to function in a variety of ways simultaneously (E11^r, IV.iii.0.1).

Such multiplicity of function can also be heard at work in the march that sounds at the start of *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. It sets the military action from which the narrative begins (B1^r). It is one of the very first dramatically specific sounds to which the playhouse audience was privy. For the stage audience, the military signal of the march alerts them to the immanent arrival of Lord Plainsey and his Swiss prisoner. The number of textual referents to what is ostensibly a continuous march played in the distance indicates that this aural signal and the action it portends carries some weight in the unfolding of the dramatic action. The temporal relations between early performances and the late date of this only textual witness makes depending on this text for clues to early performances challenging. But this march does not simply appear in the stage directions. References to it are built into the diegetic world, in the form of dialogue. When Bedford comments that “this Drum I

think marcheth from Amiens” the implication is that the march is being played simultaneously (B1^f).

For the playhouse audience also privy to the sounds of this approaching drum the march opens the boundaries of the fictional world to include both space and time not represented explicitly on the stage. Creatively, the march in the distance communicates to the playhouse audience that a force is moving towards them from the distant reaches of the dramatic world. The military signals employed here also carry meaning for the playhouse audience, through a mimetic relationship to the sounds of military life present in the non-dramatic world. The signification of those specific signals function to communicate a great deal of information about the origins of the dramatic action, and perhaps about the character Plainsey himself before that character is ever seen on the scene. Structurally, the commanding sound of the drummed march provides an aural flag to the playhouse audience that the entertainment has commenced. The sound of the drum had power to carry over the bustle both of military movement of pre-performance audience activity.

That efficiency as a signifier comes into play in the next invocation of the power of military trappings in the play. When Robert West, Plainsey and their crew “enter with Drum” the text offers no clues as to whether this instrument is actually sounded or serves merely as a visual signifier of the imminent military action (B1^f). There is no textual reference to the sounding, but practical thinking allows the conjecture that the company would not have sent on a drum capable of being played, and not have taken that aural opportunity. So, we shall continue as though this particular stage direction calls for a drum which is played, not simply a prop drum carried on for visual effect.

Within the diegetic world, the combatants are instructed to enter “at all points armed” (B1^r). In the case of an individual combat situation like this, the military manuals of the day make clear that instrumental cues, particularly by drum, are part of the ritual order of events. The aural signals then are as much a part of armed combat as the physical weapons. Thus, when the parties enter armed at all points, it is with fitting musical accompaniment. For the extra-diegetic audience, these aural cues help to locate and clarify the nature of the means by which this conflict will be resolved. In a practical sense, the sounded drum signals a shift from the discursive nature of the preceding action to an expectation of physical interaction.

That expected combat is delayed by the king, only to recommence at the start of a separate military instrumental signal. The alarum sounded here is a continuation of the aural military signaling begun previously by the drum at the entrance of the combatants (J4^v). For the characters within the diegetic world, this aural signal begins the armed combat that brings the triumph of the innocent Momford and his companions. At the extra-diegetic level, these militaristic signals connect a staged combat with the reality of military life in London at the time and lend authenticity to the representation of the dangerous duel on the stage. Interactively, in this moment, the alarum which sounds at the king’s command draws the attention of the playhouse audience away from the exchanges about weaponry and the boastful claims of combat skills into the physical action of the combat itself.

The only employment of military signals in *The Tragedy of Hoffman* occur in the meetings of the rebellious forces of Jerome and the established military power of his father Ferdinand. The textual preservation of these musical moments raises interesting questions about provenance and early performance practice. When Jerome’s supporters enter to the confrontation accompanied by a “scurvy march” the

description is diegetically apt (F1^r, 1127). The company is described as a “rabble of poor soldiers” and contrasts markedly with the magnificent military display with which the Duke enters. Apparently the contrast was aural as well as visual. This is the case if these very descriptive stage directions preserve the early performance practices by our company at the Fortune.²⁷ But even if the specificity of the march-types is the result of later adaptation, the contrasting effect would have been available to the Prince’s Men at the Fortune. We know that they were capable of producing powerful mimetic signifiers of military strength. It certainly was within their capability to represent a less official sounding “scurvy march.” Aural cues often signify the balance of power within the diegetic world through association with the more powerful forces. This appears to be an instance when a musical cue is required to do the inverse. This signification of status obviously works at both the diegetic and extra-diegetic levels.

Creatively, this call for a march marks the shift in dramatic location before Jerome and his supporters arrive. The imaginative space into which these opposing forces enter surely cannot be the same one which has just been occupied by Hoffman and Lorrique as they discuss their murderous intentions. The noisy intrusion of the drums into the awareness of the playhouse audience facilitates a necessary shift in location. The creation of the playing space as a site of military conflict is then further enhanced by the repetition of similar (though possibly more powerful) aural signals like the subsequent drum march, alarum, and flourish.²⁸

A brief reference to such musical military signals in dialogue form is the only recorded reference to the music of war in *The Whore of Babylon*. While gathering

²⁷ See Appendix.

²⁸ Chettle *Hoffman* F2^r and F4^r, MSR 1185-8, 1203, and 1323-4; The flourish at 1323 is not given a stage direction, but is clearly indicated in the dialogue.

support to take military action against Titania in Fairyland, the cardinal and three kings share an exchange about the sound of an unseen drum cue which represents the forces which “march to fill [their] Fleet” (H4^v, IV.iii.19).²⁹ Though there is no stage direction included to specify that this reference is more than an imaginative verbal gesture, the simplicity of the cue type suggests that there is no practical reason why this should not have been an offstage sound in early performance practice. The fact that within the diegetic world this cue provides an impetus to action also indicates that this march is physically sounded, rather than imaginatively conjured.

The signal interrupts the exchange between the cardinal and kings which focuses on their past actions (H4^v, IV.iii.5-14). The march upon which they comment focuses their attention on the present situation and their plans to invade Fairyland. There is a shift in the content of their dialogue when they recognize that this “music of heaven” signifies the proximity of their military action. At the sound of the drum, the third king shifts into a rousing declaration of their intended military aggression. At the extra-diegetic level, the primary function of this cue is the extension of the boundaries of the fictional world (which is already stretched in the play to include worlds within worlds). The sounding of the military signals from offstage, supported by the commentary in the dialogue which references the troops moving through space towards the cardinal and kings, marks the divide between the troops and the onstage action in sensual physical terms. Extending the fictional world beyond the bounds of the Fortune stage is key for a play in which the imaginative recasting of nations, and the religious and political leaders of those nations, plays such an important part. This

²⁹ Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1607); Fredson Bowers, Fredson, ed., *The Whore of Babylon Vol. 2 The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

brief musical military signal supports the imaginative work that allows the play to function in the physical space of the theatre.

Funeral Music

*Your master Robin Hood lies dead,
Therefore sigh as you sing³⁰*

The representation of the formalized rituals of mourning in the form of a funeral procession is authenticated by the employment of instrumentation that serves in funeral rites in the non-dramatic world. *The Massacre at Paris*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, and *The Tragedy of Hoffman* engage with these rituals. The musical performances associated with these rites on the stage enrich the sensory spectacle of the formal processions. The instrumentation carries meaning about the figures for whom the rituals are performed while complicating the relationships between the extra-diegetic audience and the dramatic world.

The final textual record of a musical cue in *The Massacre at Paris* comes in the form of a stage direction describing the royal funeral procession which concludes the play. It reads: “They march out with the body of the King, lying on four mens shoulders with a dead march, drawing weapons on the ground” (D6^v, 24.112.1-2). Within the fictional world this ceremonial treatment of the king’s body serves as a marker of the public expressions of grief which accompany the loss of a sovereign. Henry has not been a particularly powerful king since taking the throne after the death of his brother Charles. But the death of the king still merits a very particular type of mourning ritual. The dead march figures as part of the ceremonial mourning rites of a number of minor lords, soldiers, foreign diplomats, the surgeon and the King of

³⁰ Munday *II Robin Hood* D2^r, MSR 850-1

Navarre. Though the dramatic action is situated in the French court of an earlier historical period, the social practices with which the company engage in this performative moment bear a mimetic relationship to contemporary practices in the late Elizabethan period. In the process of that mimesis, the creative function of this funeral march then is to validate the social position of the dead king. Perhaps part of that specific authenticity also serves to strengthen Navarre's claim to the throne: if the death of the king who named him as successor is marked in such a ceremonial way, his own position is supported. By employing music as a signifier of mourning, the new king, who orders that the body be "honorably interde" directs the attention of the stage audience to the loss of his predecessor, whose death must be avenged (D6^v, 24.108).

Structurally speaking, this royal procession provides a dramatic audio-visual conclusion to a particularly violent drama, in which the playhouse audience has been exposed to a great deal of death (if not to the visual spectacle of the massacre promised in the title).³¹ Pragmatically, this procession allows the stage to be cleared of the inert body of the dead king. The matter of what happens to the body of the friar is not resolved in the text. There are several entrances and exits (ostensibly of soldiers or messengers) who may have removed the treasonous friar. The dead march which is called for to accompany the removal of the king's body also functions as an aural boundary which effectively brings the dramatic action to a close.

The trumpets which sound a similar "dead march" near the close of *The Spanish Tragedy* provide a musical accompaniment to what can be the only real outcome to the bloodbath which precedes it: a funeral procession (L1^v, 3205). Diegetically, the musical cue marks the mimetic formalized mourning rites that

³¹ See discussion above of the use of military signals earlier as means of representing violent action in "Musical Military Signals."

follow the deaths of such politically important figures as the children of kings. The company does not seem to have had the means to include a stage audience for this mournful procession. The two kings and the duke appear as part of a stage audience for the “entertainment” devised by Hieronimo and Bel-Imperia. At the end of that bloody performance there are three dead bodies on the stage. Shortly after, the bodies of the Duke and Hieronimo himself join that lifeless company. There is also the possibility that the body of Horatio which Hieronimo exposes in a discovery space during the performance may be the represented by the physical body of the actor who played the role. More probably it was a theatrical prop. The descriptive stage direction of the 1592 edition reads: “The trumpets sound a dead march, the King of Spaine mourning after his brothers body, and the king Portugal bearing the body of his Sonne” (L1^v, 3205-7).

If Bradley is right in estimating that the company at this time consisted of a total of 16 players, the execution of this scene stretches the company’s personnel almost to its limits.³² There are at least five players whose bodies must be removed from the stage. The King of Spain does not carry a body, while the King of Portugal does. If each dead body is carried by a single person than the total number of processors in this dead march is eleven. Two company members would probably not have taken part in the scene: the figures of the Ghost and Revenge must enter directly after the procession and so were unavailable to provide this cue. That brings the total to thirteen company members accounted for during this musical moment. Two of the remaining three company members then, are available to play this funeral march. For the mourners that this march accompanies, the music instigates the formal ritualized performance of obsequies necessary to mark the passing of each of these victims. In

³² Bradley 229.

the Spanish world which provides a setting for the dramatic action then, contemporary English mourning rites are invoked.

That representation of familiar social practice helps the sounds of the mourning music to transgress the boundaries between the diegetic participants in the action and the extra-diegetic audience of the audio-visual spectacle. This performative moment functions beyond a simply pragmatic level. Although the aesthetic pleasure provided by the march does serve as a means by which the necessity of clearing the stage can be accomplished ceremonially, this musical cue also creates an interactive site at which the playhouse audience can deal with the potential effects of the tragically violent resolution they have just witnessed. Through simultaneous address, the march opens the dramatic action up to potentially invoke an emotional response in the playhouse audience, while drawing them further into the dramatic resolution.

In *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, the title character disguised as Charles commands a funeral march to accompany the body of the Duke of Prussia thus:

Lords take this body, beare it to the court,
And all the way sound a sad heauy march,
Which you may truly keepe, then peeple treade
A mournfull march indeed (G4^v,1654-7).

Within the boundaries of the diegetic world the march he calls for befits the funeral rites of a figure of great political power. Ferdinand indeed had been the most important political figure in that world. By taking action and instigating the proper mourning rituals Hoffman/Charles fulfills the expected duty of the character he is playing within the diegesis. Amidst the complex political machinations, disguises, impersonations, and murders which have shaped the course of the dramatic action to this point, Hoffman has assumed several disguises. By taking care to observe the expected mourning rituals, Hoffman enforces his perceived identity as Charles, the

adopted heir and nephew to the now dead Duke Ferdinand. By entering more deeply into this disguise, Hoffman further removes himself from his connection to the treasonous poisoning of the Duke and the Duke's son, Jerome. His call for musical mourning rites aids in the personation that will keep him, for just a little while longer, from discovery.

Pragmatically, of course, the funeral march played here offers a means by which the necessity of removing the corpse of the dead Duke can be achieved in a ceremonial and aesthetically specific fashion. The stage direction, "Exeunt with the body. A March" succinctly illustrates this (H1^r, 1664). The body of the Jerome, the young son who mistakenly poisoned both his father and himself (at the behest of Hoffman's servant, disguised as a French doctor), seems not to merit any particular ceremonial removal from the stage. The fate of his body is left unclear in the text. There are several references to the idea that the funeral rites being represented honor only the Duke. Saxony tells Charles to inter his uncle and makes no reference to the dead son. Hoffman/Charles commands the lords to "take this body" while not even recognizing the presence of the other corpse (G4^v, 1651 and 1654). It is possible that Jerome's body had been removed rather unceremoniously earlier in the scene, perhaps when Stilt is condemned to go to the gallows for the services to his master Jerome. The body must certainly have been removed before the spectacular entrance of Martha in a display of public mourning which follows.

Wedding Music

*Sing Hymeneous hymns, Musicke I say.*³³

³³ Thomas Dekker (with Chettle and Haughton), *Patient Grissil* (London: E. Allde for Henry Rocket, 1603) K3^{r-v}, Fredson Bowers ed., *Patient Grissil* Vol. 1 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) V.ii.83.

Though the dramatic action of *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* is technically set in Egypt, when Cleanthes/Count Hermes wishes for a “noyse of musicians” to accompany him to his wedding, he invokes the social practices of Elizabethan and Jacobean England (B4^v, 480). This drawing on cultural custom in the drama is similarly employed, with more musical content, in *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. Despite the questionable association with the company’s repertory, this musical performance is in keeping with other invocations of wedding ritual which will be discussed in the following chapters. The state of this text as a playhouse document also offers valuable insight into the particular way this performative moment is recorded. The episode in which a collection of rustic musicians, unknowingly joined by the impish otherworldly figure of Shrimpe, John a Kent’s servant, gather to provide pre-wedding musical entertainment provides a fascinating site in which to examine the ways music works simultaneously on both its diegetic and extra-diegetic audiences.

Within the fictional world this performance serves several plot related purposes: the creative mimetic function of representing contemporary social practice in the non-dramatic world on the stage serves to locate the dramatic action in a particular social moment. Identifying the singers of both vocal songs is challenging due to the nature of the manuscript. Will, the singer of the first song which is part of this performative instance, is certainly a member of the very worldly collection of the consort which provides his instrumental accompaniment. In the right-hand margin of the text he is identified as “the boy.” Preceding dialogue identifies this character as the singer when Turnop asks “But has will learnd it [the song] perfectly?” (f. 5^r, 565) But the otherworldly character of Shrimpe is also referred to as “Shrimp, a boy” and contextually appears to be the referent of the stage direction adjacent to the marginal

note reading “Song of the Brydes losse” (f. 5^r, 549 and 581-2). This direction indicates that “They [the consort] play and the boy sings” (f. 5^r, 581). The boy who sings the “Song of the Brydes losse” is the otherworldly Shrimpe, rather than the rustic Will. The identity of the singer is important in considering how these songs function.

There are two audiences addressed in Shrimpe’s vocal performance: the playhouse audience and a fraction of their fictional counterparts. After Will’s Welsh song the rustic consort of musicians strikes up another tune. This instrumental performance is for the benefit of the prospective bridegrooms. Their performance is intruded upon by Shrimpe, who adds the lyrics of “The Song of the Brides Loss” to their musical offering, unbeknownst to them. Shrimpe is an invisible identity to the stage audience of this musical performance. Confusion arises when the bridegrooms accuse the worldly musicians of flouting and deluding them. The text of Shrimpe’s song is not preserved in the text, but context and the ensuing anger of the bridegrooms tell us that its content dealt with the disappearance of the brides before their day of marriage. I have found no extant songs, with settings or without, which would cover the very specific narrative demands of the song lyrics here. But the mischievous nature of the song is clearly evidenced by the reaction of the gentlemen to it. The otherworldly power of the singer is attested to by claims by the musicians that rather than a “song of sorrow,” they have “playd ye but a good morrowe” (f.5^v, 593-2).³⁴ The fact that they stress their instrumental performance, rather than a vocal one, indicates that they had no knowledge of Shrimpe’s lyrical additions. Shrimpe is as inaudible to them as he is invisible to all the inhabitants of the fictional world.

Again the boundary between the diegetic and extra-diegetic audience position

³⁴ See Chapter Three “Wedding Music” for discussion of this ballad tune.

has been permeated. The song Shrimpe performs, while affording the playhouse audience a moment to enjoy the aesthetic pleasure of his musical performance, serves to illustrate his supernatural ability to control which characters in the fictional world are able to hear the text of his song. Shrimpe's song allows a shared knowledge about the loss of the ladies to create a sympathy of position between the jilted bridegrooms and the playhouse patrons. The unique position created by Shrimpe's performance for the playhouse audience also allows this musical moment to serve an interactive function. Hearing and seeing Shrimpe perform his impish acts, the extra-diegetic audience is offered a chance to consider the effects of each of the performances they have entered the theatre to experience.

Music for Courtship

*And on delicious Musicks silken wings
Send ravishing delight to my loves ears,
That he may be enamoured of your tunes*³⁵

The powerful charms of music serve a multiplicity of masters for a multiplicity of purposes in the repertory. But ideas about the affective powers of music in the non-dramatic world are most powerfully invoked when music is used to

³⁵ Thomas Dekker (with Haughton and Day), *Lust's Dominion (SMT)* (London: Printed for F.K., 1657) sig. B1^v, Fredson Bowers ed., *Lust's Dominion*. Vol. 4 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) I.i.10-2.

represent the rituals of courtship. *The Jew of Malta*, *Look About You*, and *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* offer ways to explore music's role in the representation of these social practices.

When Barabas enters Bellamira's house "with a lute" in *The Jew of Malta*, his musical performance grants him the access he needs to carry out his villainous plan to kill the company with a poisoned posy (H4^r, IV.iv.32.1).³⁶ Within the dramatic world Barabas' display of lute skills enhances his disguise as a French musician as much as the staged accent he adopts when speaking about his instrument. He must "tuna [his] lute for sound" (H4^r, IV.iv.34) and protests about his instrument in faux French "pardona moy, be no in tune yet" (H4^v, IV.iv.50). The accent, in combination with his employment of music serve to create a peripheral position for him. By performing the signifiers of otherness, Barabas cleverly positions himself outside of the social context in which his true identity might be known. His adoption of the guise of a musician is particularly apt, as this trade identity as a professional lutenist allows him access to the private domestic space of Bellamira's house. The professional relationship between the courtesan and the musician she allows to play in her chambers reflects ideas in the non-dramatic world about the tempting and seductive powers of music.

Structurally, the most important function of this musical performance is to get Barabas into a position from which to poison Ithamore, Bellamira and Pilia-Borza. But more locally within this particular scene, the music serves to locate the dramatic action in the particular space of Bellamira's home. The previous action leading up to this exchange occurs in a somewhat ambiguous location. Though Pilia-Borza is not

³⁶ Christopher Marlowe, *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta* (London: John Beale for Nicholas Vavasour, 1633); Roma Gill, ed., *The Jew of Malta* Vol. 4 *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

given an explicit exit in the text, his re-entrance with Bellamira and Ithamore in the following exchange make it clear that the stage was empty for a brief time (H1^r, IV.iv.0.1). The nature of the dialogue makes it clear that this is a private space, meant for romantic ventures. Social custom in the world outside the theatre suggests that such courtship practices were expected to be enacted in the domestic sphere. Ithamore's calling forth of a musician (Barabas in disguise) to play for his romantic interest mimics the ritual gift-giving of courtship rites. By engaging mimetically with these non-dramatic practices, the customs represented on the stage serve to locate this musical performance in the interior of Bellamira's home.

Barabas' musical performance is directly addressed to both the diegetic and extra-diegetic audiences. For the playhouse audience, at the extra-diegetic level, the aesthetic pleasure afforded by the lute performance celebrated in the dialogue seems reflective of the enjoyment enacted on the stage. The association in this performative moment and music's seductive powers may also have been at work on the playhouse audience. By using the music as means through which to engage that audience directly, Barabas literally employs his lute song to draw the audience into not just his own embedded performance of the French musician, but into an intense engagement with the dramatic action of the play itself.

Music's seductive powers are again invoked in the fascinating moment where acts of impersonation and the performance of gender are most comically highlighted in that play of one-thousand-and-one disguises, *Look About You*. Prince Richard appears with a consort, under the cover of night, under the window of the person he thinks is Lady Faulconbridge, the married woman he is attempting to seduce (H2^v, 2170). The band of musicians he employs in the diegetic world may also have been employed by the company specifically for these performances. It is possible that

company members took upon themselves the roles of these musicians, but it is equally possible that this moment stretched the company beyond their musical means. In a case of art imitating life, the company, like the fictional Richard may have turned to professional musicians to enact this performance.

Unbeknownst to Richard, his friend Robin Hood, in order to protect both Richard's honor and the lady's, has donned the lady's clothing and has been impersonating her, while she is off in the world trying to help her imprisoned brother. For the characters involved in this romantic exchange the music works in a mimetic fashion. Richard's employment of a band of musicians as a courtship gift reflects discourses in the non-dramatic world surrounding the power of music to effect and move.

Ideas about music in the non-dramatic world also enable the creative function of this musical performance. As happens recurrently throughout the repertory, the musical performance here serves to signify a shift in the type of imaginative space in which the dramatic action unfolds. The domestic locale and the cover of night do much to encourage a reading of this imaginative space as far removed from the public eye. The intimate nature of the moment between the suitor and the courted lady (the agent and the object of the musical performance) is maintained despite the necessary presence of the performing musicians. This particular music and the musicians who make it up are both external parties to the wooing moment and the creators of the means by which the courtship ritual of gift-giving is enacted. They are represented throughout the course of this scene in a purely functional way. Even textually, the musicians are given no individual names, or defining characteristics apart from their status as musicians. The functionality that removes the musicians from the social

construction of the scene minimizes their impact on the location of the action between the public and private spheres.

Of course the position of the playhouse audience in relation to this private exchange begs the question of the distinct voyeuristic pleasure taken by the extradiegetic audience watching the humorous scene unfold. Discourses in the non-dramatic world very distinctly place the proper locale for the exchange of courtship gifts in the private sphere. By engaging the playhouse audience in the musical performance that is diegetically performed for the benefit of the “Lady Faulconbridge” this performance blurs the boundaries which separate the stage and playhouse audiences. Though there is no textual indication as to how long the performance may have gone on, the ditty which the musicians sing “for her love and [Richard’s] consent” is at the very least able to draw its object to her window (H2^v, 2177). Hopefully the playhouse audience was afforded more pleasure in the performance of these musicians than Lady Faulconbridge; after greeting the prince she quickly desires “this musicke be dismiss’d” (H2^v, 2182). If only every object of musical seduction had as much agency to dismiss the music employed to affect them. But more often, women are positioned as the objects of musical performance in the repertory.

Such affective music marks the beginning of *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*. The queen has called for this musical entertainment to sway her lover Eleazar’s thoughts towards sexual fulfillment. She orders the musicians to

Chyme out your softest strains of harmony,
 And on delicious Musicks silken wings
 Send ravishing delight to my love’s ears,
 That he may be enamored by your tunes. (B1^v, I.i.10-13)

This musical performance continues until she commands the musicians to “burst all those wires! Burn all those instruments” because the music has not been pleasing to the Moor (B2^f, I.i.30). The quality of the musical performance is dwelt on in the dialogue. It seems this unseen consort of household musicians is trusted to be very good at their jobs. This performance may be an example of the company employing professional musicians to meet musical demands. But the description of the instruments employed fall well within the stock of instruments that the company itself possessed. This opens the possibility that company members themselves took musical responsibility for this moment.

While offering information as to the instrumental make-up of the household musicians, the queen’s commands also identify her as the indirect agent of this musical performance. She adopts the traditionally masculine role of pursuer, engaged in offering a musical performance to the object of her desire. It is unfortunate for her that the music fails to seduce. For those members of the playhouse audience familiar with the prescriptive literature concerning acceptably female musical behavior, this moment jars. It identifies the queen as a subversive figure. The luxury of employing these musicians also speaks to the indulgent nature of the courtly world in which this subversive queen resides. In a similarly extra-diegetic mode, the services of these musicians potentially affect the playhouse audience as well as their intended fictional object. While the music might not please the Moor, this instrumental performance was potentially very pleasing to a large percentage of the playhouse audience.

Subsequent musical moments in the play also record striking intersections of the relationship between women and music. Within the diegetic world, the musical performance is enacted both as a romantic offering and a means by which the king attempts to enhance his seductive powers. The resonance between the diegetic and

non-dramatic social practices serves as a means by which the barrier between the two is made permeable. The ability of music to work simultaneously in both spheres enables the performance to signify some very specific spatial relationships.

The dialogue between the king and Maria, the woman he has frightened out of bed for the purposes of wooing, establishes the fact that this scene is well contained within the privacy of his domestic space (D4^f, III.ii1-29). The privacy is provided not only by the physical enclosure of the king's dwelling, but also by the hour of the night. The absence of the musicians providing the music in the scene serves again to illustrate the intimate nature of the interaction the king expects to have with Maria. The unseen music from "within" helps to define the physical space both the king and Maria inhabit. The king claims, "This musick I prepar'd to please thine ears/ Love me and though shalt hear no other sounds" (D4^v, III.ii.31-2). His commentary references the ability of music to define and contain. The music serves to highlight by its physical sounding from within the private, secretive nature of the scene's construction and to reinforce the position of Maria as the object of the musical performance. She has no agency in the creation of, or even the calling for, this music which sounds from nowhere at the behest of the pursuing king. Yet it is for her that this private performance is enacted, demonstrating an engagement with the idea expressed in both theoretical musical treatises and conduct manuals of the period, that women were easily swayed by music's powerful charms.

Isabella is presented with yet another musical entertainment later in the play. Eleazar's musical offering to her is characterized in more military terms than the two earlier employments of music for seduction. This musical performance seems to grow from Eleazar's use of music as a metaphor to describe the piteous cries of his captives earlier in the scene (G4^f-G5^r, V.ii.46-81). While referring to the curses from his

captives as an Almain, he commands Zarack and Balhsar to play a drum and trumpet and “mad them with villainous sounds” (G5^r, V.ii.85-6). We know that the two exit specifically to play because when Zarack returns a few lines later, he explains that Balthazar is still “a drumming” (G5^r, V.ii.109). Though this musical performance engages more with music’s ability to create madness than pleasure, Eleazar ties it in to his attempts to convince Isabella to love him, live with him, and lie with him. Creatively, the offstage performance of these musicians again ties into the social standing of those, like Eleazar, whose wealth and power allow them to retain professional musicians to suit their entertainment needs.

Music for Banquets

*...see how thou art fed, with notes of music*³⁷

The social practices of feasting, banqueting, and the entertainment which played such a large role in these festivities appear in several extant texts in the company’s repertory. The seductive music offered by the king to Isabella in *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*, discussed above, also accompanies a banquet which he “set with [his] own hands” (D4^v, III.ii.33). The feast held to entertain and impress the ambassador in *The Spanish Tragedy* offers several musical cues that bear a mimetic relationship to social practice in the non-dramatic world. The trumpets announce the entrance of the king, the ambassador, and the banquet itself; the drum plays a role in the entertainment provided by Hieronimo during the feast.³⁸ But as part of the banquet

³⁷ Anon., “John of Bordeaux” Alnwick: Alnwick Castle Library: MS 507. f. 8^v, MSR 766.

³⁸ Kyd C1^r, MSR 524; Kyd C1^v, MSR 548.

entertainment, each of these cues has a specific relationship to the nature of dramatic performance.

Within the main narrative world of *The Spanish Tragedy* the textual references to these cues offer the possibility of a more musically complex performance than a simple trumpet fanfare or quick drum beat. As part of the entertainment of a foreign official, particularly one who represents a conquered enemy, these musical moments offer the king a chance to demonstrate the splendor of his court. The categorical breakdown of functions blurs when we attempt to identify how and where these cues work. Extra-diegetically, each of these musical cues serves to locate the dramatic action in a particular type of performance space. The annunciatory and possibly more melodic trumpet performance mimics the presence of musicians recorded at the feasts and banquets of the higher sorts in the non-dramatic world. By reflecting these cultural practices, this musical cue creatively places the dramatic action in a socially specific setting.

For the playhouse audience, Hieronimo's dumb show is a performance within a performance. In addition to its meta-theatrical military signification, what is important about the use of this drum as an aural cue is the way that its sound serves to demarcate the fiction in which it is produced as a performance.³⁹ Throughout the repertory, across time and space, musical and sound cues are employed to indicate that a shift in narrative mode is taking place. Musical cues often function in the repertory to mark out the fact that an embedded performance is about to occur. Such

³⁹ See discussion of the potential meta-theatricality of this moment above, in "Musical Military Signals."

entertainments are generally offered for the benefit of the higher orders within the diegetic social hierarchy, like the king and the ambassador.⁴⁰

Music and Cultural Identity
*...for holy dirges, sing me woodsmans songs*⁴¹

One of the most powerful creative functions of music in the repertory is the communication of information about the identities of the characters that populate the diegetic world. The information carried by these musical performances flows both within the diegesis from character to character, and outside of it from diegetic world to extra-diegetic audience. Every musical cue participates in this kind of signification in some way. *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, *The Jew of Malta*, *The Devil and His Dame*, *The Whore of Babylon*, *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, and *II The Honest Whore* offer sites in which national, religious and gender identities are performed in the repertory by musical means.

The class and social standing of the Lady Sydannen in *John a Kent and John a Cumber* provide a site in which music serves to establish national identity. She is the object of a musical performance related to the rituals of matrimony and the social customs which surround those rituals in the non-dramatic world (f. 5^f, 561-75). But the musical content of that performance simultaneously interacts with the implications of her nationality. The Welsh Song functions as part of that theatrical shorthand of

⁴⁰ Another activity specifically associated with the higher orders and musical specificity is the hunt. All representations of this sport occur in texts that will be considered in the following chapters.

⁴¹ Anthony Munday, *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon (II Robin Hood)* (London: R. Bradock for William Leake, 1601) D1^v, John C. Meagher, ed., *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) 814.

communication that is so much a part of the way music works in the repertory. Despite the lack of text for this song, called “the song of Sydannen” in the dialogue and “the welsh song” in the marginal notes, it is possible to identify the musical setting used in the performances at the Rose as the “Welsh note of Sydannen” to which Lodowick Lloyd and others set poems.⁴² Though this tune has been lost to time, it may be that Playford’s aligning it with the surviving tune of “Dargason” provides us with the actual setting (or a close approximation thereof) used in early performances.⁴³ More specifically, this identification says something about the musical body from which the company could draw musical settings, when needed. But as the inclusion of the *John a Kent and John a Cumber* manuscript does not provide particularly solid ground for the purposes of this thesis, we must turn to other interactions between music and national identity for function evidence.

While music functions as a signifier of particular national identities within the drama of the period, in the company’s extant repertory it generally serves as a signifier in the adoption of a foreign identity for the purpose of disguise. As such, music works as a tool in establishing a fictional authenticity similar to the adoption of an accent or dialect, or culturally specific attire. Music plays such a role in *The Jew of Malta*. We have already examined the implications of this musical performance in

⁴² For Lloyd’s work and the history of this ballad tune, see Sally Harper, “‘A Dittie to the tune of Welsh Sydannen’: A Welsh image of Queen Elizabeth,” *Renaissance Studies* 19.2. (2005): 201-228; a copy of the ballad survives in London: British Library MS Add. 14965. The heading reads, “The most ancient and commendable swete sonet of Britishe Sidanen, applied by a courtier to the princelye prayse of the Queenes majestie; to the Wealshe note of Sidanen” f. 9^r

⁴³ Harper offers an account of the variety of later sources that contain settings with this title. She echoes other scholars is positing a connection between the Sydannen tune which is lost, and the tune of Dargason, via the 1651 edition of John Playford’s *The Dancing Master*, which contains a setting which the titles the tune “Sedanny, or Dargason.” She points out that though the original tune remains elusive, “it must be acknowledged that all of the extant poems on the Sidanen theme...may be sung to “Dargason.” 209

terms of courtship practices, and the aesthetic enjoyment such practices afforded both the diegetic and extradiegetic audiences. In this rare instance we are given a description in the dialogue of how the music performed here sounded. Barabas' lute playing is captured by Pilia-Borza when he comments that Barabas "fingers very well" and runs swiftly up and down the fret board (H4^r, IV.iv.55 and 57).⁴⁴ Barabas employs music here in several ways to cover up his identity. Barabas needs to use every possible means of personation at his disposal, in order to successfully achieve his dramatic goal of poisoning Ithamore, the courtesan, and her servant. In addition to the specific costume/prop demand of the poisoned nosegay, it seems probable that Barabas would have donned garments that allowed Bellamira to identify him as a "French musician" before he had even spoken (H4^r, IV.iv.33).⁴⁵ Combining elements of costume, French dialogue, and faux-French accented English, Barabas the lutenist could have turned toward a recognizably French musical form to support and complete his disguise.

Though the "French bransle [sic]" described by Morley in 1597 is related to the stately almain, it is melodically more complex.⁴⁶ The popularity of this form as a country dance indicates its lively character whose melody might demand an instrumentalist to play complex intervals on the fretboard. A country dance is hardly the appropriate music with which to woo a (once) wealthy courtesan like Bellamira. But it seems reasonable to expect that as an addition to the other signifiers of French identity which Barabas adopts, that he might also have offered an adaptation of the

⁴⁴ Lindley points out that the nature of this musical performance is uncertain (*Shakespeare and Music* 101). But the usefulness of music in covering Barabas' asides (discussed below) suggests to the author that Barabas gets quite far in his musical performance.

⁴⁵ See Wiggins on the implications of disguise-specific costumes in Martin Wiggins, *Shakespeare and Drama of His Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 88-9.

⁴⁶ Morley *Plaine and Easie* sig. A24^r.

French dance form to his stage audience. This must remain speculative, as no known extant music can be connected to this performance moment. His lute playing aligns the extra-diegetic audience with the stage audience by entertaining them all, even while Barabas addresses the playhouse patrons directly under the cover of his musical performance.

Another musical moment which serves several ends in the repertory is the miraculous sounding of the harp hanging on the wall in *The Devil and His Dame* (G8^r, I.iv.52.1).⁴⁷ In addition to enforcing the magical mystical abilities of Belphagor/Castigliano, this musical performance serves as one of the several signifiers the devil Belphagor enacts to support his disguised identity as the Spanish doctor, Castiliano. Within the diegesis, Belphagor/Castilliano's peripheral status is necessary to the unfolding of the plot.

He must remain, in his devilish person, distinct from the social situation he is sent to investigate. But he must also become an inherent part of that social structure in order to gather evidence for the final pronouncement in the hellish court. The disguise covers his devilish nature. It also allows him to retain the necessary distance from the normal social structure of the diegesis by virtue of his foreign status. His marriage to Honorea draws him into that structure, but the exotic nationality of his persona allows him to remain outside of it as well. The musical performance of the harp hanging on the wall is primarily associated with his otherworldly powers of enchantment. But it also supports his "performance" of the Spanish doctor whose exoticism and foreignness allow his access to otherworldly skills. The "heavenly music" in all probability did not explicitly reference the Spanish dance style so popular in court revels (G7^v, I.iv.57). Yet by establishing the production of the music as one of

⁴⁷ For considerations of the prevalence of the Spanish Pavan at court and in the wider social world see the discussion of *Fortunatus* in the following chapter.

Castiliano's powers, the sources of which rest in his Spanish heritage and (South) American studies, Belphagor himself ties this musical moment to his performance of a specific national identity (G8^r, I.iv.94).

This subterfuge, of course, takes place within the diegesis. At the extra-diegetic level, this musical performance functions in a similar fashion. It draws attention to Belphagor's disguised status. Following a similar line of associations, between the music's otherworldly origins and the foreign disguise that Belphagor has created for himself, the music here serves as an aural flag for the playhouse audience. It alerts them to the varying degrees of performance to which they were privy. At this extra-diegetic level, the musical performance functions to highlight Belphagor/Castiliano's status as an outsider, which becomes such a key factor in the politics of the plot. His non-English status is often emphasized, particularly by Honorea (G8^v, I.iv.15-6). His adopted national identity, and the conflict it causes between him and his wife could have been a source of enjoyment for the audience who had suffered the ups and downs of the religious and political relationships with Spain over the previous decade. Carrying meaning and reinforcing the performative nature of the exchange on the stage surely is the primary function of this extraordinary musical moment.

The rival claimant of this musical productivity, Dunstan, is not the only religious figure presented with musical associations in the repertory, though there are few. The chanting friars of *Doctor Faustus* will be examined in more detail later in the thesis, but the first dumb show in *The Whore of Babylon* offers a point of entry to consider how music functions to identify and locate religious identities within the repertory. It commences the dramatic action of the play, providing a smooth shift from the spoken prologue into the diegesis in which the plot unfolds (A3^v, 0.0.37-52).

Within that allegorical world, the friars, bishops, and cardinals who enter singing in Latin with the queen's coronation procession represent the Catholicism that had reigned before the queen was crowned, and Truth was re-awakened. There is no indication in the descriptive text to indicate when the singing would end, but it seems probable that it would continue through the point at which there is a divide in the affiliation of the processors. When the councilors "at length embrace Truth and Time, and depart with them: leaving the rest going on" it is logical that as the company of friars left the stage their music faded with them (A3^v, 0.0.40-1). The description of the music sounding after the visual image of Time mourning his failure to awaken Truth works creatively at the extra-diegetic level (A3^v, 0.0.30-34). The recognizable papist practice of using Latin-based musical content, immediately creates a conflict between Truth's presence and the presence of the singing friars. The conflict is shored up by the visual signifiers of Catholicism present in the procession. But if the friars and company enter singing, then the first indication of their religious affiliation accessible to the playhouse audience would have been the sound of their Latin musicality. The attire of the singing friars ensures that the religious identification at work in their vocal performance is clear. Pragmatically speaking, this use of music also masks any awkwardness presented by the noisy entrance of a large train and the hearse itself. By diverting the attention away from the physicality of the entrance, this musical moment serves not just to locate the dramatic action in site of religious conflict, but to help focus the attention of the playhouse audience on the illusion of the dramatic world on the stage.

In addition to signifying and reinforcing the national and religious identities of characters, use of music in the repertory also serves as a means by which the company engages with gendered behaviors and the prescriptive literature of the period. The

desired silence of a woman and the necessity of keeping female musical practice within the domestic sphere were ideals that shaped thinking about the ties between women and music.⁴⁸ In the company's repertory the female characters who sing demonstrate a complex relationship to these ideals. The vocal performances of Lucibella in *The Tragedy of Hoffman* and Dorothea Target in *II The Honest Whore* are sites of interaction between the company's representation of female behavior and ideas surrounding gender specific musicality in the non-dramatic world.

No single figure in the repertory illustrates this more clearly than Lucibella in *The Tragedy of Hoffman*. Despite her protestations that she is sleepy and cannot sing, her later reference to the song she sung while Lodowick slept with her indicates that textual evidence of her vocal performance in the woods with her lover has been lost.⁴⁹ Within the diegetic world her actions have marked her as a temptress in the eyes of her scorned suitor Mathias (D4^v, 823-9). Her agreement to escape into the woods with her young lover Lodowick positions her outside the ideals of daughterly obedience. Yet the chaste nature of the exchanges between the two young lovers seems to highlight the goodly nature that even the scorned Matthias has to recognize. Despite the morally questionable context of being alone with her lover in the middle of the night, the private nature of this musical performance keeps it within the boundaries of normative feminine musical practice. It is when the sweetness of this nocturnal setting

⁴⁸ See Chapter Three "Music and Cultural Identity."

⁴⁹ Chettle *Hoffman* E1^v, MSR 885; Chettle *Hoffman* I1^v, MSR 1976-7; in the 1631 edition, the speech in which Lucibella protests that she cannot sing has been set in italics, as the verse might serve in place of an earlier lyric set. This seems to indicate the recognition that part of the original copy was missing when it came to be set. There is no refrain that resembles the one Lucibella subsequently quotes. This is another instance where the company may have kept the original song text on a separate sheet, in line with Stern's theory. This theory is introduced in Chapter Two in relation to *John a Kent and John a Cumber*; its implications are explored more fully in the examination of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* in Chapter Five.

is shattered, her lover murdered, and her wits lost, that Lucibella's public musicality becomes a strong signifier of her mental instability and social abnormality.

Unlike the majority of vocal performances in the repertory that provide moments of aesthetic pleasure to the theatre patrons, Lucibella's snatches of song seem to act as a means of driving home the effects of her descent into madness. She offers two snatches of song. The first is recorded only as the refrain "Downe, downe a downe, hey downe downe."⁵⁰ The second, "Loe, heere I come a wo[o]ing" is recorded more fully.⁵¹ At the extra-diegetic level, the quotation of an earlier musical moment in the "Downe, downe" refrain allows her vocal performance to act as a thread tying her madness to her mentally stable past. For both the stage and playhouse audiences, her seemingly nonsensical musical performance enhances the effect of the visual signifiers of her madness, which include her possession of the remnants of Hoffman's father's corpse and the clothing of the murdered Prince Charles. The song snatches function in a metonymic way; they offer a chance to make audible and therefore known, the disjointed nature of her madness. That madness places her in an indefinite and shifting position in relation to the social hierarchy of the diegetic world; her proactive musical performance serves to further her removal to the periphery of that social organization.

A similar peripheral existence seems to be the lot of that other vocally performative woman, Dorothea Target in *II The Honest Whore*. Though Austern reads

⁵⁰ Chettle *Hoffman* 11^v, MSR 1976; this is the refrain of the now missing song she sang while Lodowick slept. The burden is a common one in the period. Though several sources contain songs with this refrain, none seem specifically to fit the dramatic action here.

⁵¹ Chettle *Hoffman* 11^v and 12^v, MSR 1976 and 2050-2; her song that begins, 'Loe, here I come a woing my ding, ding' bears a structural resemblance to the Harvester's song that appears in George Peele's *The Old Wives Tale* (London: By Iohn Danter 1595) sig. B4^v and D2^r and may represent an adaptation of a shared musical setting. Unfortunately, such a setting is not known to be extant.

musical performances by sex workers as a signifier of their particular trade identity, Dorothea Target's performance functions rather differently.⁵² Within the diegetic world her song works primarily to create a boundary between herself and the socially ordered world represented by her onstage audience (K4^f, V.ii.398). Target, along with Bots, Penelope Whore-hound, Katherina Bountinall and Mistress Horseleach are presented to the gathered company of nobles as they go about their punishing duties. They illustrate the "bad people" with whom Candido has been wrongly imprisoned (K2^v, V.ii.212). Within the diegetic world, the presentation of the prisoners is cast as an entertainment by the Duke who requests, "Let them be marshall'd in: be covered, all/Fellows now, to make the Scene more Comicall" (K3^v, V.ii.262-3). The gathered diegetic audience is asked to function as both judge and jury by the prison masters. The role of observer and critic establishes their autonomy from the social chaos flaunted by the prisoners, despite the recent breakdown of relationships which brought them into Bridewell in the first place. The performance that the Duke requests could not have occurred before Orlando's revelation of his true identity had fully resolved the dramatic conflicts and restored the collection of nobles to the safety of normative social interactions. With the social order returned to rights for this stage audience, the enactment of social deviance provides an opportunity for the Duke to voice his condemnation of such behaviors.⁵³

The musical performance offered by Dorothea Target as she leaves the stage reinforces the boundary that separates her from the two other women present in the

⁵² Thomas Dekker, *The second part of The honest whore with the humours of the patient man, the impatient wife* (London : Printed by Elizabeth All-de, for Nathaniel Butter 1630) sig. K4^f, Bowers ed., *II The Honest Whore Vol. 2 The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1955)V.ii.287-8; Austern "Sing Againe Syren"

⁵³ He states, "Panders and Whores/Are City-plagues, which being kept alive,/Nothing looks like goodness ere can thrive" Dekker *II Honest Whore L2^v*, Bowers *II Honest Whore V.ii.455-7*.

scene, the reformed Bellafront and the morally upright Infelice, who expects the punk to be miserable with her lot. There is no way to identify the content of the song Target sings. But her criticism of ideal feminine behaviours in the form of marriage custom, attire, and sexual freedom indicate that her use of song as a means of rebellion plays into her rejection of those ideals. Her sarcastic challenge to Infelice, “Do you not hear how I weep?” before she sings situates this musical performance as part of her subversion of the lifestyle which Bellafront has adopted so thoroughly (K4^r, V.ii.298). Dorothea Target is not one to join the ranks of women who “love their husbands in greatest misery” (L4^r, V.ii.469). There has been a reference to the expectation of her diegetic audience that Target ought to be weeping for the loss of her maidenhead. It seems logical to expect that the content of her song then ought to celebrate either that particular moment, or a subsequent one of sexual conquest or adventure. It seems that this is another moment in which the playwright and the company left the choice of musical material to the performer. The extant body of ballad settings, and perhaps the lyric content of the broadsides, could have provided the actor a body of familiar musical literature from which to draw.

At the extra-diegetic level, Dorothea Target’s musical moment serves a creative purpose; it is directly related to the ideal of feminine behavior as silent and pliant expressed in the prescriptive literature of the period. The morals she flouts in the lead up to this musical performance would already have marked her as a social deviant in the eyes of the playhouse audience, no matter what area of the social strata they occupied. The sanctity of the marriage ritual and the ability to own culturally specific attire were familiar markers of social place and social order for tradesmen,

apprentices, merchants and nobility alike.⁵⁴ Her blatant disregard for these social customs is explicitly presented in the preceding action. Her rejection of ideal of the silent woman is made manifest by the vocal performance or her ostensibly bawdy song.

Pragmatically speaking, her song seems not to be intended to cover the stage business of removing the spinning wheel and the blue gown (representing the means of her punishment) that had been brought on stage with her. The stage direction to sing is followed by farewells between Lodovico and Dorothea Target before an exit is recorded. Rather, this moment of song seems to be given its own space in the performance. Its function then seems to be offering the pleasure of Target's vocal performance to both audiences. Just as the stage audience hoped to take pleasure in the "comedy" of the whore's performance, the entertainment value of this musical performance would be enjoyed by the playhouse audience as well. Without being able to connect an extant song text to this moment, it is only possible to speculate on the type of performance given here. But the nature of the characters and the function of this particular performance suggest that both humour and musical enjoyment were provided by Dorothea Target and her subversive performance.

Dorothea's subversions (musical and otherwise) illustrate her particular relationship with the normative social hierarchy of the diegetic world. Music plays a role in defining other social positions in the repertory. Through a mimetic relationship with social musical practices in the non-dramatic world, music in the repertory helps define the particular social spaces in which dramatic relationships take place. These mimetic associations allow the presence of a particular musical moment to efficiently

⁵⁴ See Peter Stallybrass, "Worn Worlds: Clothes and Identity on the Renaissance Stage," *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*. Ed. Margareta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 289-321.

communicate a great deal about where characters fit in the social hierarchy of the fictional world. The musical “set pieces” that function within the dramatic structure as an entertainment provided by one or more character for the diegetic audience offer a way to examine the ways music is employed to signify social status in the repertory. These “set pieces” often occur in the context of the musical social practices outlined previously in this chapter.

In *The Jew of Malta*, *Look About You*, and *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*, music is provided specifically to bring aural pleasure to a specific fictional audience. Barabas is summoned to play the lute for Bellamira, musicians to serenade the supposed Lady Faulconbridge in *Look About You*, and the “softest strains of harmony” commanded to do the work of seduction in *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy* (B1^v, I.i.10). In each of these instances, the music is presented to its intended recipient as an indirect offering. Each figure who calls upon the musicians to play is automatically classed as a member of the privileged orders who had the financial means to hire professional musicians. It is dangerous to elide the having of wealth and the desire to be seen as a gentleman. But in each case the figure offering the musical performance as a gift refuses to be directly involved in the production of that music. That unwillingness to take direct musical action resonates with warnings in the prescriptive literature of the period about public displays of musical skill in the well brought up.

At the extra-diegetic level each of these musical offerings resonates with the social experiences of a great portion of the playhouse audience: both those who were able to employ professional or semi-professional musicians in their households, and those who could generally only experience such luxury on holidays and occasions when the household workings of the higher orders were made more public. The

representation of elaborate musical performances offered to the public within the narrative boundaries of the diegesis offers another way the company employs music to signify and create cultural identities.

In *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo's presentation of the entertainment that the king refers to as a "maske" serves several purposes within the diegetic world (C1^v, 547). It is an entertainment which allows the king to show off the splendor of his court to the visiting ambassador. The call for trumpets earlier in the scene may indicate more than a simple act of aural annunciation, in keeping with the social practice of employing musicians to entertain guests in the non-dramatic world.⁵⁵ But there is no textual evidence that leaves even the potential space for a musical presence here. That is not to say, of course, that it is not possible that music played during this processional show at some or all early performances. It is only to say that no record survives of that practice ever having occurred. What we are left with though, is the recognition in the stage direction that Hieronimo enters with a drum (C1^r, 521).

The drum cue which announces the start of this embedded performance, functions to alert both the diegetic and extra-diegetic audiences that a narrative entertainment is about to commence. For the diegetic audience, the drum signal calls their attention away from the actions of settling into the banquet which they had been directed to do several lines earlier (C1^r, 535-541). But more importantly, the aural signal serves as a flag to the playhouse audience that a special kind of performance is about to begin. In their position as listener-viewers, the playhouse audience is asked to deal with not one level of personation here, but two: the actors on the stage who personate characters who are, in turn, offering a very stylized type of enactment. The aural signal of the drum beating at the start of this more complex performative

⁵⁵ See discussion of this moment above, in "Music for Banquets."

moment offers a boundary in aural form for that not-quite-dumb-show. The cue may also have served the very pragmatic purpose of giving an entrance cue to the players entering as part of the device as knights with their scutcheons. The rhythm of the drum march may have distracted the attention of the playhouse audience away from what might have been a somewhat clumsy entrance, depending on the level of awkwardness presented by each knight and his shield. For that matter, the sound of the drum could equally have covered some sort of procession in which the stage and the playhouse audiences were offered a chance to appreciate the physicality of the performance within the performance.

The practice of using music to accompany non-verbal performances and dumb shows is evident throughout the company's repertory. One of the latest plays to enter the repertory, *The Whore of Babylon*, includes two such performative moments. The first masque occurs towards the beginning of the play. Within the diegetic world, the masque is performed by the treacherous kings sent by the Empress of Babylon to seduce Titania. Their entertainment is intended to be a physical representation of "the tribute of their loves" for the queen (C1^r, I.ii.76).

The descriptive stage directions record that as the hautboys sound, they enter attired like masquers, proceed to dance, then reveal themselves. By the time the play entered the repertory, the practice of continuing to dance after the "reveal" moments in court masques was a convention. The structured introduction of each suitor to the queen, and the references threaded throughout each introduction to movement, body parts, and reveling suggests that the formal introductions took place as part of the entertainment, possibly with each suitor dancing while delivering their speech. Unfortunately, there is no indication in the text as to when the dancing had done. When the court of Fairies is directed to exit, the music and dancing had surely come

to an end (C3^v, I.ii.253.1). At the extra-diegetic level, the music which accompanies this entertainment would have helped to create a particular social standing for the characters participating in the revels. As a part of the allegorical nature of the play itself, the use of music and dancing may also have served as a tie to the court of the historical Elizabeth I, whose fondness for such entertainment was known at the very least amongst the courtly circles.⁵⁶

The third dumb show which is accompanied by music occupies a more challenging space in relation to the fictional world. Like the introductory dumb show with its singing friars, it is not a performance for the benefit of a diegetic audience. It is not enacted within the boundaries of the diegetic world. Rather, it serves a discursive purpose, furthering the narrative for the extra-diegetic audience. This practice of using the dumb show to further the dramatic action and including musical moments within that narrative shift occurs several times across the repertory.⁵⁷ But *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, *The Devil and His Dame*, and this third performance in *The Whore of Babylon* offer a chance to establish the function of musical cues to establish that shift across the repertory.

The narrative dumb show that occurs in *Captain Thomas Stukeley* is an enigmatic narrative phenomenon in the text. This might be due to the complex bibliography of the printed text itself, but its appearance does support the idea that the company uses musical signals to mark shifts in narrative modes.⁵⁸ This dumb show is introduced by a Chorus figure who appears here for the first time. The Chorus gives a brief re-cap of the action thus far, and asks the playhouse audience to “regard this

⁵⁶ See discussion of “Music and Cultural Identity” in Chapter Three for documentation of Elizabeth I as a dancer.

⁵⁷ The dumb show was a theatrical convention in place at the start of the company’s habitation at the Rose which continued through the period. See Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show* (London: Methuen and Co Ltd., 1964) and Bradley 216-224.

⁵⁸ See Appendix for bibliographic considerations.

show and plainly see the King” (K1^r, 2439). As the dumb show commences, the sides enter and take their stands. Sebastian, Antonio, and Averro are accompanied by drums and ensigns. The drums work both as a diegetic signifier of military power here and as a structural marker of the start of an embedded performance. This usage resonates with the appearance of the Presenter and Nemesis in *The Battle of Alcazar* and with the presence of the drum in the dumb show that is part of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

A similar, though simpler, use of an aural cue to signal a shift into a different narrative space occurs in *The Devil and His Dame*. At the resolution of the action that takes place in the main narrative world the trumpets sound. Husband-and-wife pair Honorea and Lacy have been happily reunited and reconciled. Mariana is suitably pleased to be rid of her devilish doctor husband. At this conclusive moment, a stage direction indicates that there is a trumpet cue (K1^v, V.ii.116.1). As in *The Whore of Babylon*, there is no mimetic correlation for between this cue and any musical social practices in the non-dramatic world. Instead, this trumpet blast seems to punctuate the end of the narrative threads which have been tied up in the main narrative.

What this musical cue ostensibly does is draw a line in the proverbial sand between the diegetic world inhabited by Lacy, Honorea and the rest of the fictional stage population, and the narrative space in which Dunstan enters when the stage is emptied but for him. Alone on the stage, he addresses the audience directly, commenting on the preceding dramatic resolution and begging the playhouse audience to be hold off judgment on the play until the final scene in Hell is concluded. Though textually the speech prefix indicates that it is Dunstan who delivers the lines, the content of the speech itself makes clear that it is no longer the character of the holy man speaking. Awareness of a shift from one realm to another,

awareness of the playhouse audience, and the claim of the play itself in a communal fashion as “ours” indicate that it is as player rather than as character that the actor delivering these lines speaks. His sudden position outside of the narrative world of the previous dramatic action is the reason for the trumpets to be employed here. The sudden intrusion of an extra-diegetic aural cue serves as a marker to the playhouse audience that there is a shift taking place, drawing attention away from the recent resolution and into the unique space created by Dunstan’s self-conscious theatricality.

Such crossing of narrative boundaries also occurs in the third dumb show in *The Whore of Babylon*. The hautboys sound at the start of this narrative dumb show (E3^r, II.ii.186.1). There seems to be no mimetic function for this musical cue: it announces no one, signifies little in the way of characterization or physical location, and accompanies no musical social activities. Rather, this cue flags that a shift is taking place. The bright sound of the hautboys functions here as an aural boundary for the narrative that quickly unfolds in the course of the dumb show. When the dumb show concludes, the trumpets are called for.⁵⁹ This musical moment marks the boundary that separates the dumb show from the original narrative mode. Music as a means of marking such a shift, as well as its numerous other functions in the repertory, will now be considered in relation to the playing spaces in which the early performances took place.

⁵⁹ This call for trumpets appears at the bottom of sig. E3^r, set as though it were a catchword, but it is not. This cue does not appear in Bowers.

Chapter Five Rich Musicality: Playing at Court

When the company was invited to perform for the privileged audiences at court, they took along some of their most musically demanding performances. This chapter will examine the work music does in those plays, and how it does it. While the musical content of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's*, or, *The Almanac*, fall within the musical means of the company, *Fortunatus* and *II Robin Hood* stretch the company beyond its general capabilities for musical production. The rich musical life at court may be both the cause and the means for these complex musical productions.¹ *Fortunatus* particularly makes intense musical demands both vocally and instrumentally. *II Robin Hood* is the more musically demanding of the two Robin Hood plays, and offers more chance for spectacular performance. This suggests that the *II Robin Hood* may have been the company's choice for a court performance. But that must remain speculative.

I and II Robin Hood

We know from Henslowe's records that payment was made to "for mending Robin Hood for court" in November 1598 (Foakes HD 102). Unfortunately, we do not know which of the Robin Hood plays was actually presented. Due to this uncertainty, both *I* and *II Robin Hood* will be considered. The first musical moment in *I Robin Hood* serves to instigate the very complex framing devices which precede the start of the dramatic action. Sir John Eltam and Skelton make it known that they are planning a rehearsal for a play, and are joined by their company of players on the

¹ Ashbee records no payments to court musicians for adult company theatrical performances, but admits that the records of such collaborations have not been found (RECM 6: x)

stage. Skelton requests that the players “bring [their] dumb scene on the stage” (A2^v, 37).² The trumpets sound in answer to his request, and a non-verbal performance ensues. Within this complex moment of embedded performance, the sounding trumpets function as an aural barrier between the narrative space inhabited by Skelton and the players in front of the audience at court, and the one which they in turn represent through their embedded performance. Within that dumb show performance, King Richard enters with trumpets and a drum (A2^v, 41). Whether sounded or not, the instruments function as a sign of the king’s military reasons for departure. Throughout this study we have assumed that if an instrument was available on the stage and easily sounded, then it was. Here then, this dumb show is separated from the world of Skelton and John Eltam by not one, but two musical signals. After the first performance of the dumb show, Skelton requests that the exact same enactment be repeated, this time with him offering a commentary on the performance (A2^v, 57). The players comply. The king again enters with a drum (though the trumpets are not called for in this second run-through), and the relationship between the narrative dumb show and the main dramatic action is explained by Skelton’s commentary. This narration makes clear the reasons for the banishment of “our Earle Robert, or your Robin Hood,/That in those days was Earl of Huntington” (A3^r, 88-9). When next we meet the one time Earl he has famously escaped into the woods. Amongst his sylvan band, the sounds of hunting horns are continuously employed to create a wooded world on the bare stage, to communicate within the diegetic world, and to identify the players of such horns as the fallen Earl’s followers.

When Robin first winds his horn while disguised as an old man to save Scarlet and Scathlock, he announces that it will sound a death knell for the pair (D4^r, 984-5).

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But his private words with the brothers earlier in the scene make the true function of the sounding clear: “My horne once winded, I’ll unbind my belt, Whereat the two swords and bucklers are fast tied” (D4^f, 977-8). At the sound of Robin’s horn, Little John and Much enter to join the fray and save the brothers. This single sounding is both a creative and structural cue: it creates an association between the figure of Robin and his wooded life, and calls support to save the brothers. When the rescued brothers next appear, their entrance is recorded thus:

Enter Scathlock and Scarlet, winding their horns at
several doors. To them enter Robin Hood, Matilda
all in greene, Scathlocke’s mother, Much, little John, all
the men with bows and arrows. (E4^f, 1258-61)

Their sounding of the horns marks them as newly joined members of Robin’s company; in their last appearance the sounded horns brought them rescue; here, they are the figures able to communicate via the musical signals. The metonymy of this employment of the horns works within the diegesis. By their playing, their mother recognizes that her sons have joined Robin’s company. Ostensibly, the court audience could make a similar connection. In the scene which follows this entrance, the code of conduct which binds the men together is established. When they “exeunt winding their horns” the communal making of musical signals reinforces the bonds between them both within the diegetic world and for the audience at court (F1^v, 1365). The final sounding of the horn again calls the company together in order to protect their membership: the friar tells Robin to wind his horn when he warns of the attempt which is about to be made to kidnap the fallen Earl (G1^v, 1612-9).

The ability of the sounding horns to signify membership and loyalty obviously works at both the diegetic and extra-diegetic levels, as we have seen. Even the friar, who has not been part of Robin’s sylvan company, understands that the men use

musical signals as part of their life in the woods. That association between the horn and the forest life may stem from the use of such instruments in the practice of hunting. In the repertory the distinctive cry of the horn is employed only rarely outside the mimetic context of representing the hunt.³ Hunting practices carry a strong connection to the forest setting which is so important to the survival of Robin's company. Via these associations, the employment of hunting horns also serves the creative function of helping to define a specific location for the dramatic action. In a relatively empty playing space, the winded horns paint a sound-picture of a wooded backdrop.

Other mimetic musical moments occur through the use of both annunciatory cues and military signals in the play. There is only a single instance of annunciation recorded in the text. When Leicester enters to announce King Richard's military victories and his subsequent capture, the sound of a drum and the presence of an ensign serve as joint signals which lend authenticity to his tale (G4^f, 1785). By these signals, John recognizes before any dialogue is exchanged, that these figures deserve a "welcome from war" (G4^f, 1786). For the courtly audience of this entry, the drum ties back to its original employment in the framing device thus highlighting the scope of the diegetic world. Skelton's narration tied the king's military action to a world far beyond that represented on the stage. By connecting Leicester's entry to that original departure, the sounding of the drum drives home the vast world of the diegesis. An offstage drum heard later in the scene enforces this spatial definition for the extra-diegetic audience, and signals the arrival of Leicester's troops (H2^f, 1943). The

³ Will enters blowing his horn, booted and spurred like a post, in *When You See Me, You Know Me* and Colmogro gets a similar signal as a post in *I Tamar Cham*. A horn is heard offstage to wake a drunk in *Two Angry Women*, and John a Kent blows his horn in the forest. All other horn soundings in the repertory relate to the hunt.

identity of the military support is clearly identified by the specificity of the drummed march heard by both the fictional and courtly audience.⁴

Such musical specificity is obviously at work in the last recorded sound cue. The mimetic function of this annunciation by trumpets is explicitly stated by Robin when he announces that “The trumpet sounds, the king is now at hand” (K4^v, 2695). His announcement of the signal is supported by the stage direction which reads, “The trumpets sound, the while Robin places them” (L1^r, 2697). The King’s entrance here seems very much like a royal entry into the pastoral world in which much of the dramatic action has taken place. In view of the possible royal audience for this moment it seems potentially to carry meaning for the extra-diegetic audience. At the metonymic level it is possible to read this aural cue as a signal not simply of political power, but of the return of the rightful placing of that power. References to the just supremacy of the fictional monarch seem a nod to his courtly counterpart. Within the diegesis the king’s return signals the return of order. His entry into the pastoral world indicates a willingness to partake in the fraternal bonds between Robin’s men who recognize the legitimacy of his supremacy.

While the trumpet blasts clarify the identity of the approaching king, the only vocal song in the text is part of a necessary disguise. The textual representation of the musical moment is challenging: the same entrance is recorded twice. The first, presumably earlier version of the entrance has Jinny and Friar Tuck enter “like Peddlers, singing” and includes the text of the song, “What lack ye” (F4^v, 1554-1565). The second occurrence repeats the description of the disguise, but adds several characters, introduces dialogue before the song, and only includes the marginal stage direction, “Sings” (G1^r, 1582). Had both entrances not been recorded, we would have

⁴ This moment of identification does much to ease the fears about ambiguous military signals voiced by Zenocrate (Marlowe *I Tamburlaine* D2^v, Fuller III.iii.201-7).

had no record of the song that Jinny is asked to sing. The inclusion of both entrances suggests that Stern is correct in thinking that song texts were often kept on separate sheets.⁵ If the bundle of papers that constitute the printer's copy contained a sheet saved from an earlier version to preserve the song text, the printer may have mistakenly included material from the song sheet (which seems to have included Robin's final line anticipating the entrance of Tuck and Jinny and the dialogue which follows the song) in the final printing of the quarto.

The surviving song text offers a clue to the function of this musical moment. Whether both Jinny and Tuck (as in the original stage direction) or just the friar himself (as in the second) enter "like" peddlars, there is clearly an element of disguise at work here. Had the song text been lost, the friar's cue to Jinny to sing would have remained an open-ended mystery. Why would the girl be asked to sing at this moment? The extant song text makes the function of her performance explicit:

What lack ye: what lack ye: what ist ye will buy:
 Any points, pins, or laces, any laces, points or pins:
 Fine gloves, fine glasses, and busks or masks:
 Or any other pretty things:
 Come cheap for love, or buy for money
 Any cony cony skins
 For laces, points, or pins: fair maids come choose or buy.
 I have pretty potting sticks,
 And many other tricks, come choose for love, or buy
 for money. (F4^v, 1556-1565)

Clearly, this musical performance is a means of enacting the disguises necessary to get both Jinny and Tuck close to Robin Hood and his band. The use of a musical cue to define a particular trade identity works here at both the diegetic and extra-diegetic levels. Within the diegesis, Marian and Robin welcome the "peddlars." The use of a song to advertise her wares no doubt aligns Jinny's peddler disguise with the musical

⁵ See discussions in Chapter Two about *John a Kent* in "The Manuscript Plays" and below, "The Shoemaker's Holiday."

cries of the ballad hawkers which rang out in London streets in the period. It is possible that the tune used to set this list of goods was in fact one of the adaptable ballad tunes extant in the non-theatrical world. There is a piece (now lost) listed as part of Thomas Morley's *First Book of Ayres* (1600) titled "What lack ye Sir" (no. 16) which might have given a clue as to the character of the tune. At a much later date, though perhaps not so late to be excluded from the musical practices in which Jinny's song takes part, is the appearance of a tune set with the opening lines, "What is't You Lack? What would you buy?" in *The Masque of Mountebanks* (1618).⁶ Though assigning a specific tune to this performance is not possible, the function of this song as a marker of a specific trade identity is made clear by the surviving song text

Where the use of the horn helped to identify membership in the cultural band of Robin's followers in *I Robin Hood* its use in the sequel functions in a more familiar mimetic way. The noises of the hunt frame the prologue in a similar way to the use of musical cues in other texts to mark shifts in narrative mode.⁷ No horn sounding is explicitly called for at the moment we learn that King Richard has joined Robin and his yeomen in the sport. But the company's use of horns to establish hunting scenarios suggests that the instrument is implied as part of the "noise" (A2^f, 2). Apparently, with the return of the king, the need to identify the loyalty of the sylvan company is no longer necessary. Rather, when horns are winded in the sequel they signify active participation in the hunt. Robin exits winding his horn when he re-joins the hunters (A4^f, 126). Twice horns are sounded as the King leaves the off stage

⁶ For "What is't You Lack? What would you buy?" see London: BL: MS Add. 29481 f. 176^v and edition in John Cutts, *Jacobean Mask and Stage Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954) 200.

⁷ Anthony Munday [and Chettle], *The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington* (London: R. Bradock] for William Leake, 1601) A2^{f-v}; John C. Meagher, ed., *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) 2 and 37.

action of the hunt, and appears on the stage.⁸ For the audience at court who had direct experience with interpreting the sounds of such instruments in the woods of the non-dramatic world, the specificity of the signals used may have served as a narrative gloss to the exciting pursuit that took place off stage. The winded horns also serve as local form of announcing the King. Part of that job may be related to the use of the horns as a means of communicating movement while hunting. But when the prior reacts to the sound of the horns by asking for haste to be made, a sovereign-specific call must have been sounded (C1^r, 503).

A more traditional annunciatory cue comes from the trumpets who play at the entrance of Richard's successor, King John, later in the play (D4^v, 994-5). The train seems to enter to an empty stage: there are more speakers present in the scene than are indicated in the stage direction, but the King's pronouncement of his dream suggests that this is not a public ceremonial entrance. The audience for this trumpet signal then must be the extradiegetic audience so familiar with the workings of the royal trumpeters. This signal does double duty for its singular audience: it both announces the return of the king to the stage, and flags the end of the dream-enactment which has just been presented and narrated to the extra-diegetic audience by the friar. The trumpets very practically shift the focus of the audience away from the friar's narrative mode and back into the real-time of the dramatic action proper.

The development of that dramatic action eventually leads to war, the sounds of which are provided by drums and alarums. The ways in which these mimetic signals are recorded by the 1601 quarto raise some interesting questions as to how they were enacted in early performances at the Rose or perhaps at court. Their functions within that performance are in keeping with a great number of military

⁸ Munday *II Robin Hood* B2^v and C1^r, MSR 331-4 and 503

signals employed across the company's repertory. They lend authenticity to the representation of armed combat, and often serve as narrative gloss when that combat takes place offstage in the unseen reaches of the fictional world. After a debate about putting the drums to work and summoning a battle, Bruce commands, "sound drums to war" (G2^v, 1704). An alarum sounds in answer and commences a series of fights and skirmishes which take place on stage (G2^v, 1707). Unseen action is documented by a later employment of military signals. The extra-diegetic impacts of these offstage sounds not only alerts the watching audience to the depth of the fictional world, but demands a shift in focus from the intensity of the previous scene. The noise of war follows chillingly on the heels of Brand's comments about the enforced silence of Lady Bruce and her young son. As he locks them in the cell in which they will die, he notes that they can "cry til their hearts ache, no man can them hear" (H1^v, 1923).

What the audience does hear are the alarums from within (H2^f, 1926). This offstage battle continues while onstage Bruce and Fitzwater part ways. The text then records the direction "Alarum still" (H2^f, 1942). "Still" might, in this case indicate a continuous employment of the sounds of offstage battle. But the nature of the following exchange jars with the sounds of war. Hubert asks Matilda to offer herself to the king and she in response convinces him to let her enter a convent and thus preserve her virtue. The sounds of battle might remind the audience of the fact that the king's desire for her is the original source of conflict. But that function would directly conflict with the king's demand, just sixty-five lines later. His final command to sound an alarum instigates the onstage fight in which Fitzwater's rebels drive back the king (H3^f, 2003-6).

Drums serve an annunciatory purpose when the two opposing sides meet again in the shadow of the mourning Bruce, alone on the wall. Drums sound with the

entrance of the two factions from differing doors (L1^v, 2735 and 2756). They sound again when King John appears with Hubert. The sharp sounds of a military march may have functioned as a balance for the extra-diegetic audience to the rhetorical poetry of the Bruce, mourning the loss of his son and wife. When the king tries to instigate military action against the mourning nobleman, the power of the drum to direct action is evident in Leicester's response:

I tell thee drum, if thy drum thou smite
 By heaven, I'll send thy soul to hell's dark night
 Hence with thy drum: god's passion, get thee hence
 Be gone I say, move not my patience. Exit drum. (L2^f, 2789-92)

By sending away the drummer, Leicester removes the means by which battle can be commenced. In a structural moment, the resolution of the dramatic action is begun by this removal of possible musical military cues.

Part of that dramatic resolution is the job of making known the tragic fates of Lady Bruce, her youngest son, and the virtuous Matilda. Each of them has met an unfortunate end on account of the king. The music of a "funeral march for drum and fife" precedes the entry of Matilda's body and the mourning train (L4^f, 2908-2913). Within the diegetic world, the procession is heard before it is seen, and the march itself carries with it the identity of its patron (L4^f, 2914-5). Pragmatically, the sound of the march distracts from any potential difficulty in carrying the bier which bears the body to its place in the middle of the action. At the extra-diegetic level, the funeral march invokes the mournful mood by association with mourning rites in the non-dramatic world. As an interactive cue, its efficacy in evoking a particular emotional response in the audience may have been particularly intense in front of Queen Elizabeth and her court, who may have directly participated as principal and lesser mourners in such processions themselves. The burial march for Matilda might also

resonate with the earlier scene of musical mourning which was enacted to honor Huntingdon's death early in the play.

The poisoned Robin Hood requests that the normal mourning practices be abandoned in his dying wishes. He offers a litany of social mourning practices he wishes to avoid: the ringing of bells, mourning gowns, the hanging of blacks and traditional dirges are all to be avoided. Rather he requests to be buried with the markers of his sylvan life and asks, "for dirges, sing me woodmans songs." (D1^v, 814). The lyrics of the mourning song are included in the main body of the text (D2^{r-v}, 848-59). The content deals very specifically with the dramatic context which indicates that the song was specifically composed for the play. The strong connection between Robin Hood and the ballad literature of the period, and Munday's own familiarity with that body of musical knowledge, suggest that the yeoman's song was written with a specific setting in mind.⁹ Munday confesses this mode of composition in the introduction to his *Banquet of Dainty Conceits*:

First thou art to consider, that the ditties herein contained, are made to several set Notes, wherein no measure of verse can be observed, because the notes will afforde no such libertie: for look how they rise and fall, in just time of Musique, even so I have kept course therewith in making of the Ditties, which will seem very bad stuffe in reading, but (I perswade me) wyll delight thee, when thou singest any of them to thy instrument.¹⁰

This apology for his verse does several things at once: it suggests Munday's familiarity with the contemporary body of music available at the time of his compositions and indicates his belief in the familiarity of his readers with the same

⁹ For more on this connection see Francis James Child, ed. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* 5 vols. (New York: The Folklore Press in association with Pageant Book Company 1957) (*The gest of Robin Hood* #117, III.39-56) and Lois Potter "The Elizabethan Robin Hood Plays." *Playing Robin Hood: The Legend as Performance in Five Centuries* ed. Lois Potter (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998) 21-24.

¹⁰ Anthony Munday, *A Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (London: Edward White, 1588) sig. A3^r.

(or at least closely related) web of musical texts to which they might apply his verse for their pleasure. The assumption of musical knowledge points to the ephemeral body of extant ballad tunes as potential source of setting for the mourning songs. Assumptions about musical knowledge seem to have been safe in terms of the company's musical capabilities. The citation and inclusion of extant ballad tunes by company members in performance occurs throughout the repertory. If this musical moment is defined by a recognizable ballad tune, Robin's insistence on an individualistic set of mourning rituals would be supported by the use of a culturally specific body of music. While the mourning gowns and blacks that he avoids were recognized markers of privileged status, the woodmen's songs he requests are equally markers of a very different cultural identity.

In addition to the potential metonymy of this musical performance, the yeoman's song also serves a very pragmatic purpose. The song covers the stage action of removing the body of Robin Hood. Structurally, it works as an aural boundary between the narrative mode in which Robin's death occurred, and the ability of the friar to address the audience directly. The exchanges which follow the procession represent the original framing device interrupting the flow of the plot. This shift is marked at its inception with the mourning song, and at its conclusion by the trumpet signal for the king discussed earlier.

But the soundscape of this play is not shaped only by mournful melodies. Music is also invoked as a site of sensual and aesthetic pleasure within the diegetic world. It is possible that when the friar enters from the hunt, "carrying a stag's head, dancing" some simple melodic music accompanied him (B2^v, 333-4). In general, the presence of a dance has been read to indicate the presence of accompanying music in this project. Unfortunately, no textual evidence survives as to the nature of this dance

or its potential musical make up. The most spectacularly presented musical moment of this play is a similarly entertainment-based performance. Within the diegetic world, the purpose of the masque is to bring cheer and revelry to Fitzwater's household, still mourning for the death of Robin. Matilda particularly has been trapped in the rituals of mourning. Richmond announces the intentions of the masquers to perform by asking Matilda be done

with widow's weeds, and teach your feet
 (That have forgot with want of exercise
 And by the means of your sorrow had no mean)
 To tread a measure (E4^v, 1295-8)

The dance sequence provides King John with access to Matilda in order to woo her. She recognizes the king behind his masque and fends off his violent advances. The unsatisfied desire of the king sets in motion the series of conflicts and rebellions which shape the remaining dramatic action. For the the extra-diegetic audience, this musically rich performance offers pleasure in spite of Matilda's displeasure. The audio-visual spectacle of the masque offers a chance for the lower sorts at the playhouse to experience the type of entertainment generally available only to the wealthiest members of society. For an audience at court, the familiar dance steps and musical genre of the performance allow the courtly audience to see a reflection of their personal experience within the dramatic world of the play. The music works upon the senses of the extra-diegetic audience and draws them into the unfolding action. Close attention must have been paid to catch the dialogue exchanges during the dance which establishes the reasons for subsequent plot developments. Part of the masque is specifically identified as a dance that is characterized by leapings and

jumpings and general showing off by the male partner: the galliard (F1^v, 1343).¹¹ The musical accompaniment could draw the aural attention of the audience to focus on the spoken dialogue in face of the visual appeal of the dance itself. The variety of functions enacted by this musical spectacle indicates the ways in which music works so efficiently as a theatrical tool in the company's extant repertory.

Fortunatus

The company played *Fortunatus* at court on 27 December 1599.¹² The musical demands this play places on the company are the most functionally complex and instrumentally demanding in the repertory. It includes musical moments which fall outside the usual range of the company. This suggests that external musical help was needed to enact these many performances. Music serves as a marker of the presence of superhuman beings, as a signal of the commencement of allegorical performances embedded in the main narrative, as a potential cure for melancholy, as a marker of national identity, as part of the diegetic entertainment, as a site of aesthetic pleasure for the playhouse audience, and finally to bring a (literally) harmonious end to the dramatic action. The first instance of musical performance recorded in the text is the song that accompanies the processional entry of the allegorical figure of Fortune into the dramatic action.

After *Fortunatus* is directed to fall asleep, the very descriptive stage direction claims that the first figures to enter "come out singing" (A3^v-A4^r, I.i.63.1-6).¹³ Within

¹¹ The dance is described by Morley as "a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing [than the pavan]" Morley *Plain and Easy* A24^r.

¹² The title page claim is supported by records in the Chamber Accounts. See Chambers ES 4.112 and Malone Society, *Collections VI: Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

¹³ Thomas Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* (London: Printed by S.

the diegetic world this hymn “to Fortune’s deity” serves both as a means for those crowned by Fortune’s bounty to praise her, and as a musical offering to her (A4^r, I.i.74). She is, after all, the only member of the fictional world who is not either asleep (like Fortunatus), or busy singing her praises. For the extra-diegetic audience, the lyric content of the song touches on the dramatic action which will follow in a choric way. The singers both praise and warn against the powers of Fortune. “Her love is heaven,” they sing, “her hate is hell” (A4^r, I.i.67). Fortunatus, who is sleeping innocently during this musical moment, will come to understand both the praises and the warnings contained in the lyric content of the song as the play unfolds. In tandem with the processional entrance it accompanies, the musical performance here offers a site of heightened aesthetic pleasure to the extra-diegetic audience. The audio-visual spectacle also illuminates part of the pragmatic nature of the musical performance here. The stage directions indicate that as part of her entrance Fortune must climb into the chair of state (using the backs of the four unfortunate kings as her stepping stools). At some point in the procession then, a chair of state must be gotten onto the stage. The company often employs music to cover the movement of such potentially awkward objects.

Music also makes possible the connection of the allegorical and human realms within the dramatic action. While the procession and the exchanges between Fortune and her train unfold, Fortunatus remains asleep outside “this circle/ Where [Fortune] and these fairy troops abide.” (B1^r, I.i.159-60). When his sleeping form has been discovered, and the decision made to make him one of Fortune’s minions, the goddess calls for music to awake him:

Beyond the sway of thought, take instruments

Stafford for William Aspley, 1600); Fredson Bowers, ed., *Old Fortunatus* Vol. 1 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).

And let the raptures of choice Harmony
 Through the hollow windings of his eare
 Carry their sacred sounds, and wake each sense
 To stand amaz'd at our bright Eminence. (B1^r, I.i.142-6)

Within the diegetic world, this musical performance does exactly what it is commanded to do: it wakes Fortunatus to encounter the dream-like presence of Fortune and her train. For the playhouse audience at the Rose, or the audience at court, this performance makes the affective powers of music explicit. The music, which in the text is directed to play for “a while” works both upon Fortunatus and the audiences outside the diegetic world (B1^r, I.i.146.1).

This musical performance creates a sympathy of position between Fortunatus and his audience. The end of the exchange between Fortunatus and the goddess, which was set in motion with a musical cue is further demarcated as contained within the wider narrative by the singing which accompanies the train's exit (B4^r, I.i.313.1). Though the song text is not specified, the recurrence of their entry song later in the play suggests that this may be the music they sing to cover their exit. The song text is modified to suit the dramatic context later in the play: it is appealing to presume that a similar lyric modification would take place for the exit music (perhaps incorporating the ideas of dwelling with care that both the exiting kings and the remaining figure of Fortunatus touch on as the train exits). Unfortunately, this must remain mere speculation.

Music plays an important role in the reappearance of the allegorical figures a scene later. As Fortunatus, his sons and their servant Shadow exit, music sounds to mark the entry of Vice, Virtue, and Fortune with their respective trains (C3^f, I.iii.0.1-15). In a way, this musical performance works almost like an annunciatory signal: it marks the entry of the superhuman figures into an imaginative space that “shall be [their] temple; and henceforth be consecrated to our deities.” As in the last

appearance, music not only signals the beginning of this allegorical appearance, but works within it as well. Virtue and Vice must plant trees that represent the strength of their sway over the human world. To cover the potential difficulty of this physical act, Fortune commands that “whilst you are laboring,/To make your pains seem short our priest shall sing” (C3^v, I.iii.18-19). The practical function of this song is made apparent by Fortune’s announcement. The use of music to accomplish demanding staging practices is evidenced later in the play, when a company of Satyrs enters “with Music, and playing about Fortunatus body, take him away” (E3^v, II.ii.328-9). But the song here is not simply pragmatic in its function. The lyric content of the song touches upon the balance between Virtue and Vice; Vice is apparently in the lead (C3^v, I.iii.20-35). Outside the diegesis this musical moment resonates with the common conception of songs which accompany laboring workers. It also may have accompanied a fairly ceremonial performance of planting the trees of Virtue and Vice. It certainly offered the auditors a chance to enjoy a vocal performance that may have been accompanied by the instrumentalists who had just played during the company’s entrance.

A much more visible and human musical performance takes place with the entrance of the melancholy Orleans (F1^r, III.i.0.1-2). Within the diegetic world, Orleans seeks a musical performance to remedy the love-sickness with which he is suffering. The boy’s lute-playing, though, does not have the curative powers Orleans expected it should. The music makes him “but more out of tune” (F1^v, III.i.4). There is no stage direction to indicate how long this musical performance lasts before the boy is ordered to leave his lute with Orleans, and exit the stage. The possibility exists that perhaps the boy was as yet an unskilled performer on the lute, and unable to offer the pure harmony necessary to soothe Orleans’ heart-ache. Shadow has just left the

stage commenting on the foolish nature of courtiers. Some humor may have been gotten from the entrance of an overly indulgent melancholic, with music serving as an aural badge of his emotional state. But that must remain speculative. If, in fact, the boy was a gifted lutenist, then this musical moment serves to locate the dramatic action securely in the courtly world where such musical entertainment was commonly available. In both cases, it is Orleans' preoccupation with his own melancholy, and the use of music as both a signifier of that state and as means to cure it that allows this performance to communicate much about Orleans efficiently to the playhouse and court audiences. The character consciously participates in this system of signification when he indulges in a musical performance himself. "I'll gaze on heaven if Agripyne be there" he claims, "if not: Fa, La, la, Sol, la, &c." (F1^v, III.i.26-7). The absence of his beloved will drive him to express himself in song, apparently. Significantly, his musical repertory in his moment of distress seems to be tied not to the formality of the lute ayre (which might be expected as he is apparently still holding the lute at this point) but to the system of solmization, or sol-fa.¹⁴ This system of using arbitrary syllables to help recall the intervals between musical tones suggests spontaneous musical composition in this moment. The text records only a few syllables, but the "&c" indicates that this may be a rather permissive song direction. By using sol-fa Orleans is free to sing extempore a melody in this moment that does not require a lyric to go with it.

Musical formality is returned to when the trumpets sound to announce the entrance of the king, his courtiers, the ladies and the Spanish prisoner Insultado (G1^f, III.i.232.1-3). Following this annunciatory cue, "music sounds within" and continues

¹⁴ "Solmization," *Grove Music Online* ed. Andrew Hughes and Edith Gerson Kiwi (Oxford University Press, 2007-9) 2 February 2007
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

to play in what seems to be the longest continuous musical performance evidenced in the extant repertory of the company. Within the diegetic world this music from within provides accompaniment for the dancing during which Insultado demonstrates the Spanish dance that is so “full of state” (G1^v, III.i.287). For the extra-diegetic audience the audio-visual spectacle of the dance provides a moment of heightened pleasure in the performance. Despite his protestations that the English musicians cannot accompany him, the Spanish prisoner does in the end engage in a dance. The music here serves to mark out Insultado as a foreigner within Athelstan’s court. Perhaps had he been there by choice he would have recognized the familiarity of the Spanish Pavan at the English court. As it stands, the Spanish dance the musicians provide functions well to accompany his dance and allows the English monarch a triumph of both will and culture over the Spanish prisoner. Such a triumph surely pleased the royal audience at the court performance.

But this marking of national identity is not the only function of the extended musical performance. It would be a reasonable assumption to think the music ceased as Agripyne and Andelocia exited the scene with the ladies. But apparently the offstage musicians continue their performance. The stage direction which reveals Fortunatus’ son Andelocia sleeping in the lap of the princess Agripyne is preceded by the note, “music sounding still” (G2^v, III.i.356.1-3).¹⁵ As she explains to her father how she has charmed Andelocia to sleep to steal his magic purse, she indicates that music’s affective powers played a role.

I tried and found it true: and secretly
 Commanded Music with her silver tongue
 To chime soft lullabies into his soul (G3^f, III.i.378-80)

¹⁵ The “still” could indicate the aesthetic style of the performance, but the ensuing dialogue suggests that this “still” indicates continuous performance.

Between her exit from the dancing and being discovered with the sleeping Andelocia, Agripyne apparently had a word or two with the offstage musicians. The shift in musical genre is signaled by Shadow's description of what he hears, as he enters singing (G3^f, III.i.389.1-2). We are left with a question as to what specific music Shadow hears as he enters. There is the potential for humor to be gotten from the superimposition of his singing an incongruously spirited melody while sleep inducing music plays beneath him. But what Shadow does offer us, in no uncertain terms, is a description of the instruments which sound this music from within:

Musicke? O delicate warble; O these Courtiers are most sweet triumphant creatures...O delicious strings; these heavenly wire-drawers have stretched my master even out at length (G3^{r-v}, III.i.394-8)¹⁶

Perhaps those delicious strings and heavenly wire-drawers are at work again as part of the company of satyr musicians who play for the entrance of Fortune, Vice and Vertue (H3^f, IV.i.111.1-3). This musical performance again serves as an aural barrier between the fictional world in which Agripyne and Andelocia have been picking apples, and the imaginative realm in which the occult figures exist. Though the location of the action is the same for both parties, music is used here to create a divide between these worlds. There are two indications in the text that the satyrs play "awhile"; both directions seem to refer to a single musical performance. The while for which they play appears to extend beyond the time necessary for the physical

¹⁶ Dekker *Fortunatus* G3^{r-v}, Bowers *Fortunatus* III.i.394-8; The Spanish Pavan was familiar enough to be used as a setting for numerous ballads. Fellow company dramatist Anthony Munday indicates that a ballad in his collection *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* is to be sung to this tune (E1^v); appropriately voiced settings of the tune for strings before 1599 occur in the Wickhambrook Lute manuscript (New Haven: Yale Gilmore Music Library Ma21 W632. f. 14^v), William Ballet's manuscript Lute Book (Dublin: Trinity College: MS. D. 1.21), and Anthony Holborne's *Cittharn School* C2^v. These settings suggest that the Spanish Pavan could have been the tune to which *Insultado* danced and which puts Andelocia to sleep.

entrance. The dramatic action has ceased, allowing the musical performance to demand the attention of the audience (H3^f, IV.i.111.3 and IV.i.15.1). Though there are figures present in the diegetic world who stand to appreciate these musical performances, the intended fictional audience is that of the sleeping figure of Andelocia. His reception of the performance is quite obviously not of great import to the performers of that music; he continues sleeping throughout. But the courtly audience is offered a chance to indulge in the aesthetic pleasure of musical performance. The music played is in fact so pleasant that it fails to serve the diegetic function for which it was commanded; a different type of musical performance is required to wake Andelocia. In order to shatter the momentary peace of the sleeper Fortune orders “Music’s sweet concord cannot pierce his ear./Sing and amongst your Songs mix bitter scorne” (H3^f, IV.i.117-8).

The song that sounds in answer must contrast with the “sweet concord” sounded by the instrumental music that preceded it, according to Fortune (H3^{f-v}, IV.i.119-36). The representation of the song in the text, indicating verses probably sung solo and a burden borne by a “Quire” indicates a fairly complex musicality at work in this performance. The burden’s use of the monosyllabic representation of scornful laughter “Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, laugh, laugh in scorne,” (H3^f, IV.i.123) provides ample opportunity for the singers to “laugh alowd and wake him,” just as Fortune requires (H3^f, IV.i.120). The song presented here does quite of a bit of work. It fulfills the necessary dramatic demand, of waking up Andelocia, it offers the audience an aesthetically pleasurable musical performance, and it also serves the purpose of book-ending the creation of a specific enchanted space in which Fortune, Vice and Virtue move. It is only after the song is performed, and via that performance, that a change

in the imaginative construction of the space takes place. The musical boundary flags the shift that allows the occult figures to interact directly with Andelocia.

The interference of these allegorical figures hardly benefits Andelocia. By the time Virtue enters crowned, to advise King Athelstan to rule England wisely, both Andelocia and his older brother have been killed on account of Fortune's gifts to their father. The triumphant entrance of Virtue is announced with what seems to be a musically complex cue (L1^v, V.ii.260.1-2). This musical performance, though it does function as an annunciatory signal, seems to stem from that association of music and musicality with the otherworldly and the arcane. The performance has much in common with the musical soundings that have marked the various entrances of Fortune into the allegorical space in which she moves. Here, that divide is unnecessary; Virtue enters to address the fictional monarch specifically. But no mortal trumpeters are needed to herald Virtue's entrance. Rather it is a more musically complex annunciation, probably played by the instruments that accompany the following song.

The ending of the play as represented by the 1600 text deals very specifically with the audience at court, most clearly in the direct addresses to the Queen. The specificity of this address occurs not just in the epilogue, but in the wrapping up of the dramatic action. The song which follows this audience-specific action, is not in itself limited by direct address to any particular figure (L3^r, V.ii.347-8). It is, in fact a symmetrical reflection of the first song heard in the performance. Substituting Virtue for Fortune to reflect the happy outcome of the plot, and Virtue's triumph, this song serves both as an opportunity for the non-fiction audience to enjoy an aesthetically pleasing musical performance, and as a signal that a final imaginative shift has taken place; the play has come to an end.

The Shoemaker's Holiday

The first musical moment we encounter in the dramatic action of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is the drums which accompany the march of soldiers across the stage (C1^r, I.i.235.1-3).¹⁷ The drums here signify the impressments of soldiers to the French wars, the “countries quarrels” which threaten to take Rafe away from his civilian life and his new married bride (C1^r, I.i.180). The musters had been described by Lacy earlier in the scene, noting in which diverse areas of London the men of various counties were gathered to be prepared for war. The impossibility of demonstrating this military activity is obvious, so the drums here represent all of the preparation which goes into preparing for a battle. Rafe “falling in” amongst the soldiers which pass over the stage reflects the actions of country soldiers impressed in the provinces, who were called to join the marching by the sound of the drum.¹⁸

It is probable that the drummed march sounded first from offstage as the party entered. For the extra-diegetic audience this mimetic musical cue also serves to alert them to the breadth of the diegetic world. It may not communicate the existence of expansive spaces like battlefields in the ways that more aggressive military cues have functioned in other plays in the extant repertory. But the sound of the drum expands the imaginative world beyond the local setting visible on the stage. By its connection to the military action in France this signals also serves as a reminder of the world beyond London. That world, despite the incredibly localized focus on London and its citizens, creates the absences which instigate the following dramatic action.

¹⁷ Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemakers Holiday. Or The Gentle Craft* ([London]: Printed by Valentine Sims, 1600); Fredson Bowers, ed., *The Shoemakers' Holiday* Vol.1 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).

¹⁸ According to Cruickshank, it was the duty of the drummer to “summon the company to assembly” (58).

The earliest song embedded in the text of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is Lacy's song in a comically staged Dutch accent (C3^r, I.iv.36-41). The song is not in proper linguistic Dutch, but then, neither is it in recognizable English. The hybrid stage accent is part of Lacy's disguise as Hans, which he has adopted in order to escape his military duties, and return both to London, and his lady, Rose. The song he sings, despite its humorously confusing language, must obviously give a clue as to the identity Lacy is attempting to perform. He enters singing, to which Firk immediately responds "Master, for my life, yonder's a brother of the Gentle Craft" (C3^r, I.iv.42). Firk's ability to identify Lacy disguised as Hans as a fellow cobbler, at least in part seems to be dependent on his ability to recognize a cobbler's song, even in Dutch!¹⁹ As most vocal songs in the repertory offer to the extra-diegetic a moment to indulge in the pleasure of a musical performance, Lacy's song also provides potentially enjoyable entertainment. It seems reasonable to think that the pleasure of this particular moment may lie more in its comic value than in its melodic structure. This musical performance also offers the extra-diegetic audience a chance to see and hear Lacy's disguise in action. While for the diegetic audience, the song signals the foreign identity of the singer, for the extra-diegetic audience it offers a moment to share that performance with Firk and his fellows while not falling into their position of being fooled by Lacy's disguise.

The act of identification is again the function of a musical cue when the horns sound to accompany Warner and Hammon in their hunt (D1^{r-v}, II.i.9.1, II.ii.0.1 and II.ii.9.1). The scene in which these two wealthy citizens chase quarry but end up finding Rose and her lady Sibil is punctuated by aural cues in the text. Hallowing and

¹⁹ As with several trade identities in the period musicality appears to have been one of the markers of identity for the shoemakers. See Merritt E. Lawliss ed., *The Novels of Thomas Deloney* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1961) 115.

the sounds of hunting are three times given directions to be heard from within. Finally, the horns sound before Hammon and company enter to the ladies (D1^v, II.ii.9.1). Within the diegetic world, these signals communicate the shape and direction of the hunt. For the audience at court the highly mimetic use of such signals adds a naturalistic feel to the representation of the noble sport. Particularly for the audience at court, the specificity of what the horns play during the “noise of hunters” would be an effective means of providing a narrative gloss to the unseen action of the hunt. Creatively, the very fact that Hammon and Warner are depicted as hunters carries a meaning about their status within the diegetic world. The sounding of the hunting horns adds an aural dimension to that metonymic representation.

A similar mimetic function is referenced in the text in the following scene which takes place in Shoemaker’s shop. A vocal performance has been going on that seems to be indicative of the laboring songs understood to be connected with life of journeymen and women in the period. For the audience at court, Firke’s song provides both entertainment and a sensory experience of what life may have been like as a laborer in London. Within the diegetic world, the song both entertains and offends. As she enters, Simon Eyre’s wife scolds, “You sing sir sauce, but I beshrew your heart, I fear for this your singing we shall smart” (D2^f, II.iii.26-7). From her reaction we know that Firke has been singing and that something about that performance has her worried. But there is no indication in the preceding exchanges as to what his saucy song might be. This missing lyric set raises the question of the relationship between the two Three-Man’s songs printed at the start of the 1600 quarto (A3^v-A4^r, pp. 20-1).

Tiffany Stern theorizes that the nature of song inclusion in the printed drama of the period points to a practice of keeping songs written on separate sheets from the

main body of the playbook.²⁰ The inclusion of vocal songs in the manuscript of *John a Kent and John a Cumber* indicates that this practice was not entirely universal. But the *John a Kent* manuscript includes at least two references to songs which are not included in the text and may have been kept by the company on separate sheets. The inclusion of the two songs at the beginning of the 1600 quarto of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* seems to be an instance where such a practice is at work. These songs have caused considerable debate as to where in the text they are meant to be included in performance. In their edition, Smallwood and Wells offer a summary of editorial practice and the conflict it demonstrates:

It is not possible to assign a place to them with any confidence. Like many editors we therefore follow Q1 in printing them before the text of the play. Other editors, plausibly but not entirely convincingly, select points at which to insert them, mostly following Rhys's placing of the first after xi.25 and the second after xx.32. Harrison prints the first song after vii.27; Halliday and Koszul after xi.75. Harrison opens sc. xiii with the second song; Lawrence exceptionally places it 'at the latter end' of the entire play, but is has none of the characteristics of an epilogue.²¹

If Stern is correct and these separate songs were written out on individual sheets that "the printer seems to have forgotten to distribute through the play in time" for going to press, then it is reasonable to assume that those individual song sheets that were part of the copy were also associated with the performance.²² The agreement between the song demands preserved in the text and the two songs included at the start of the quarto supports this connection. Harrison's assignments of song placement seem to be

²⁰ See Tiffany Stern, "Re-patching the Play" *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England* ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 151-77.

²¹ R.L. Smallwood and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shoemaker's Holiday* rpt. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) 79n.

²² *Ibid.* 157.

the most logical. He integrates them at the two moments in the play in which missing vocal music is specifically called for.

The first song printed in the 1600 quarto would be a suitable one for Mistress Eyre to chastise Firke about (A3^v, p.20). Though there is no stage direction or song lyrics embedded in the text, Mistress Eyre's comment to Firke, "You sing sauce sir, but I beshrew your heart, I feare for this your singing we shall smart" indicates that he has been caught in the act of music making (D2^r, II.iii.26-7) Following her initial comment on his musical performance, Hodge and Firke embark on an exchange driven by barely veiled sexual innuendo (D2^r, II.iii.28-32). The focus of the first three-man's song provides ample material from which this playfully bawdy conversation seems to have sprung. Though no setting for this particular lyric set is known to be extant, Smallwood and Wells point out that a song setting with a similar refrain appears in Ravenscroft's *Pammelia* and appears to be a version of a traditional drinking song.²³ The festive rites which the song references – the election of a "summer's queen" and the freedom provided for the unmarried young lovers to "kiss and toy" (A3^v, p. 20 ln. 4) in the green surroundings are tied to the holiday enactments of the morris dance and its thematic ties to Robin Hood (A3^v, p. 20 ln. 12). The bawdy nature of these celebrations, in which the roles of Robin Hood, Maid Marian, the drunken friar and the hobby horse figure so prominently, were features of celebratory social functions at which sexual freedom was, if not encouraged, then accepted as part of the holiday making.²⁴ This connection to the morris is what drove Halliday and Koszal to insert the song into the already festive scene in which the

²³ Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia. Musickes Miscellanie* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609) no. 62; Smallwood and Wells 81n.

²⁴ See Alexandra F. Johnston. "The Robin Hood of the Records." *Playing Robin Hood: The Legend as Performance in Five Centuries* ed. Lois Potter (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998) 27-45.

shoemakers dance a morris onstage. But there are no indications of vocal performance in this episode. It is possible that a song was sung and not recorded. But a vocal musical moment is referenced in the shoemaker's shop. The allusions to romantic entanglement and sexual freedom which suit the morris dancing scene equally to fit the exchanges inspired by Firke's singing in the shop. It seems logical to suggest that this three-man's song would have been sung where a vocal performance is specifically called for in the text.

The placement of the second song is more clearly indicated in the text. The scene at the shop board with Ralph, Firke, Lacy/Hans and a boy at work has a "down a-down" refrain printed several times (G1^v-G2^r, IV.i.1-26).²⁵ This fragmented musical performance seems to represent a fairly naturalistic representation of men at their work, singing and chatting to make the time pass. Just as Firke's earlier vocal performance acted as a signifier of a particular trade identity, so the music and dialogue exchange here signifies not only the membership in a shared cultural subset, but the means by which that cultural identity was assumed to be enacted.²⁶ The singing shoemakers offer the audience at court a performance of aspects of a laborer's life that the privileged audiences might recognize, if only from printed tales like Deloney's.

It is impossible to how know much time was devoted to singing each of the refrains. But Dekker's other works for the company include pointed references to songs performed by recording just the refrain when an expanded musical performance

²⁵ Dekker *Shoemakers* C1^v-C2^r, Bowers *Shoemakers* IV.i.1, 5, 10 and 26.

²⁶ A similar musical moment occurs in Robert Wilson's *The Cobbler's Prophecy*. Ralph Cobbler enters "with his stoole, instruments, and shoes" and sings a song with a strikingly similar refrain, while he works. See Robert Wilson, *The Coblers Prophecie* (London 1594) sig. A3^v-A4^r.

might be called for.²⁷ Here, the refrain is interspersed with the dialogue four different times. Editors seem unwilling to tie the second three-man's song to this particular performative moment largely, it seems, because in spite of the similarity of the refrains printed in the text, the "downs" and "derries" do not match. The difficulty of identifying a refrain which reads "Hey down a down down derry" (G1^v, IV.i.1) as belonging to a song whose refrain is printed "Down a down hey down a down, Hey derry derry down a down" (A4^f, p. 21) is certainly understandable. But the refrain is embedded in the dialogue in several ways. These cues do not seem to be exact statements of what is to be sung, but rather references to an extended piece of music which would be familiar to the singers (or in keeping with Stern's idea, perhaps in front of them on the shop board).²⁸ We have seen already that dramatists often left musical choices in the hands of the company members. This repeated reference to a longer song seems to be just such a permissive musical direction. There are no other musicians represented as part of the diegetic setting for this song. Hodge, Ralph, Firk, Lacy-as-Hans and the boy are free to indulge in as much or as little of the song text as they will. The presence of the boy at the shop board also goes far to tie this moment of musical performance to the text of the song printed at the start of the 1600 quarto.

The song text in the quarto preserves two lines of direction that read "close with the tenor boy" (A4^f, p.20 ln. 10) and "This is to be sung at the latter end" (A4^f, p. 20 ln. 0.1). The boy plays no explicit role the scene: he is not given any dialogue or specific action to carry out. The boy of the printed stage direction seems to be the tenor boy of the song text. He is a thread which ties these two musical textual

²⁷ See *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore* in Chapter Six "Playing at the Fortune."

²⁸ When, in *The Patient Man and The Honest Whore*, Bellafront's text includes an "&c" to indicate that the textual reference to the song ought to be significantly longer than the words "pretty wantons warble," a similar directive reference seems to be at work.

phenomena together. As to the second performance direction included with the song text stipulating the song's presence at the latter end of the play, the solidity of this direction in relation to the play in performance remains questionable. If Stern is right about the mobile nature of the separate songs then perhaps the song sheet used in the performances had another life, related to some other play as well, for which it served as a prologue. But in keeping with the idea that the company often used music as a means to mark a shift in performative or narrative mode, perhaps this song was actually sung at the close of the dramatic action in front of the court. Even before the heights in musical dramatic courtly performance reached during the heyday of the Jacobean masque, music was an important part of life at court and courtly entertainment in Elizabeth's reign. The texts associated with performances at court demonstrate a rich display of musical matter for the company. Using a song to cap the conclusion of the dramatic action would not seem to jar with the expectation of the court audience. The fact that the song had already been sung, at least in part, earlier in the performance does not prevent it from being recycled or adapted to function as a sort of aural epilogue to the performance.²⁹ Though there is no way to validate the song's presence at the end of the play, there is at least the possibility that the direction in the song text refers to the performance at court.

That courtly audience would be similarly entertained by the morris dancing shoemakers. Within the diegetic world, Eyre announces that "for love to your honour they are come hither with a morris dance" (F2^v, III.iii.49-50). The purpose of this musical performance is in part pure entertainment for both the stage and courtly audiences. For the court audience accustomed to lavish musical entertainments which were part of court life, this performance of rustic entertainment offers a novel twist on

²⁹ In his works for the company Dekker has used vocal song in a similarly repetitive fashion. See *Fortunatus* above.

the courtly dancing of which the monarch was so fond.³⁰ But there is a comic and structural aspect to the function of this rustic dance. The shoemakers offering their rustic revelry to entertain the Lord Mayor and his guests provide an opportunity for Lacy/Hans to reveal his presence to Rose.³¹ In the sensory intensity of the tabor, the pipe, and the rhythmic fall of dancing feet, Rose is able to recognize her disguised lover while her father remains in ignorance. Like the Dutch song, this musical performance both joins the diegetic and extra-diegetic audiences in a sympathy of position as listeners, and highlights the privileged position of the extra-diegetic audience able to see through the performative ruse.

The last musical cues preserved in the text are the flourishes which accompany the entrance of the king (K1^r, V.v.0.1-2). This is the only time in the course of this text where the trumpets are called on to announce the presence of the King, or of anyone. There are numerous places in the course of the narrative where such mimetic employment of aural signals would be apt, but this is the only signal recorded as such. It is tempting to question why this particular entrance of the King is graced with “a long flourish or two.” Theories about provenance have suggested that such permissive directions indicate authorial copy, fair or foul. But the company certainly had the capability to supply such a cue at this moment. The presence of Queen Elizabeth herself may in fact have encouraged them to do so. This is the first time the fictional monarch was seen by the living monarch. As such, this mimetic moment seems an apt place to employ a metonymic musical signal. This one occupies

³⁰ See “Music and Cultural Identity” in Chapter Three.

³¹ An indication of the tune these instruments may have been playing can be found in the piece titled “The Morris” in the Mynshall Lute manuscript (Woodford Green: Essex: Library of Robert Spencer: Mynshall MS f. 8, for facsimile see Robert Spencer, *The Mynshall Lute Book* (London: Boethius Press 1975); for more on a recognizable Morris tune see John M. Ward, “The Morris Tune,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39.2 (1986): 294-331.

a unique position in relation to the structure of the dramatic narrative. It is both creative, in authenticating the authority of the king, and structural by enabling the resolution of the dramatic action. The king, in this instance, embodies the authority which can validate the marriage of Rose and Lacy. The comic chaos, the disguises and subversions which made the match possible are here endorsed by the acceptance of the match by the king. Perhaps the insertion of the flourish that welcomes the king onto the stage is present to denote not only the fictional representation of royalty, but to alert the audience to the structural role of that authoritative figure, whose non-fictional counterpart heard him enter, to ensure that “all discord ends” (K3^v, V.v.119).

No Wit/Help Like a Woman’s, or, The Almanac

The latest extant text associated with the court is *No Wit/Help Like a Woman’s, or, The Almanac*, which was performed by the company on 29 December 1611.³² Though there are not many musical moments in the play, those that are present are part of the spectacular entertainments associated with the wedding. Loud music is sounded as the “new-married” couple appear and resonates with the use of music to accompany couples to and from the solemnization of the marriage in the non-dramatic world (F6^r, 9.20.1).³³ But the most elaborate musical performance is related to the masque which is also part of the festivities. This performance comes the closest in the repertory to representing the spectacle of a court masque on the stage. Its musical content serves several functions: creative, structural, and pragmatic.

³² Chambers ES 4: 125 and 178.

³³ Thomas Middleton, *No Wit/Help Like a Woman’s* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1657); John Jowett, ed., *No Wit/Help Like a Woman’s, or, The Almanac* in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, Gen. Eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

Through a mimetic relation to the actuality of the masque at court, the lavish nature of this wedding celebration highlights the social standing and economic power of its patrons. The getting and losing of fortunes have shaped the dramatic action thus far, and like the banquet entertainment laid on earlier by Weatherwise, Beveril's masque is intended to celebrate the fortune (both economic and romantic in this case) of Kate and the widow Goldenfleece. Both entertainments distort the non-dramatic social forms with which they engage. But the ability to offer such lavish fare draws attention to the social standing of the participants within the diegetic world. The structural and pragmatic functions of these musical moments overlap. Structurally, the loud music which Beveril calls for to mark the start of the performance serves as an aural signal to both the diegetic and extra-diegetic audiences that an embedded performance is about to begin (F6^v, 9.62-62.1). The music of the drum and fife offers the pragmatic means by which the suitors are unmasked, in a subverted reference to the reveal moment which played such an important part in court masques (G1^r, 9.170.2-14). This discovery, enabled by music, then draws the attention to the position of the widow as an object of desire. Desire, of course, plays a tremendously important role in the creation and final resolution of the following dramatic action. Thus the musical performance participates as it often does in the company's repertory in the structure of the narrative and the unfolding of the plot.

Chapter Six

The Repertory Across Time: Playing at the Rose and the Fortune

This chapter will examine the functions of music in several plays grouped by the various venues in which the company played them. The texts have been selected to be a part of this examination for several reasons. They are explicitly associated with performances at the Rose and the Fortune. Taken together, they represent the widest scope of possible music functions for each venue. This connection to venue also demonstrates the continuity of musical function through time. The plays at the Rose, though they enjoyed a stage life that extends beyond the company's use of that particular theatre, appear earliest in the records of the company while the plays at the Fortune appear towards the end of our period. The case of *Doctor Faustus* provides a means by which the use of music in two venues can be contrasted. The early printed text is taken as a witness to the play's stage life at the Rose while the later printed edition is associated with performances at the Fortune. For this reason, *Doctor Faustus* will frame the narrative of this chapter. While there is great deal of continuity across time in the work music does, as the repertory progresses the functions of musical performance develop to become more complex in their creative, structural, pragmatic, and interactive implications.

Playing at the Rose

The plays chosen to represent the functions of music in plays whose entrance to the repertory occurred during the company's time at the Rose are *Doctor Faustus* (1604), *I and II Tamburlaine*, *Patient Grissil*, and *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. They offer the broadest possible view of music's function. The musical practices with which these plays engage point to broad spectrum of social sorts as potential

playgoers able to follow the functions of music as theatrical tool. These plays call for musical moments which resonate with the categories of musical social behaviors which shaped the previous chapters. The printed texts on which we must depend for evidence may not record every musical moment that occurred in early performances, but they do demonstrate the company's ability to draw upon its musical resources in performance. The texts chosen here also illustrate several exceptional musical performances that ask more of the company than their general practices. These plays present the most musically demanding moments in the Rose based repertory. Faustus' dancing devils, Helen's otherworldly accompaniment, and the musicians within who play at different points for Zenocrate, Irus/Hermes, and Grissil may in fact have come from outside the company's ranks. Henslowe does not record payment to these potential professional helpers. But his records are certainly not inclusive of all of the company's activities. Despite the lack of financial records the possibility exists that in these demanding moments, the company may have reached out to the professional musical community for assistance.

Doctor Faustus 1604

The early version of *Doctor Faustus* that the company played at the Rose was musically scant, according to the directions preserved in the 1604 quarto. The silence of this printed witness on musical matters may speak to the idea that "the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence."¹ But there is no way to validate that conjecture. What we can do is turn our attention to the musical moments which have been textually preserved. The first of these performances accompanies the dance of the devils who "offer crowns and rich apparel to Faustus" (C1^r, A.II.i.59-60).² The

¹ Christine Eccles, *The Rose Theatre* (London: Nick Hern Books, 1990) 95.

² Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of D. Faustus* (London: V. Simmes for

possibility exists that the devils dance without music. But when Greg argued that this stage direction “involved a direct appeal to the senses” he hit the nail on the proverbial head.³ The signifying potential of music as a marker of otherworldly power and the sensual enjoyment provided to the stage and playhouse audiences by a musical performance indicate that accompaniment is implicit here. Within the diegetic world, this audio-spectacle serves the purpose for which Mephistopheles has conjured it: to delight the mind of Faustus and distract him from the dangers of the bargain he has just made with the demonic powers that be. The dancing devils seem to be successful in this charming of Faustus. Rather than continue his considerations of the message to escape such an association, he turns his attention to the potential gains the recent signing away of his soul may have to offer. Before actually handing over the deed to Mephistopheles, Faustus reacts to this devilish performance, recognizing the true potential of the powers he will have access to. The entrance of the devils bearing rich apparel and money for Faustus offers a brief respite to both the stage and playhouse audiences from the intensity of the preceding action. The shared experience of the devils’ performance creates a sympathy of position between Faustus and the extra-diegetic audience. Mephistopheles’ comments on how this device is meant to “delight” suggests that rather than a chaotic or threatening performance we might expect from the devils that their dance is rather more aesthetically pleasing.⁴

Thomas Bushell, 1604); David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, eds., *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616)* Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

³ W.W. Greg, “The Damnation of Faustus” *The Modern Language Review* 41.2 (1946): 102.

⁴ Though it appears much later than the early performances at the Rose, John Adson’s extant setting of “The Devil’s Dance” which was part of Campion’s *The Squires’ Masque* in 1613, with its metrical and rhythmic variations may indicate at least the genre of the music which accompanied the dance of these devils. The piece appears arranged for treble and bass in London: British Library MS Add 10444 (treble=39^v-40^r; bassus 90^v); for lute in London: British Library MS Add 38539 fol 30^v; and in

Structurally speaking, this musical accompaniment functions as means by which the nature of the devils as entertainers is highlighted for the playhouse audience. Like so many aural cues that accompany the entrance of a performance within a performance, the music here may have drawn attention to the artifice of their appearance. Mephistopheles' intention to distract and delight Faustus (and the playhouse audience) indicates that this performance is necessarily a site of aesthetic pleasure for both the fictional and playhouse audiences. The shared reception of this embedded performance creates a sympathetic bond between Faustus and his audience. The music which accompanies the dance reinforces the self-contained nature of the devils and the momentary distraction they can offer from the spiritually terrifying business Faustus is about.

That demonic deal allows Faustus to be present for the next musical cue in the 1604 quarto, though invisible. The sennet which sounds as the Pope and the Cardinal “enter to the banquet, with Friars attending” seems to function more in relation to the banquet than it does in an annunciatory capacity (D2^r, A.IIli.59.1-2). Within the diegetic world the social position of the two religious figures might merit the formality of a trumpet signal announcing their entrance. But in the extant repertory of the company the employment of musical annunciation for religious figures is almost non-existent. Outside of the Faustus texts, the only religious figures which appear on stage in the presence of any kind of musical cue are Dunstan the holy man in *The Devil and His Dame*, and the friars and cardinals in *The Whore of Babylon*. None of

print in Adson's collection *Masquing ayres. composed to 5. and 6. parts, for violins, consorts, and cornets* (London: Printed by T. S[nodham] for Iohn Browne 1621) Cantus A4^v: for Adson's connections to the theatrical world and the King's Men see Bentley JCS 2.343-4.

these appearances include annunciatory cues.⁵ Within the diegetic world this ambiguous musical signal works mimetically. It is part of the formality of the banquet setting for the following action.

For playhouse audience members with direct experience of such musical social practices this creative cue lends ceremony to the enactment of the feast, and locates the figures who partake in that banquet in a rarified social space. In the world outside the theatre only those who could afford such lavish entertainment as formal banquets, and those who provided that entertainment for them, would recognize the social practice being enacted on the stage. For the playhouse audience unfamiliar with such social behaviours by direct means, the sennet played may have been interpreted as a signifier of social position. Despite the attempt to categorize this musical moment, it illuminates the ways music has of enacting many functions at once.

Another of the simultaneous functions of this cue occurs at a very pragmatic level. The dramatic action that follows demands an actual banquet be physically present on the stage. Faustus' impish toying with the pope by snatching dishes of food out of his hands indicates the physicality of the banquet presented on stage. It is possible that the banquet was set at the start of the scene, while Faustus and Mephistopheles discuss the waiting wonders of the Italian capital. But Bevington and Rasmussen caution that the imaginative space opened by their dialogue would be limited by so obviously placing them within the confines of a banqueting hall.⁶ The

⁵ For Dunstan, the music is the otherworldly sounding of his harp (Haughton G8^r, Baillie I.iv.52.1-54). The friars perform a Latin chant (Dekker *Whore of Babylon* A3^v, Bowers *Whore of Babylon* 0.0.31-4). For the Cardinals the trumpet signals are tied directly to military action (Dekker *Whore of Babylon* H2^v, Bowers *Whore of Babylon* IV.iii.15-17); The presence of the Pope might merit an annunciatory signal due to his position as the head of the Church. But the music of annunciation does not seem to have been associated with religious figures of high position in the English Church, while the ties between music and banqueting in the social world were strong.

⁶ David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, eds., *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts (1604,*

sennet that is sounded at the start of the banquet could also have covered some of the action necessary for the bringing in of a banquet between Faustus' donning of the robe which makes him invisible, and the pope's invitation to the cardinal to draw near. There are no extant sources which document the particular length or melodic complexity of trumpet signals like this one. It may have been an instance where the ceremonial and aesthetic duties of a musical cue were multi-functional, as in *The Spanish Tragedy* (C1^v, 518).

Some confusion has arisen concerning the "dirge" the pope commands the friars to prepare during this ill-fated banquet, which is subsequently sung by the friars (D2^{r-v}, A.III.i.75-6 and 87-100). The later B-text offers a slightly more specific stage direction for the friars to enter with the bell, book and candle proverbially associated with the public rites of excommunication. Longeman assumed a non-specific use of the term dirge (present in both texts) "to refer to the ceremony which is going on" which in his eyes is "neither a dirge nor a mass but the service of excommunication" (83).⁷ But the call for a dirge is a ritualistic request which determines the musical content of the singing friars.

The rites of Roman Catholicism inform the context for the dramatic action in this scene. The term dirge was employed to refer to the Office of the Dead.⁸ The word "dirge" first appears in the Matins rite of that Office.⁹ The order by the Pope for the friars to prepare a dirge which will "lay the fury of the ghost" demonstrates a conscious engagement with the purposes and practical enactment of that Office (D2^f,

1616) *Revels Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) 160-1 n.

⁷ Later editors such as Greg, Bevington and Rasmussen adopt similar readings of the dirge.

⁸ "Dirge" *Oxford English Dictionary Online* 2nd ed. 1989 Oxford University Press. 17 May 2005 <http://dictionary.oed.com>.

⁹ "Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam" Psalm 5.8; see "Dirige," *Grove Music Online* ed. Malcolm Boyd (Oxford University Press, 2007-9) 12 October 2008. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

A.III.i.75-6). This connection between a dirge and the Matins ceremony helps to clarify the resultant musical performance.¹⁰

Several Latin rites seem to be at play in the enactment of this performative moment. Excommunication rites are invoked by the references to bell, book, and candle. The enforced division between Faustus' condemned soul and the paths to salvation offered by the Church certainly warrants the curse of "Maledicat dominus" that recurs in the friar's dirge. References are made in the stage directions and dialogue to the signifiers of Saint Peter's holy day. But the ceremony that appears to be the most specifically invoked and inverted by the musical performance here, is the Protestant practice of Matins. Morning prayer is related to the Latin rites of Lauds; this connection ties the Protestant practice to the representation of papal presence in this moment.¹¹ The two ceremonies share textual similarities. The 1559 Book of Common Prayer translates the Benedictus as "Blessed be the good Lord of Israel."¹² The canticle of Zacharia's blessing, "Benedictus Dominus" provides the text sung "towards the end of the Office of Lauds...and before the Nicene Creed at Anglican Matins."¹³ This beginning blessing shares a metrical similarity with the "Maledicat Dominus" of the friars' dirge. It is possible then, that the company employed a setting for this the dirge that highlighted its inversion of the blessings which happen during Matins. This is highly conjectural of course, but the familiar auspices of Matins fall

¹⁰ N.C. Carpenter also cites the connection between the dirge and the Offices of the Dead but takes her argument about the musical content implied by this connection in a different direction. See N.C. Carpenter, "Music in Dr. Faustus: Two Notes," *Notes and Queries* 195.9 (1950): 180.

¹¹ Matins retains a close tie to the earlier Sarum rite of Lauds. See discussion in "Music and Cultural Identity" in Chapter Three.

¹² Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawode, 1559) sig. A3^v.

¹³ The text of Luke 1.68 is found in the *Book of Common Prayer* sig. A3^v referred to above; see "Benedictus (2)," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007-9) 12 October 2008 <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

into place nicely in a performance so peppered with references to lightness, darkness, and “divine astrology” (C2^v, A.V.i.34).

Within the diegetic world, these singing friars provide ample reason for the spectacular retaliation of Mephistopheles and Faustus. The pair are directed to “beat the friars and fling fireworks among them” (D2^v, A.III.i.100.1-2). Calling down the curses of the Lord for the trivial offenses referred to in this antiphon positions both the friars and their popish performance in a position to be criticized. Through its relation to the earlier Office of Lauds, this invocation of the more familiar Matins resonates with the friars’ religious affiliation, while addressing the playhouse audience in very familiar musical terms. English social practices are often represented at work in non-English settings in the repertory. While the Latin content of their curses reinforce their religious affiliation, the possible familiarity of the Matins rites ties into the direct musical experiences of a large portion of the playhouse audience. This performance may have offered the playhouse audience an interactive chance to think critically about the spiritual distance between their own religious social practices and the indulgences of Catholicism that are here being sent up.

That extra-diegetic audience is also positioned to be affected jointly with its fictional counterparts by the music that accompanies the appearance of superhuman beauty and perfection on the stage. When Faustus calls forth Helen to satisfy the demands of his young scholar companions, like the other conjurers in the company’s repertory, music is tied to his magical art. His call for silence, and his warning against the potential danger of words begs attention for all aspects of his magical act: visual and aural (C3^v, A.V.i.25). Within the diegetic world, the music that sounds as Helen “passeth over the stage” signifies the use of otherworldly powers to bring forth this figure (C4^f, A.V.i.25.2-3). For the playhouse audience, this musical moment would

resonate with a commonplace association between music and the supernatural world, either in the form of the music of the spheres so familiar from the pulpit, or from classical tales in translation. Working as part of the spectacle of Helen's appearance, this music helps to situate the both audiences in a shared perceptive space. As an interactive moment, this otherworldly music provides a bridge between the diegesis and extra-diegetic world and creates a sympathy between playhouse audience and the scholars on the stage. By employing music within the fictional world, Faustus thus enchants both his intended stage audience, and the larger playhouse audience privy to his tragedy.

I and II Tamburlaine

As perhaps might be expected, *I Tamburlaine* is punctuated by signals of annunciation and military practice. In fact these signals are the only musical demands the play makes on the company. While these aural cues reflect the use of musical signals in the non-dramatic world, they also offer evidence of the variety of functions such a consistent body of signals are able to enact. When Meander commands, "Strike up the drum and march corragiously,/Fortune herself doth sit upon our crests" it seems the drums do not obey his call to sound (A5^v, II.ii.72-3).¹⁴ Such unresponsive instruments are the exception rather than the rule in Tamburlaine's militaristic world.

The first textual musical moment preserved in the printed text serves to authenticate the first adoption of political power in a play whose dramatic structure is marked by the challenges and defences of the right to wear the crown. Within the diegetic world, "this trumpet's sound" is employed to mark the arrival of the crown which will make Cosroe the Emperor (A5^v, I.i.133-5). At the extra-diegetic level, this relatively simple mimetic use of a sound cue which creates and signifies sovereignty

¹⁴ Meander's subsequent remark indicates that the drums have ignored this call to sound.

is attached to the physical object of the crown itself, rather than to the person on whose head it will sit. This focus on the crown as a physical object is highlighted further on in the play by the exchanges between Mycetes and Tamburlaine in battle. This also functions as part of the verbal and visual formality of Cosroe's coronation, which is marked at both its commencement and conclusion by the sounds of trumpets. The trumpets that sound at the finish of the ceremony diegetically mark Cosroe's assumption of authority (A6^r, I.i.188). At the extradiegetic level though, this trumpet blast accompanies the first appearance of Tamburlaine on the stage. The entrance of the title characters complicates the competition for the crown.

The struggle for sovereignty embodied in the crown itself is represented most clearly in the early days of Tamburlaine's career when he meets Mycetes near the field of battle (B6^v-B7^r, II.iv.15-43). At his entrance, Mycetes is directed to "come out [from the offstage battle] alone" and is then joined by Tamburlaine. When Tamburlaine leaves Mycetes alone on stage again, to contemplate his tenuous grasp on both this crown and the political power it embodies, a trumpet signal is sounded which draws him back into the heat of the off stage battle (B7^r, II.iv.41-43). At the extra-diegetic level, this sounding is a reminder in both a structural and symbolic way. Structurally, it enables the company to tell the story of the battle in a non-visual way. At the symbolic level the timing of this interruptive signal in the midst of Mycetes' contemplation implies the means by which he must attempt to retain his hold on the crown and the context in which he will inevitably lose it. In fact, Mycetes calls for the sounding of drums to accompany his approach to the offstage battle in which Tamburlaine deprives him of his crown (C2^r, II.vi.36-8).

The structural function of music to represent military action which could not be presented onstage with a semblance of realism is employed throughout the

Tamburlaine saga. For a play with such a strong connection to the “drum-and-trumpet trash” genre characterized by the visual appeal of violent spectacle, audiences at the Rose seem to have had fewer scenes of bloody war in front of them than later characterizations indicate.¹⁵ While the import of physical prowess and military aggression cannot really be understated to the successful unfolding of the plot, the company seems to have depended more heavily on the ability of musical cues and aural phenomena to provide a military narrative. The sounds of battle heard from off stage after Zenocrate discovers the “bloody spectacle” (F1^v, V.i.340) of the brained bodies of Bajazeth and Zabina are the only access the playhouse audience gets to the military action in which Tamburlaine “enjoys the victory” (F2^v, V.i.403.1). Aural signals and the music of war were employed in this fashion following the angry exchange between Zabina and Zenocrate (D2^r, III.iii.88.1). This musical practice is both highlighted and challenged later in the same scene, as the two women listen to the battle raging off stage (D2^v, III.iii.201-1).

This is another instance of the use of aural signals, presumably primarily the drum and the trumpet, perhaps aided by the noise of clashing swords, which directs an audience to understand a battle happening out of sight. From the different signals heard, the ladies onstage are able to narrate the developments of offstage action. The dialogue indicates that perhaps the functionality of these aural signals were not as clear as the company employing them might have wished:

Zenocrate. By this the Turks lie weltring in their blood,
 And Tamburlaine is Lord of Affrica.
 Zabina. Thou are deceiv'd, I heard the Trumpets sound,
 As when my Emperor overthre the Greeks:
 And led them captive into Affrica.
 Straight will I use thee as thy pride deserves:
 Prepare thy selfe to live and die my slave. (D2^v, III.iii.201-7)

¹⁵ Cook *Privileged Playgoers* 7.

The potential ambiguity of these musical signals flags the fact that in general practice their specificity was expected. Both women expect to be able to recognize the unique trumpet calls employed by their warlike partners. While ostensibly not spending much time around the military training of “the common soldiers” these two women expect to be able to recognize the musical military language of war (D2^f, III.iii.185). While theoretically sound, and perhaps reflecting the commonplace assumption that a diversity of social groups would be familiar enough with military practice to read the narrative presented by the musical cues, the actual experience of the women on stage raises questions about how effective this military language was in the noisy chaos of actual warfare. But this potential ambiguity seems not to lessen the efficient use of musical military signals on the stage.

The functions of music in *II Tamburlaine* center around acts of military signification and the enactment of a great many skirmishes and battles. Music also works to affect the plot structure of the play, to broaden the imaginative world of the dramatic action, and to communicate meaning to the playhouse audience through the process of metonymy. The power of music to affect is invoked most palpably in the play while Zenocrate is on her deathbed, and calls for music to allay her fit (H3^r-H3^v, II.iv.77-95.1).¹⁶ Her call for musical succor resonates with ideas expressed outside of the theatre about music’s ability to heal.

Within the diegetic world, the music is summoned as a counter balance to the illness that will be her end. But rather than relieving this illness, the intended healing music becomes her death knell. At the extra-diegetic level, the musical performance

¹⁶ Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Richard Jones, 1597); David Fuller, ed., *I and II Tamburlaine Vol. 5 The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

indicated by the stage direction, “The music sounds, and she dies” does not fit in neatly with the ideas expressed about the restorative powers of music (H3^v, II.iv.95.1). The prevalence of the ideas of the heavenly harmony and the music in heaven may also have been at play when Zenocrate’s musical demise was presented on the stage. The rhetorical content of this death scene, Tamburlaine’s mournful proclamations about the woman “that gave him light and life” and her equally impassioned pleas for him to let her go, are heightened by the addition of the musician’s performance (H2^f, II.iv.8). Zenocrate dies not only to the sounds of Tamburlaine’s formal verse, but to the strains of music as well. The sensual impact of the moment of her death would have been powerful indeed in the eyes (and ears) of the playhouse audience.

That sensual impact would have been rivaled by the entrance a scene later of the funeral train with “drums sounding a doleful march” (H6^f, III.ii.0.3-4). The procession of sons and soldiers that enters with Tamburlaine and the body of Zenocrate establish the mournful context in which Tamburlaine narrates the burning of the town (H7^f, III.ii.0.1-4). At the extra-diegetic level the formal procession accompanied by the drumming of a death march reflects the public funeral rites of important social and military figures like Elizabeth I and Philip Sidney. The aural aspect of this formalized procession also serves structurally to mark a shift from the very different ceremonial scene that had just preceded it. Though there are no musical cues preserved in the text, it is not impossible to imagine that the coronation of Callapine as Emperor of Turkey was accompanied by a mimetic use of trumpet blasts (H4^v, III.i.0.1-6). This doleful march on the drums then, would serve as an aural counterbalance to the mood of each presented ceremony. Even if trumpets had not been employed in the earlier scene, the drumming at the entrance of the funeral

procession highlights the shift in both physical location and ceremonial mood between these two very public, but very different scenes.

The sound of trumpets and drums mark a different kind of shift at the start of *II Tamburlaine* (F6^r, I.i.0.2-3). While within the diegetic world the drums and trumpets of this processional entrance highlight the political sway of Tamburlaine's enemies, this musical cue also echoes the use the company makes of music to mark shifts in narrative mode. This particular aural signal occurs as the Prologue makes way for the entrance of Orcanes and his train. In this way, the music of annunciation does dual duty: it announces the presence of a king and the beginning of the true narrative thread. Once the narrative is under way, the mimetic employment of such musical signals continues. Trumpets and drums accompany the uneasy entry of Sigismond (F7^v, I.i.76.1-2).

This cue seems to work at both the diegetic and extra-diegetic levels simultaneously by alerting both the stage and playhouse audiences to the potential military threat Sigismond and his train might pose. The two parties reach an uneasy peace. The union is necessary in the face of their shared enemy, Tamburlaine. Towards the end of the play, another entrance accompanied by drums and trumpets similarly works for the playhouse audience as an indicator of military might and potential threat. When Tamburlaine exits the stage after claiming his invulnerability to threat, the next musical sounds the audience hears are the signals which announce Callapine's presence (L2^v, V.ii.0.1-2). The quick juxtaposition of Tamburlaine's claims and the entrance of his greatest enemy with a full audio-visual train challenges the potential truth of Tamburlaine's view of his own position.

The full sensory spectacle of a formal entrance with drums, trumpets and trains of supporters is a commonplace representation in the theatre of authority. But

not all of the entrances of this infamously warlike emperor are accompanied with the sounds of drums and trumpets. This may be because not every instance of musical performance is noted. But his first appearance is recorded with sounded instruments (G3^v, I.iii.0.1-3). When Tamburlaine enters with his train composed of “bright Zenocrate, the world’s fair eye/ Whose beams illuminate the lamps of heaven” (G3^v, I.iii.1-2) and their three sons, “that shall be Emperors/And every one Commander of a world,” they come with all the pomp and circumstance their political position calls for (G3^v, I.iii.7-8). As in the cases of the ceremonial entrances mentioned above, the trumpets and drums add richer sensory input than the visual spectacle alone could offer to the audience at the Rose. It is for the benefit of the playhouse audience that this creative annunciatory cue is performed. The stage directions do not indicate that there is a stage audience for whom such musical cues are necessary. It is possible that in practice, several courtly figures entered with the royal train, but the familial discussion which follows their entrance seems to locate the dramatic action in a relatively private setting. Such familial intimacy cannot be long enjoyed by Tamburlaine, who is interrupted by the arrival of Theridamas “and his train with drums and trumpets” (G5^v, I.iii.111.1). Theridamas’ mission to present his crown and his allegiance to Tamburlaine speaks to the mimetic function of his annunciation by trumpets and drums.¹⁷

The annunciation is heard and commented upon by Tamburlaine before Theridamas appears on the stage (G5^v, I.iii.111). By introducing the presence of the entering kings before they are seen, the aural signal of the trumpets that Tamburlaine

¹⁷ The subsequent entrances of the following kings, Techelles and Usumcasane are not recorded as having such musical accompaniment. Either this is a case of an unrecorded cue, or perhaps there is a more local reason for their soundless entry. All three kings have traveled from the same part of the world: their companies may have been combined so that a single annunciation serves all three.

hears opens out the imaginative world of the dramatic action. The intrusion of an external sound into the neatly contained visual presentation of Tamburlaine and his family allows a moment for the playhouse audience to recognize the scope of the diegetic world. Such a broadening of the imaginative world of the play occurs again, when Tamburlaine's sons attempt to rouse their "lazy brother" from his lethargic disinterest in battle (I7^r, IV.i.7). Alarums frame the exchange between the brothers: the first rouses the two dutiful brother from their rest and the second calls them to join the battle.¹⁸ For the playhouse audience these sounds from within establish the simultaneous action of the battle that Calyphas is so eager to avoid. The young man professes his distaste for the violence and dangers of war, and plays cards to distract himself. The sounds of battle constantly intrude on the game, at odds with the private exchanges between Calyphas and Perdicas. These several alarums flag the simultaneous performance of two very different philosophical identities and the ability of the diegetic world of the Tamburlaine saga to contain them both.¹⁹ Unfortunately for Calyphas, the existence of both philosophies in Tamburlaine's world does not last long. Calyphas is violently dispatched by his father less than thirty lines later.

Such a pair of alarums also bookend Tamburlaine's final entrance into the battle.²⁰ The first sounds as a messenger enters to bring word that Callapine is remounting his attack. The aural presence of the battlefield imposes itself on Tamburlaine's acceptance of his mortal end. The presence of the wider world, and the

¹⁸ Marlowe *II Tamburlaine* I6^v, Fuller IV.i.0.1-2; Marlowe *II Tamburlaine* I7^v, IV.i.52.1.

¹⁹ Marlowe *II Tamburlaine* I7^r, Fuller IV.i.0.1-2; Marlowe *II Tamburlaine* I7^v, Fuller IV.i.51.1.

²⁰ Marlowe *II Tamburlaine* L5^v, Fuller V.iii.101.1 and 115.1.

necessity of his return to it, is highlighted by the repetitive use of musical military signals.

By instigating action, these musical cues directly influence the enactment of plot elements necessary to drive the narrative forward. Such directive moments of musical signaling occur when the instruments of war announce the commencement of the offstage battle. Orcanes' troops exit to the battle, from whence Sigismond comes back onto the stage, wounded (H1^r, II.iii.0.1). Military aggression is not the only direction musical signals are capable of producing. When Theridamas asks the drum to "summon a parley" (I1^r, III.iii.11-2) the corresponding stage directions reads, "Summon the battle" (I1^r, III.iii.14.1). Techelles and the captain answer the summons, and attempt a diplomatic discussion. The fact that in the text this meeting is termed a battle reflects the strength of the military association that calls forth the warring parties. The parley was one of the aural drum commands which military theorists recommended soldiers to learn. The familiarity of such military cues allows for the slip in contextual specificity. Such a slip is not possible when Techelles orders the drums and trumpets to sound an alarum (I2^r, III.iii.62).

In addition to the trumpet and drum combination, the soldiers' cries that "make deaf the air" also play a role in this cue that fulfills the need to represent the military action offstage in which the Captain is fatally wounded (I2^r, III.iii.61). This alarum instigates the thread of dramatic action that leads to Olympia's eventual death at Theridamas' hands. By directing the course of military action within the diegetic world, these musical military cues allow for the moments which enable the unfolding of the plot. Often such cues accomplish several things simultaneously, functioning in multiple ways at once. When the Governor of Babylon defies Techelles' order to yield, an alarum is sounded while Techelles troops "scale the walls" (K7^r, V.i.63.1).

While this alarum works within the diegetic world in place of a command that directs the action of the soldiers, at the extra-diegetic level it also serves to cover the potentially difficult stage action of climbing the walls. The multiplicity of functions which can be accomplished by the simplest musical moments, demonstrated above, is part of what makes music such an efficient theatrical tool in the hands of the company.

Patient Grissil

The musical demands of *Patient Grissil* offer the company several of the most complex performative moments in the extant repertory. Music in the play marks class and trade identities, engages with theories about the affective powers of music, locates dramatic action, and provides both the stage and playhouse audiences with the pleasure of experiencing music as set pieces of theatrical performance. With the exception of the call for a group of musicians that perform wedding music, the musical demands can easily be met by company members without the services of professional musicians. The consort employed for the wedding ceremony may represent an occasion in which the company was forced to employ external musicians. The musical moments are generally enacted by members of the company and performed from a position solidly located within the diegetic world in full view of the playhouse audience.

The exception is the sounding of hunting horns that commence the play and recur at the end of the first scene.²¹ As often occurs throughout the repertory, the company marks the start of the play's dramatic action with a musical cue. The distinctive sounds of the hunting horns, possibly reproducing signals such as those

²¹ Thomas Dekker, *The pleasant comedie of patient Grisill* (London: Imprinted [by E. Allde] for Henry Rocket 1603) sig. A2^r, Fredson Bowers, ed., *Patient Grissil* Vol. 1. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1953-61) I.i.0.1-2; Dekker *Patient Grissil* A3^r, Bowers *Patient Grissil* I.ii.0.1-3.

recorded in *The Noble Art of Venery* or *A Jewel For Gentry*, mark the start of the performance.²² Within the diegetic world, of course, these horns serve as a means of communication for the sporting party. But at the extra-diegetic level, the sound which accompanies the Marquess and his train works almost like a formal annunciatory cue. The aural signal helps to establish the hunting party as composed of privileged individuals, before any of those individuals even begin to speak. When the entering party is understood to be partaking in that noble pastime represented by the horns and their attire, their import in the social world is broadcast. This identification then is established long before the Marquess announces that “hunting is a sport for Emperors” (A2^r, I.i.14).

Social position is at the heart of both Babulo’s musical performance and the jesting exchanges that follow, when he “enters singing with a boy after him” (D4^v, III.i.0.1). The noisy entrance of this comic figure follows a scene in which the torment and banishment of his masters has been planned. Babulo’s singing immediately shifts the tone from the dark plotting of the Marquess and his followers to the playful wit of the fool and the boy. We know that Babulo sings from the stage direction and the setting of several solmization syllables in his dialogue (D4^v, III.i.1).²³ The representation of his musical performance by “la sol la sol &c” indicates that this was an extempore moment of musical improvisation. What does this off the cuff musicality offer in terms of locating Babulo in the context of the social hierarchy of the diegetic world?

This is the first time that the playhouse audience has seen Babulo since his entrance into life at court. He claims that he is “weary of being a courtier” (D5^r,

²² See Chapter Three “Music for Hunting.”

²³ See discussion of this practice of using arbitrary syllables to represent and recall intervals between tones in Chapter Five “*Fortunatus*.”

III.i.10) but the boy protests that this cannot be the case for Babulo “is but a courtiers man.” (D5^r, III.i.11). While musical training was encouraged for gentleman in the prescriptive literature of the period, it was a formal musical training. The ability to sing at sight and to read pricksong demand a musical literacy which was not readily available to a large section of London sorts at the time. To acquire the skills necessary to interpret music on the page required the financial means to hire a tutor or the ability to purchase musical literature aimed at furthering private musical knowledge. But the system of sol-fa, long associated with the harmonization of sacred texts, and a powerful force in the development of polyphonic theory, offered a means by which singers could be taught basic music principles in a non-literary way. Sol-fa offers a chance for Babulo to don musical knowledge as a marker of courtly privilege in the same way that he presumes his status as a courtier. But this specific type of musical performance ties into the ambiguity of Babulo’s self-identification. His singing supports his bearing the markers of nobility – the pretty fashion and the rapier. But for those in the playhouse audience familiar with the actuality of courtly life, this musical moment could flag the artifice of the fool’s courtly performance.

A similar employment of a musical performance to help locate a character within the social hierarchy of the play occurs when Janicola sings for the first time. Within the diegetic world, his intentions are made very clear before the song begins. He states, “and that our labor may not seem so long,/ we’ll cunningly beguile it with a song” (A4^v, I.ii.90-1). At the extra-diegetic level though, this vocal performance accomplishes more than just a diversion. The song genre, a laborer’s song, enhances the characterization begun earlier in the scene. Associations between particular trades and their musical activities were common enough in the period for this musical performance to add a mimetic authenticity to the singer’s personation. The song text

also provides a gloss to the conflict between Grissil's determinedly chaste beauty and the "doting desire" of those that swim in wealth and hints at the incredible patience with which Grissil will bear several burdens later in the action (A4^r, I.ii.47). This dramatic specificity indicates that the song may have been composed specifically for this play, not borrowed from an existing body of musical literature.²⁴ With no extant setting available, it is difficult to read the aesthetic impact of this vocal performance. But as the diegetic function of the music is to bring pleasure and distract from the tediousness of labour, so this vocal performance offers a space in which the playhouse audience can share equally in the pleasurable experience of the stage audience. This shared experience establishes a similarity of positions and thus draws the playhouse audience into a sympathetic engagement with the diegetic world.

That sympathy is again invoked when Janicola sings his now famous lullaby (H1^{r-v}, IV.ii.94-108). In this case, one hopes that the affective powers of music did not reach so far as to lull the playhouse audience into golden slumbers. But the simplicity of the work this vocal performance does in the diegetic world, that of quieting the babies and perhaps their adult companions, suggests that the primary purpose of this musical performance was to provide aural pleasure to the playhouse audience. It is the first musical performance in the play which requires explicit instrumentation. Janicola requests that Laureo fetches his lute, on which he ostensibly accompanies himself while he sings (H^r, IV.ii.96). The song has little structural purpose in furthering the dramatic action. But in the midst of ill fortune and the burden of banishment, Babulo's musical performance offers a moment of pleasure which can be equally

²⁴ The descriptive phrase "golden slumber" in both this and Janicola's later lullaby support this supposition. The reference in the song to the "crisped spring" that is echoed by Grissil's statement that her pitcher is filled with "crystal water of the crisped spring" (Bowers *Patient Grissil* I.ii.10 and IV.ii.80) further ties these two musical scenes together.

enjoyed by every set of ears in the theatre, regardless of their position relative to the diegetic world.

Janicola's songs seem often to spring from the emotional moment in which they are performed. He sings by choice, to lighten the physical and emotional burdens of his stage audiences. But in the final musical moments of the play, his performance is commanded rather than offered. As such, they bear a different relationship to the unfolding narrative than the earlier songs that originate in Janicola's desire to offer aesthetic pleasure. When Janicola sings Hymen's hymn, "Beauty arise, show forth thy glorious shining" he must engage in an act of almost meta-theatrical performance proportions (K3^{r-v}, V.ii.91-100). The music in this scene also represents a deviation from the normal company practices of providing music from within their ranks. The wedding is what Bradley terms a "limiting scene" which utilizes the full personnel resources of the company (20). Everyone available is either on stage, or preparing for an entrance to the scene. The Marquess, Pavia, Lepido, Onophrio, Urcenzi, Farnezi, Mario, Sir Owne, Gwenthian, Rice, Furio, Janicola Babulo, Laureo, and Grissil enter before the wedding party arrives. Mario, Gwenthian, Rice, Furio, Laureo and Grissil each exit, also before the wedding party. The entrance of the wedding party is described thus:

Musicke sounds, enter Grissil alone, after her the Marquesse Sonne
and daughter, Iulia, Gwenthian and other Ladies, Mario and Furio. (K3^v,
V.ii.106.1)

Only Rice and Laureo do not re-enter with the wedding party.²⁵ This leaves no one available to serve as a consort to satisfy the instrumental demands of the scene. If the

²⁵ The company definitely had its hands full in this moment. There are three characters (Julia, and Grissil's two children) who enter as part of the wedding party, and if the company number is taken to be 16, following Bradley, only 2 bodies to represent them! It is possible that Rice could have doubled as Julia. The only

company had to stretch outside of their ranks, and bring in professional musicians less familiar with their performance practices, it may explain why so many references are made to the upcoming song in the preceding dialogue. It also may go some way to justify Sir Owen's sudden shift from character contemplation to wishing for more music (K3^v, V.ii.103-4). Though of course, that may just be a character quirk at work. But the repetition of preparatory references for the musicians suggests that they were a group that needed reminding of their imminent cues.

Within the diegetic world, this musical performance reflects the social practices outside the theatre in accompanying the preparation for the rites of marriage with celebratory music. The song text demonstrates a thematic engagement with a body of literature extant in the world outside the theatre: the focus on the movement of Beauty towards the ceremony reads as a variation on the theme of the ballad, "The Bride's Good-Morrow."²⁶ But the celebratory use of musical performance jars with the implications of the specific dramatic circumstances that provide its back drop. This incongruity is expressed by the dialogue which follows Janicola's song:

Marquess: Art thou as glad in soul as in thy song?

Janicola: Who can be glad when he endureth wrong? (K3^v, V.ii.101-2)

challenging switch would be at IV.iii.100-115 (I1^{r-v}) when Rice is directed to exit just six spoken lines before having to re-enter as Julia. But there is permissive dialogue in the form of laughter that could have stretched the timing, and a dialogue reference to Julia's entrance that occurs seven lines after the stage direction. This potentially gives Rice thirteen lines of dialogue and the time covered by possible extended laughter to get back onto the stage as a woman. It would be a stretch, but it is possible. It is equally possible that both Rice and Laureo re-enter as the "other Ladies" mentioned. In both cases, there are no players left over to provide musical accompaniment to their entrance.

²⁶ This ballad is explicitly referenced in the manuscript of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. See discussion in Chapter Three, "Wedding Music."

The song content, and presumably the instrumental performances which both accompany the singer and later sound as the bridal party enter are bound by their mimetic relationship to the non-dramatic world to be festive in nature.

These musical performances highlight the process of dissembling which is at work in the narrative at the time. Framing his musical performance, Janicola points out the fact that his circumstances prevent him from actually engaging with the joyous content of his song (K3^{r-v}, V.ii.75-102). Despite the fact that his cares oppress his ability to sing, he is forced to “play the Lark” and give a musical semblance of being “glad to see this day” (K3^r, V.ii.77-82). The attention that these festive musical cues bring to the potential misrepresentation of performance ties into the dramatic resolution which is about to occur. After a cruel ceremony in which his first wife Grissil is forced to give her wedding ring to his new “bride,” the Marquess reveals the true purpose of the ceremony has been to reunite Grissil with her children, and publicly demonstrate her worthiness to be his wife. The Marquess reveals that his horrible treatment of Grissil has been a test to see if he could “break the temper of true constancie” (L^r, V.ii.20). His cruelty has been just as artificial as the joy adopted by Janicola as singer of the bridal song. This musical performance then highlights the means by which the dramatic action of this professed comedy can be happily resolved.

The Blind Beggar of Alexandria

While the majority of musical cues in this play fall into the social categories of courtship practice and military and political signaling, the first musical moment preserved in the text engages with the specific signals of the privileged sport of the hunt (C1^r, 512).²⁷ Within the diegetic world the sounding of the hunting horns signals

²⁷ George Chapman, *The Blinde Begger of Alexandria* (London: J. Roberts for

the move from the court and its political concerns to the pleasure and distraction of the natural world. The presence of that natural escape is implied by the specificity of the sounds of hunting horns. Within the diegetic world calling for the horns at the end of the hunt may signal the final move out of the woods. But its mimetic function is not the only accomplishment of the simple cue.

This employment of an aural cue has more to do with the following entrance than it does with naturalistic representation of hunting practices on the stage. While it is creative in terms of locating the dramatic action and creating the cultural identity of the privileged hunters, it also flags an embedded performance. The playhouse audience has seen the blind beggar Irus onstage at this point in two of his four personae: the original blind beggar and the dastardly Count Hermes. He enters after the stage has been cleared, as the hunting horns sound. He announces his assumed identity for the benefit of the playhouse audience, who might have been left in confusion as to what happened to the eye-patch and velvet coat worn by the Count. This is the first time that the complex acts of disguise and (mis)identification are highlighted so clearly for the playhouse audience. When Irus/Leon comments on the implications of his performances, “as for my substance then shall never find,/ til I myself do bring myself to light” the true nature of this narrative complexity is spelled out for the playhouse audience (C1^r, 521-2). It is the narrative implications of this meta-performance that are highlighted by the bright sounds of the hunting horns.

Irus’ gifts as a performer are again highlighted when, disguised as Leon, he serenades Samanthis, the object of his romantic pursuits (C2^r, 596-603).²⁸ Within the

William Iones, 1598); W.W. Greg, ed., *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928).

²⁸ This song also appears in John Marston, *The history of Antonio and Mellida* (London: Printed [by R. Bradock] for Mathewe Lownes, and Thomas Fisher 1602) sig. E3^v. Both plays seem to draw on the same musical source, which has not been

diegetic world, this song gives Irus/Leon a chance to court Samanthis. The idea of music holding sway and having the ability to affect the heart of Samanthis was a commonplace in the world outside the theatre and can be seen at work within the diegetic world. Samanthis and her maid enter the playing space just after a public interaction between Leon and the citizens of the town, “three lordes with swords drawn” (C1^r, 524). The lords leave Leon alone onstage to announce the arrival of “bright Samanthis” and her maid (C1^r, 539). Though the setting of the action does not shift from the public sphere of the previous scene into a distinct representation of domestic space, Samanthis enters with her maids and banquet, and through this entrance transforms the space from public to private. Though more than one maid is mentioned in the stage directions, only one is addressed in the course of the scene; the interactions between lady and maid imply a relationship so intimate as to allow Jaquine, the servant, absolute access to the most private expression of the courtship rituals which pass between the pair. Irus/Leon serenades the lady with his unaccompanied song “Health, fortune, mirth, and wine/ To thee my love divine” (C2^r, 596-603).

At the extra-diegetic level, the song functions as a set piece here, allowing the playhouse audience to revel in the particular pleasure provided by the presence of musical performance. It simultaneously works as a means of reinforcing the shift

located. While the full text of the song is given in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, only the first three lines are quoted in Antonio and Mellida. The social setting is similar to the context in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. Castilio serenades his lady, Felice, over a glass of wine. He announces he will sing to her. There is stage direction to sing (cantant). The first three lines of “Health fortune mirth and wine” are then quoted back and forth between the two of them. It is possible that the song Castilio sung was something other than “Health, fortune, mirth, and wine” and that this exchange is merely a reference to a familiar tune. It is also possible that though these first three lines have been set as spoken dialogue that this represents the specific song called for. In either case, the textual life of this lyric is evidence of a body of music available to a diverse theatrical community in London during the years of this study.

from public to private space begun by the entrance of the maids with all the trappings of a feast. Leon's performance of the song, of which Samanthis is the object, participates in the discourses surrounding the private nature of the courtship ritual, the necessity of conducting those rituals within the domestic sphere (or at least a space delineated by its remove from the public eye), and the relegation of women's musical experience to that domestic realm. That the stage is cleared at the close of this intimate scene only to be quickly re-populated by Ptolomie's court serves to emphasize the definite shift from public space to private space and back again which the musical performance helps to establish.

Samanthis is, apparently, quite swayed by the romantic powers of music. When Irus/Hermes has convinced her to commit adultery with him (and so cuckolds himself, as she is his wife when he is disguised as Leon), he returns to face the anger of his other wife, Elimine, by commending the music he has shared with Samanthis. Music has again played an important role in the game of courtship. As Samanthis appears later on stage, visibly pregnant, it seem that Irus/Hermes was successful in seducing her. He enters to Elimine with the praise, "Excellent music, excellent music" (E2^v, 1206). There are no stage directions to indicate that this music was actually played in the performance. But the angry sexual pun with which Elemine responds suggests that this music was audible within the diegetic world (E2^v, 1207).

At the extra-diegetic level, this musical performance functions as a sort of narrative clue to the rather twisted unfolding of the dramatic action. Clearly referencing theories about the seductive powers of music in the non-dramatic world, the employment of a musical cue here is a sensual signifier of the sexual relations that have transpired off stage. It is difficult to say just how far that association would be carried across the range of social standings represented by audiences at the Rose. But

the presence in the period's prescriptive literature of warnings against the dangers of music for the malleable morality of women suggests that for the higher orders familiar with such literature, this musical moment might offer an insight into the dynamics of the situation between Irus/Hermes and Samanthis. In their previous exchange she attempted to avoid his sexual advances, only acquiescing when he threatened to damage her reputation by publicly announcing her infidelity, regardless of her participation in such adulterous acts. At the threat, she agreed to welcome him into her house. The music employed in this moment highlights the idea that what she has actually consented to, against her better judgement, is welcoming him into her bed. The fact that Irus/Hermes knows that she is a woman susceptible to music's charms (because he has courted her in musical terms in his other persona Irus/Leon) and the reputation of music's dangerous seductive capabilities allow this musical performance to participate in the underhand nature of that sexual coercion. The confused nature of that actual marital transgression remains unstable, even in the presence of such a metonymic employment of music. The man with whom Samanthis has shared her bed, is in fact, the man to whom she is married.

That use of disguise determines another musical moment in the play, although it is also embedded in the representation of the political struggles and military action that sees Irus/Cleathes crowned by the end of the performance. The company employs music to demarcate shifts in the performance narrative as a signal that one type of performance is giving way to another, or that an external narrative thread is being introduced. The alarum which sounds at the entrance of Clearchus works in a similar way. Within the diegetic world, this military signal serves the purpose of bringing the attention of Irus to the threat of combat while simultaneously marking the entrance of Clearchus, who serves as a type of messenger. For the extra-diegetic audience, the

functions are similar. The representation of military threat has already been tied to the employment of drums and colours (E3^r, 1236-8). When the enemy kings had entered earlier, their appearance was accompanied by a full military procession. The drums which are indicated in the stage directions and dialogue established their military threat in musical terms.²⁹ The sudden return of the aural presence of that military power offstage shifts focus from Irus' acrobatic shifts in identity taking place before the eyes of the playhouse audience.

It is this shift that seems to be signalled by the practical function of the alarum here. This play has been concerned with the fluidity of Irus' identity. He has been seen as the blind beggar, the murdering count, the money-lender, and the noble duke. To suggest that each of his individual "performances" were marked by a musical or aural cue would have made this a very noisy performance indeed. The inconsistency of evidence for musical practice in the printed texts has already been discussed. But in this alarum which interrupts Irus' direct address of the audience (in the persona of Irus/Leon, about to take on the mantle of Cleanthes), there is the possibility of a final identity assumption which merits the accompaniment of a sensual flag. Irus announces "Now will I take on me the forme and shape,/ of Duke Cleanthes, but what intends this alarum[?]" (F1^r, 1409-10) This is the last shift we see him make. Though the playhouse audience does not know it yet, this adoption of Cleanthes' persona will be the final choice for this figure who has played so many roles in the course of the play. In his final guise as Cleanthes he assumes the role that achieves the crown (and an ability to right the wrongs he has perpetrated in his other personae). It is this shift in performed identity that is flagged by the intrusive sound of the alarum. The alarum

²⁹ King Porus' reference to the means by which they had traveled as being represented in their current entrance, "Thus have we trode the sandy vales of Egypt" suggests that the drums were sounded in a reflection of the use of drums military training and calls to duty in the non-dramatic world (Chapman *Bind Beggar* E3^r, MSR 1239)

works almost like a book end with the sound of hunting horns that began such a complex performance of performances, wherein one man's ability to play both himself and his shadows structures the unfolding of the dramatic action. In this way, the return to a single identity marked by this aural signal flags the last performative shift necessary to resolve the plot threads harmoniously.

Playing at the Fortune

While the number of texts that appear after the company established themselves at the Fortune is much smaller than those that originated at the Rose, they are amongst the most musically complex of the repertory. Many of the musical moments present in these texts are tied very tightly to the idea that providing musical cues was the responsibility of company members. But the masque performance in *The Whore of Babylon* and the musical instruction of Edward in *When You See Me, You Know Me* ask more of the company musically than their usual fare.

When You See Me, You Know Me

Annunciatory cues resound through the court in *When You See Me, You Know Me*. The trumpets which sound at the entrance of the King and his train serve to mark the presence of the sovereign and to establish the dramatic locale of the scene which will take place (A3^v, 135).³⁰ The use of a horn to announce the arrival of Will Sommers, who enters "booted and Spurred, blowing a horn" is a different twist on the use of aural signals to mark an important arrival (A4^r, 198-9). This annunciation is less than conventional. Will's social and political status hardly merits an official

³⁰ Samuel Rowley, *When You See Me, You Know Me* (London: H. Lownes for Nathaniell Butter, 1605); F.P. Wilson, ed., *When You See Me, You Know Me* Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952).

annunciation. But Will provides his own aural signal to announce to both the diegetic and extra-diegetic audiences that he bears “tidings worth telling” (A4^r, 203).

The entrance of the King, Queen Katherine, and their train to the start of the “Barriers, Tilt, and Tournament” witnesses the use of musical signals for more conventional annunciatory purposes (F1^r, 1523-5 and 1530). The conflicting cue recorded here for both sounding trumpets and crying hautboys lends support to F.P. Wilson’s claim that the manuscript which provided copy for the 1605 edition “can hardly have come...from the theatre, for entrances and exits are most imperfectly marked, and the quarto bears every sign of having been printed from Rowley’s ‘foul papers.’”³¹ The dramatist Rowley was closely connected to the company and likely highly aware of its musical means, from the availability of instruments to the skill of players able to effectively perform on them. The earlier *Hoffman* also calls for the hautboys to be sounded in an annunciatory capacity which indicates that the instruments would have been available for use by the company. There is the possibility that the record ought to be read as “Enter Compton, crying [for] Hoboys” placing crying in an active position rather than a descriptive one. Contextually though, this is unlikely. The entrance of Compton at all in this record is problematic: several non-speaking Lords enter with the King and Queen. Compton is not given an explicit time to exit before his (re)entry later in the scene. But the means by which this musical moment is recorded leaves us in some doubt as to its enactment. Does Compton enter, cry to the hautboys to play, and then exit? Do the hautboys play as the King and Queen enter with a “crying” sound? Is this a rare case when both the trumpets and the hautboys are played individually to sound a single entrance? There does not seem to be a way to resolve the potential meanings here. The curious nature

³¹ Wilson *When You See Me* viii.

of this cue leads us towards the more solid footing provided by the earlier calls for horns to announce the arrival of a messenger, or the imperative direction to “Sound trumpets” that certainly were part of the soundscape of the play in its early performances at the Fortune (F1^r, 1523).

For the stage audience and characters participating in the scene and contained within the boundaries of the diegetic world, the sounding trumpets serve to indicate the presence of the most powerful political figures on the stage: the ruling monarch and his queen. The mimetic relation of this diegetic musical moment to practices in the non-dramatic world indicates that the presence of trumpeters would be proper in the dramatic context of the scene. The cardinal and courtiers who accompany the king’s entrance represent figures from the non-dramatic historical world. Historically these figures would have been familiar with the duties of the well paid company of royal musicians, just as they would have recognized the use of horns to introduce a messenger earlier in the play (A4^f, 198-9). The use of such annunciatory instruments in this moment may also reflect the use of such signals to create authority on the stage. The festival nature of the tilts and tournament is directly related to the celebration of Henry’s marriage. The trumpet signals associated with political power may lend authority to Katherine’s unstable position as a new ruler within the diegetic world.

This cue supplied by these trumpeters within the diegesis also serves a structural function. The incident preceding this royal entry was a brief exchange between Will and Patch after they had let the cat out of the bag to Wolsey concerning Henry’s pursuit of Catherine Parry. The trumpets sound to help in the change of setting from the seemingly interior exchange which precedes it to the site of the festival tilts at which the king and queen are present. The employment of the trumpets

also draws the attention to a moment in which something momentous takes place. The trumpets sound at the first presentation of Katherine, crowned. Much of the following dramatic action results directly from the establishment of Katherine as queen. The aural signifier the trumpets sounded here serve to mark her first appearance as memorable on a specific sensory level.

The functions of this signal obviously cross the boundaries between the diegetic and extra-diegetic realms. The ability of the sound of the trumpets to call attention to an important dramatic development obviously rests on the ability of that playhouse audience to respond physically and intellectually to the sound produced. It is also possible to theorize an intended response to a metonymic or symbolic function enacted by company's use of specific aural signals. By using these signals to introduce the new queen in performance, the company is potentially able to communicate aspects of the political structure of the fictional world via an aural shorthand.

Such a shorthand is at work in several of the annunciatory cues which help to define Henry's court. Though his entry is not recorded as being accompanied by trumpets, the king's exit after swearing to have Katherine beheaded is marked by such a cue (H4^v, 2367). Though this sounding in the playhouse could also be associated with the entrance of the prince which follows, the text represents the cue as related to the movement of the king. As he has just threatened to have his queen punished for treason, the trumpets actively manifest the sovereignty which makes that judgment possible. The music of annunciation not only reinforces that political power for the extra-diegetic audience, but acts as a means by which that power is represented within the diegetic world. Along with the visual material signifiers of privilege and authority, the trumpets which sound later at the meeting of the king, the emperor, the prince and

their respective trains function as a means by which each party demonstrates its respective status.³²

Musically based shorthand is also at work in both the diegetic and extra-diegetic realms, when the fool Patch appears for the first time in the dramatic action. His appearance is accompanied by an imperative stage direction, “Sing” (B4^v, 571). In dialogue form the refrain of his song is included as “hey da, tere, dedell, dey, day” and his performance is commented on by Wolsey (B4^v, 571). The cardinal asks, “What, are you singing sirra?” (4^v, 572) Apparently Patch’s singing is not pleasing to all ears. Or perhaps the melody he sings is not recognizable to the cardinal. Within the diegetic world, both fools have already been identified in terms of their specific social standing; Will is the courtly fool, and Patch his more rustic cousin, just now being welcomed to the court. Patch’s snatch of song, is in fact, his primary response to being announced as a newcomer to Henry’s court. That court is one that has been and will continue to be full of musical signals during the course of the dramatic action. Trumpets have sounded, horns have been blown, and after a passage of time one of the most complex musical performances evidenced by the repertory will be enacted within the confines of this fictional court. Musical and aural signals play a significant symbolic role within this court. For Wolsey’s response to indicate uncertainty at Patch’s brief song points to the divisive power of that (unrecorded) melody.

Patch’s song is inherently connected to the world outside the court, represented here by his connection with York House. His song creates a boundary between the courtly world of Will Sommers and the cardinal, and his own rustic identity. It serves a creative purpose within the diegesis, as well as for the extra-diegetic audience. Within the fictional world, Patch’s musical performance helps to

³² Rowley K3^r, MSR 2860, 2863 and 2882.

identify him as a rustic in the eyes of the cardinal and the lords who are also privy to the moment. For the playhouse audience this very brief performance functions in a multiplicity of ways.

The first way is creative. Patch's short song works as a meaning-carrying theatrical tool. It allows information to be communicated quickly to the playhouse audience. That audience has already been privy to the aural cues of the court. Patch's singing introduces yet another musical form capable of locating its performer in a specific social role, in this case that of the rustic fool. This performance also serves a structural function: the introduction of a pleasurable hiatus from the preceding dramatic action. The joyous birth of a male heir is weighted down by the death of Queen Jane and concerns about the king's "sad and passionate" grief (B4^v, 551). For an indeterminate but ostensibly brief period, the playhouse audience is offered the aural pleasure of a musical performance. Whether that performance was more pleasurable due to its melodic aesthetics or to the humorous un-musicality of its presenter remains unknown. But the juxtaposition of a moment of simple pleasure onto the dark backdrop of the preceding dramatic action highlights both the comic role of Patch and the potential antipathy towards Wolsey which the final outcome of the play demands.

But what is this song that works simultaneously in a variety of ways? Textually, the only clue which remains is the syllabic refrain. If the copy for the 1605 edition was authorial then the inclusion only of this brief refrain begs the question of the specificity of the needed song in every performance. Rather than taking the time to compose lyrics specifically for this moment Rowley seems to have included merely a cue to the performer of some musical form which might be adopted, and perhaps re-invented for each performance. By recording simply an adaptable refrain, the text

suggests that the power of song choice rested primarily with the actor performing the role. There is no instrumental accompaniment noted in the dialogue or stage directions which would necessitate a fixed melody shared by several musicians. Rather, this appears to be an “off the cuff” musical performance.

A very different kind of musical performance occurs when the private tuition of the young prince is presented on the stage (G4^r-H1^r, 2033-2099). The pleasure afforded by music was available to London citizens from the meanest to the most privileged sorts. But professional musical education and entertainment were, by necessity, restricted to those who had both the inclination to participate and the financial ability to make such musical activity possible. When Dr. Tye offers a musical “lesson” to the young Prince Edward both the prince and the playhouse audience are exposed to a culturally specific type of musical education. The ability to maintain not only a music tutor but the musicians capable of playing the variety of music called for by the stage directions and dialogue (which refer to loud and soft instrumental music and a song by multiple voices) was a privilege enjoyed only by very few. But the way music is presented in this scene as a discursive tool aiding the exposition of moral and religious philosophies of the prince and his Protestant tutors echoes thoughts on the virtues of music and its heavenly harmonies that were so common as to be commonplace.³³

Within the diegetic world, the very idea of music offers a chance for Tye to lecture the prince on the virtues of music and the danger of those who are “more pure than wise, that will upbraid at it” (G4^r, 2037). The performance allows the prince a reason to wax poetic about the nature of the human experience. The variety of

³³ See Nan Cook Carpenter, “Christopher Tye and the Musical Dialogue in Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me*,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 8.2 (1960) 87.

musical performances indicated in the text as first loud and then soft, directs the nature of the prince's philosophizing by providing a sensual cue that shifts the course of the speech. The performances also provide an opportunity for the historical character of Tye to present the prince with a gift of his own musical settings of the Acts of the Holy Apostles (H1^r, 2078-99).³⁴

The existence of this text in the non-dramatic world is point of intersection between the diegetic and extra-diegetic function of music in the play. By referencing a text which has a life of its own outside of the dramatic structure, Tye ties himself to a specific historical moment. Though the chronicle structure of the play offers the playhouse audience the chance to engage with not so distant historical events, the intertextual referent flags the temporal distance between the playhouse audience and the dramatic action. The particular type of music offered in early performances of the play may have functioned in a similar manner: if pieces were performed which could be associated with the earlier courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI, then the music itself would be a tool by which the historical nature of the dramatic action could be highlighted. It is difficult to assess whether this use of music type occurred without an extant body of musical settings to assign to this particular moment. But for a company with a royal patron, it seems logical to highlight that temporal remove in any way possible, including the use of music as a signifier of time-period, when the following scene presents plotters who wish to challenge the queen's authority.

³⁴ Tye published his metrical version of *The Actes of the Apostles*, which he dedicated to Edward with a long verse preface that implies personal friendship, but does not explicitly mention a master-pupil relationship. The title-page describes Tye as "one of the Gentylnen of hys grace's most honourable chappell." The mandate for his livery allowance for Mary's coronation in 1553, which describes him as one of the "gentylnen of our Chapell" indicates that he was a member of that body. See Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles*. (London: [By Nycolas Hyll, for Wyllyam Seres]) titlepage and sig. A2^r.

The structural aspect of this musical moment also functions at the extra-diegetic level. Though there are no cues in the text to indicate the length or complexity of the musical performances, the fact that a variety of musical forms are recorded by both the stage directions and the dialogue indicate that at least some time was given for the music to be appreciated. This moment offered a chance for the culturally diverse playhouse audience to enjoy the aesthetic pleasure of music which represented the very highest musical standards in the land. Although it may have been a somewhat old fashioned performance, for the musical content to work correctly within the diegesis, it must have been an approximation of the professional performances given by members of the King's Music and the Chapel Royal. Exposure to that type of musical performance could only have been experienced first hand for a tiny portion of the potential playhouse audience. For the rest, the luxury of exposure to the musical life of the court was an experience confined to the playhouse.

The Patient Man and the Honest Whore

When Roger enters with the trappings of Bellafront's trade he engages with a body of musical literature whose life was certainly not confined. "The ends of old ballads" that Roger is directed to sing as he sets up the stool and cushions that furnish Bellafront's room are tied to the body of music which was so common as to be commonplace during our period (C3^v, 6.0.1-8).³⁵ The ballad tunes represented in the broadsides that were composed to be sung, "to the tune of..." obviously occupied a place in the collective consciousness of a broad spectrum of London society. Musical literacy was not required to know these orally and aurally transmitted melodies. They were heard, and potentially enjoyed (depending on individual tastes, of course) by

³⁵ Thomas Dekker [and Thomas Middleton], *The Honest Whore with, the Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife* (London: V. Simmes, 1604); Paul Mulholland, ed., *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore in Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, Gen Eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

those who heard them sung by the ballad hawkers in streets and market, the intended buyers of the printed broadsides, and the patrons of fashionable musicians at court who in turn adapted these melodies in innovative settings. Despite this widespread familiarity and availability, the ballad was constantly used as a signifier of membership in a particular cultural group, on the stage.³⁶ Within the diegetic world, these ends of ballads are sung by Roger for his own enjoyment as he goes about his work. For the playhouse audience, his musical performance and the preferences it indicates, locate Roger as one of those to whom the most accessible music was that body of melodies which was disseminated without the need for musical training or the expense of creating textual music: the lower to middling sorts for whom these were unthinkable luxuries. The fact that in the printed text of the play there is no specific indication as to which ballads he chooses indicates that, as often happens in the company, the musical choices are left in the capable hands of the company members themselves. At the practical level, his musical performance also serves to distract that playhouse audience from the necessary action of creating the space as Bellafront's room.

That space becomes particularly important in considering the function of Bellafront's musicianship. The women who appear as musical agents, particularly as producers of vocal song, in the company's repertory stand in direct opposition to the ideals of the silent woman celebrated in the prescriptive literature of the period. Bellafront engages with music and song in ways which reinforce the spatial ideals of women's association with music only in private while challenging the idea of the obediently silent woman and the conflation of silence and chastity, allowing for the

³⁶ See Ross Duffin, "Ballads in Shakespeare's World" *"Noyses, sounds and sweet aires" Music in Early Modern England* ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006) 32-47.

representation of a woman who both conforms to and simultaneously challenges the ideas found in conduct manuals concerning how femininity ought to be performed. Bellafront's musical repertory ranges in subject from snatches of bawdy songs to refrains which are reminiscent of the lute songs composed by members of the musical circles at court. The lyric contents of two of the songs are fully embedded in the text. In spirit both seem to play a part in the familiar interactions between Bellafront and Roger. Neither are so specific as to rule out the possibility that they are quotations or adaptations of pre-existing musical material. But the fact that "Cupid is the God of Love" (C4^r, 6.25-9) and "Well met pug, the pearl of beauty" (C4^r, 6.46-49) are preserved fully with the dialogue differs from the ways her other songs are recorded. The vocal performances which are preserved in the text simply as refrains each represent songs which have a life outside the play (C4^r, 6.32-3 and 54).³⁷ Taylor and Sabol have demonstrated that the refrain which leads to such sexual punning from Roger, "Downe, downe, downe, downe, I fall downe and arise I never shall" is from a lute ayre set by Dowland (Taylor and Sabol 137-8). The second refrain, "Pretty wantons warble, &c." turns up in a printed collection of songs in 1620.³⁸ Unfortunately, Richard Johnson does not include a tune ascription to this song, as he does for so many others in the collection. We do not know to what tune this song may have been sung. But we do at least know that by 1620, the song had enjoyed enough popularity to be presented as part of this collection, and in all probability had appeared in the two earlier printings referred to on the title page.³⁹

³⁷ Dekker and Middleton *I Honest Whore* 1604 C4^r Taylor and Lavagnino *I Honest Whore* 6.32-3 and 6.54.

³⁸ Richard Johnson, *The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and delicate Delights* (London: By A. Mathewes for Thomas Langley, 1620) sig. G1^r.

³⁹ These early editions are not known to be extant.

Each of these diverse performances take place within the bounds of her own domestic space. Bellafront's musicality then goes some way to establish that performative space as domestic and private. This spatial identification occurs through several performance processes in the scene. The musical activity, the stage business, and the familiar interactions between Bellafront and Roger all contribute to making the dramatic location explicit. So in that aspect, one of the functions of music in the scene is to locate the action in the domestic sphere, in accordance with conduct ideals. But the content of this scene – the bawdy jokes and Bellafront's focus on preparing her body for "guests" – also serves to highlight the nature of Bellafront's professional sexual transgressions, which are at odds with the idealized feminine behaviors represented in the conduct literature.

Her last musical performance functions most like a set piece. She enters "with a lute" and sings a song professing that she'll no longer be tempted to buy her one-time sexual patrons (F2^v, 9.0.1-9). Within the diegetic world, her declamatory song works as an outlet for Bellafront to express her new found sexual identity. There is no-one in the room to share her performance with. The playhouse audience of course benefits from this exposure to the inner workings of Bellafront's emotional state. But the song itself also provides a pleasurable experience for the listening audience. The actor playing Bellafront must have been a gifted musician – this role is one of the most musically active in the repertory. His voice apparently was pleasing, as the sheer number of vocal performances earlier suggest. But here he enters and accompanies himself on a lute, which indicates a more specific musical education. The lute is not a sonically powerful instrument. The lone actor on the stage, plucking the stringed instrument would demand the attention of the theatre patrons if they were to reap the greatest enjoyment of this musical moment.

This structural function of the song – to draw the conscious attention of the playhouse audience quite intimately into the dramatic action is compounded by the simultaneous use of music to establish place. The interior setting was established in the previous scene, between Roger and the Bawd. There are no stage directions to bring in any stage furniture, but it seems possible that a stool and table were again employed to create the domestic setting. Bellafront enters with lute, pen, ink, and paper (F2^v, 9.0.1-2). If there is no table, on what is she to attempt to write? So we know that she is at home. But in this moment of redefining her means of living, her solitude must be made apparent. In her previous musical performances, Roger was present in the shared space of her private rooms. Her songs played a part in the dialogue exchanges between them, indicating the intimacy of their relationship. By the time Bellafront sings her lute ayre, she is cut off from the sexually subversive world which was her social context. As the content of the song indicates, she has left that world behind, and will no longer be seduced by “silks, velvets, pearls and ambers” (F2^v, 9.7). In turning away from her professional life, she brings herself more closely in line with the conception of femininity presented in the conduct literature. Bellafront offers the most musically demanding performance in the play as a means of expressing that conformity. In this way, the lute ayre reinforces the reform that will see Bellafront become a converted courtesan.

The Roaring Girl

With her obvious disregard for those ideals, her outspoken nature, her public crossing of gender boundaries through dress and behaviour patterns, and the freedom she assumes (or creates) through her own manipulations of the social situations in which she takes part, Moll offers a challenging representation of the variety of

experiences not explored in conduct manuals or prescriptive literatures which still constituted a mode of woman's experience. But Moll's musical performances do not merely add to her characterization as a social enigma. In some ways, of course, they participate in that representation. But her songs also have a way of locating her as actively engaging with ideals of acceptable female behavior. In this way, her musical performances complicate the way her character, the nature of her desires, and the means of her subversions are presented to the playhouse audience.

When Moll takes up the viol and sings her dream to Mary, Sebastian, and the hidden Sir Alexander, the ribald nature of the song/dream content is not lost on her diegetic audience; it seems safe to assume that the playhouse audience was similarly not oblivious to the overt sexual puns. Within the diegetic world, the first song brings the playful exchanges of sexual innuendo between Moll and Sebastian to an end (H2^v, 8.103-109).⁴⁰ Though her performance begins in a similar spirit to the racy conversations about Moll's willingness to play with gentlemen's instruments it ends in a rather more somber tone, reflecting on the impact of public opinion.

It is in her reaction to the ending of her second song that the playhouse audience is given a clue as to the nature of Moll's famously subversive behaviors (H2^v, 8.114-124). She offers to sing as a demonstration of how little the opinions of the citizens' wives matter to her. But by the end of her song, she has returned to that very theme. She asks that Sebastian put the viol away and tries to contain the content of the song and its implications for her lifestyle with the claim that "all this while I was in a dream; one shall lie rudely then, but being awake, I keep my legs together" (H2^v, 8.127-9). All the bawdy content she classifies as part of her dream-song; she

⁴⁰ Thomad Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girle. Or Moll Cut-Purse* (London: Nicholas Okes for Thomas Archer, 1611); Coppelia Kahn, ed., *The Roaring Girl in Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, Gen.Eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

intimates that when she return to her waking self, she is not so sexually inclined.⁴¹ Despite her willingness to speak openly of sexual matters, she is unwilling for her own gender subversion to be elided with the sexual subversion of prostitution. The musical performance is significant here not only for its revelatory content, but for the setting of its enactment.

At the interactive level, the playhouse audience may have associated this musical moment with the image of Mary Frith and her musical performance at the Fortune as herself. But the setting for Moll's musicality is very different from Mary's public display. The privacy of this performance is stressed before she begins her song. "Thou'rt here," Sebastian encourages her, "where you are known and loved" (H2^v, 8.95-6). The chamber, so far as Moll is aware, is populated only by the young lovers in whose romance she is so intimately involved. This familiarity provides a socially acceptable space in which Moll can be a musical agent. Her singing in this private company adheres to the ideal female musical experience. In this way, despite her public display of self-fashioned identity, Moll personifies aspects of idealized feminine behaviour.

Obviously, pinning down the variety of gender stereotypes at play in the representation of Moll on the stage is no simple matter. But the public musicality manifested in her duet with Tearcat ties in to her subversive behaviors (K4^v, 10.220-34). Music figures prominently in the repertory as a signifier of cultural identity. The attire and dialect which Tearcat adopts flag him as a member of a peripheral community: the song he shares with Moll enhances that represented identity. His faux-Dutch and use of "underworld slang" is so mysterious to the stage audience that

⁴¹ See Raphael Seligmann, "With a sword in her hand and a Lute in her Lap: Moll Cutpurse at the Fortune," *Musical Voices in Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies* ed. Thomasin LaMay (London: Ashgate 2005) for discussion of the sexual predilections of both Mary Frith and the fictional Moll.

Moll and Trapdoor must translate for them (K4^v-L1^r, 10.200-276). Doubtless, this translation was appreciated by the extra-diegetic audience as well. Just as music serves to situate characters in the repertory at the periphery of social identity, as in the cases of Barabas, Castiliano, and Sydannen, this song serves to reinforce the image of the thief as a cultural alien in the midst of the London citizens.

When Moll asks that he sing with her, she allies herself with this linguistically singular figure (K4^v, 10.220). Her ability to translate his unfathomable dialogue for both the stage and playhouse audiences flags a shared cultural knowledge. Joining him in song makes the alliance both audible and visual to both audiences, and makes her connections to the criminal underworld of London explicit. At the extra-diegetic level this musical moment offers yet another instance of Moll's flaunting of expected female behaviors. By fashioning herself as a musical performer in public Moll highlights her unique relationship to prescribed femininity in the period. This public musical performance invokes the presence of Moll's non-fictional counterpart in her appearances at the Fortune, Mary's infamy in the public eye, and the legal troubles which sprang from her notoriety. This musical performance calls the attention of the playhouse audience to the performative practices of the fictional Moll and the historical Mary Frith. Both figures engage with the ideals of feminine behaviors by transgressing gender boundaries and presenting themselves as publicly musical agents. This musical moment and her previous private performances highlight the fact that the character Moll interacts with the conduct literature ideals of the period in an enigmatic and complex way.

The relationship between the 1604 and 1616 quartos of *Doctor Faustus* is also enigmatic and complex.⁴² But the 1616 B-text edition is markedly more musical than its predecessor. There are calls for sound that appear only in the later text, but may have been employed in practise in the first, there are calls for sound that appear as part of expanded spectacles and may represent new musical moments that only appeared in the later version of the text, and musical performances associated with material that is totally new and therefore could not have been part of the earlier incarnation of the play at the Rose. Every musical demand that the 1604 text makes is accounted for in the soundscape of the performances related to the 1616 text. The (implied) music that accompanies the dancing devils, the sennet which plays for the pope's banquet, the dirge of the friars, and the supernatural music which sounds as Helen passes over the stage all contribute to the musical make-up of the revised and expanded text.

Several of the textual musical additions relate to the musical social practice of the non-dramatic world. The music of annunciation and the use of military signals have a much stronger presence in the 1614 text. In the additions concerning the torment and rescue of Bruno, a new employment of an annunciatory cue occurs. Within the diegetic world the Pope's command, "sound trumpets, then, for thus Saint Peter's heir/ From Bruno's back ascends Saint Peter's chair" and the flourish which answers his demand signify the political power the pope wields (D2^v, B.III.i.96-97).

⁴³At the extra-diegetic level, this sound cue flags the means by which that power is abused. By assuming the right to employ musicians that reflect the role of the king's

⁴² See Appendix.

⁴³ Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London: John Wright, 1616); David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, eds., *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616) Revels Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

trumpeters, the Pope oversteps the ceremony due him as a religious leader. No evidence for the ceremonial employment of trumpeters for the annunciation of important religious figures has been found. That is not to say that such a practice never occurred; but the association between trumpet signals and secular import seems to have been a much stronger association.⁴⁴ For the pope to usurp the right of a monarch plays into the critical representation of Catholicism in the play. The other instances of mimetic musical cues are rather less metonymic in their function.

The entrance of the German Emperor Charles to watch a demonstration of Faustus' powers at work is accompanied by a sennet. The same entrance in the earlier text is not given such a sound cue. The textual differences are worth quoting here:

A-Text – 1604

Enter Emperor, Faustus, and a Knight, with Attendants (D4^r, A.IV.i.0.1-2)

B-Text – 1616

A sennet. Charles the German Emperor, Bruno, Saxony, Faustus, Mephistopheles, Frederick, Martino and Attendants. (E3^r, B.IV.i.0.1-3)

The specificity of the later direction is obvious. Where the 1604 text does not include details of who exactly composes the accompanying train, the 1616 text is explicit. A similar relationship between the specificity of recording the sound cue also seems to be at work. It is probable then, that there was a sound cue to accompany the entrance of the emperor during the early and later stage life of both versions of the play. A similarly mimetic moment occurs during the additions of the conflict between Martino, Frederick, Benvolio and Faustus (F2^v, B.IV.iii.105.1-4). Though of course this call for the military signal of a drummed march did not take place in the early performances of the play, it does offer evidence of how universal such musical

⁴⁴ In the company's repertory the only instance of the simultaneous presence of music and religious figures occurs in *The Devil and His Dame*, *The Whore of Babylon*, and *Doctor Faustus*. This is the only instance in which trumpets are used in an explicitly annunciatory capacity.

signifiers were: a drummed march by a human soldier or a devilish one was equally capable of participating in the representation of armed combat!

The most significant musical additions to the 1616 text relate to the structural use of aural signals to frame performances and entertainments within the main narrative structure. When the Seven Deadly Sins enter to show Faustus “some pastime” there is no indication in either the 1604 or 1616 text that a musical cue accompanies this show.⁴⁵ But when the Sins are dismissed by Lucifer in the 1616 text he commands a piper to exit as well.

The 1604 text reads:

Lucifer: Away, to hell, to hell! (D1^r, A.II.iii.164)

while the 1614 text has:

Lucifer: Away, to hell, away! On piper! (C5^t, B.II.iii.162)

The necessity to get rid of this pipe player indicates his presence as part of the spectacular appearance of the Sins. The practice of using music to mark such entertainments occurs throughout the repertory, through time and at their various venues. Thus it seems logical to expect that this show of hellish delights for Faustus’ benefit (and of course the enjoyment of the playhouse audiences) could have been accompanied by a musical performance. The variants which expand such spectacular moments in the 1616 text also provide a space in which to consider the structural employment of music as a marker of embedded performances.

The monks and friars who enter singing the procession of the who’s-who of important figures in the Catholic world of the play obviously invoke the archaic musicality of the papal religion (D2^r, B.III.i.88.1-5).⁴⁶ This musical introduction also serves as a means of lending authenticity to the religious affiliation of the entering

⁴⁵ Marlowe *Faustus* 1604 C4^r, Bevington and Rasmussen A.II.iii.100-1; Marlowe *Faustus* 1616 C4^r, Bevington and Rasmussen B.II.iii.101.

⁴⁶ See discussion of the friars’ dirge in 1604 text, above.

train that has been established by Mephistopheles. Practically, as an aural flag of an embedded performance, this cue serves to reinforce the casting of the ceremonial entrance as a form of entertainment by Faustus and Mephistopheles. Faustus wants to be an actor in the “show,” (D2^f, B.III.i.75) but Mephistopheles casts him instead as an auditor:

Let it be so, My Faustus, But first stay
 And view their triumphs as they pass this way
 And then devise what best contents thy mind (D2^f, B.III.i.77-9)

The pair define this ceremonial entrance and the exchanges which follow between the Catholic powers that be as a performance to be enjoyed. The performance is indicated as beginning when Mephistopheles calls attention to the entrance by focusing on the sound of its approach, “Hark,” he says, “they come” (D2^f, B.III.i.87). The musical performance of the monks and friars both signals the beginning of that performance and becomes a part of the aesthetic pleasure offered by it. The more specific record of the presentation of Alexander and his paramour is similarly defined by musical signals.

The 1604 text records this magical demonstration as:

Enter Mephistopeles with Alexander and his Paramour (E1^f, A.IV.i.771.1)

While the 1616 text has this to say:

Senit. Enter at one the Emperour Alexander, at the other
 other Darius; They meete, Darius is thrown downe, Alexander kills
 him; takes off his Crowne, and offering to go out, his Paramour
 meetes him. He embraceth her, and sets Darius Crowne upon her
 head; and coming back, both salute the Emperour,
 who leaving his State, offers to embrace them, which Faustus
 seeing suddenly stays him. Then trumpets cease and music sounds. (E4^f,
 B.Iv.i.0.1-8)

Clearly, the 1616 text offers more information about the enactment of this performance. It is possible to suggest that a similar musical cue was employed in the

earlier performances, though not documented by the text. But what does this musical performance accomplish?

The answer is several things, at several levels. Because both stage and playhouse audience are privy to this magical demonstration, the function of the musical cues works in a parallel fashion. No trumpeters are indicated as part of the stage direction. The sennet played by an ostensibly ghostly trumpeter serves an annunciatory function: it indicates the arrival of Alexander in equally ghostly form. This sennet also speaks to the discourses concerning the connection between music and the otherworld. The cue provided here again forms a kind of aural boundary between the fictional world represented to the playhouse audience (comprised of Faustus, the emperor and the pope) and the performative world presented within that fictional world – the narrative inscribed in the spirit's appearance. The music which sounds at the close of this performance serves as a similar aural boundary. There is no textual point at which this music is indicated as stopping. It seems logical that when Faustus dismisses his show that the ghostly music would cease (E4^f, B.IV.i.118). The functions of music, ghostly and otherwise, in the 1616 text indicate the presence of an audience willing and able to accept such complex uses of musical performance as a theatrical tool. The conclusion to this thesis will address the potential implications of that audience.

Conclusion

The heart of this thesis has been an investigation of the functions of music in the extant repertory of the company. Those functions have been classified in terms of their creative, structural, pragmatic, and interpretive work. While each musical moment considered is unique and dramatically specific, the uses to which music is put in the extant repertory are continuous through time and at a variety of venues. From their earliest days at the Rose through to the documented performances of *Doctor Faustus* before the Fortune burned, music was employed as a theatrical tool. It creates and enhances characterization, defines dramatic locations, instigates necessary dramatic action, flags shifts in narrative modes, covers stage action, and invites extra-diegetic audiences to engage both physically and emotionally with the theatrical performance. The processes that enable music to function as a theatrical tool are mimetic. The representation and creation of musical performances in the repertory are tied closely to musical discourses and social behaviors in the non-dramatic world. Direct experiences of musical practice and an extremely wide dissemination of musical thought through print and other media allows music and musical performance to carry meaning for playhouse audiences.

At the start of this study, we focused a great deal on the ways in which the reputation of the audiences at the second Fortune theatre have influenced the ways scholars have approached the repertory of this company that played at the first Fortune. This elision of reputations has allowed the audiences of such plays as *When You See Me, You Know Me* and *The Roaring Girl* to be characterized in much the same way as the citizens whose bad behavior locates them in the records of the second Fortune theatre. This has led to the assumption that the company was playing to a primarily citizen-based audience at the first Fortune. While citizens and the

lower sorts absolutely enjoyed the company's offerings at the first Fortune, they were not alone in their patronage. Cook's study of the influence of the wealthier sorts in determining dramatic output during the period reminded scholars that there was a reason to build Lords rooms when the first Fortune was constructed at Golding Lane. Andrew Gurr's study of playgoing in London during the period does much to reconcile these distinctive audience types, but still tends to refer to the company in relation to their citizen-based appeal. What this examination of the functions of music in the company's repertory between 1594 and 1621 suggests is that a similarly heterogeneous audience was in place at both the Rose theatre and the first Fortune.

Much of the work of the study of musical social practices in the world outside the theatre earlier in this project went towards establishing the availability of a number of musical discourses to a wide variety of potential playgoers in London during the period. It is the widely accepted and commonplace conceptions of music's affective powers and associations between musical practice and culturally specific experiences that the company draws on most frequently. In both playhouses, non-dramatic musical discourse directs the way the company can use music. At both the Rose and the first Fortune music is used to signify the cultural position of characters, the location of dramatic action, the private or public nature of the exchanges that take place between those characters in those spaces, and even the means by which the narrative that encompasses all of those things is presented. This continuity in function through time and space implies the presence of an audience at both ends of the repertory's limit upon which this theatrical tool can work. Were there not a receptive audience in place, the use of music as a theatrical tool surely would have changed more dramatically over time. But in fact the creative functions of music remain remarkably similar in both venues.

The complex use of music in performances intended for a privileged audience, like those that have been identified as part of the company's appearances at court suggests the company expected that privileged audience to both follow the use of music as a theatrical tool, and ostensibly, to enjoy the aesthetic pleasure of the musical performances. Similar company expectations seem to be at work in the plays that appear in the repertory during the company's time at the first Fortune. That is to say, similarly complex musical moments appear in the few extant plays that can be tied to the company's later theatrical home. These texts evidence musical performances employed for simple mimetic purposes like the music of annunciation and of war noted in the playhouse plots. But they also indicate a trend toward complex engagement with culturally specific musical discourses presented in the conduct literature of the period. The plays the company performed at the first Fortune allowed musically gifted players to show off their talents. Those plays also stretch the limits of the company's musical capabilities and demand the employment of professional musicians to enact certain musical moments. The musical soundscape of the first Fortune theatre was richer and more varied than the later characterizations of the company's playhouse patrons imply.

The scarcity of evidence of course prevents any chance of offering an unqualified statement about audience composition at the first Fortune. Such a goal has not been a part of this study. Such a goal may not, in fact, be attainable at all. The aim of this project has not been to revolutionize the way Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences are understood. This thesis has been concerned with the rather different questions of what music does in the company's extant repertory, and how it does it. But in chasing down possible responses to those original queries, an unusual picture of the company and its audience emerged. In their time at the first Fortune, the extant

repertory of the company engages with the culturally specific musical behaviors of the privileged and upper middling sorts. That engagement suggests that audiences at the venue were more socially diverse than the later reputation of the company indicates. When we get down to tracing a specific aspect of theatrical production commonplace ideas about the company, their audiences, and consequently, the merits of their extant repertory can be challenged. Based on the musical content of their later repertory it seems that a broad social spectrum of audience types were “govern’d by stops [and] awed by dividing notes” in performances by the company at both the Rose theatre and the first Fortune.

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APPENDIX 1

The Extant Repertory of The Admiral's/Prince's/Palsgrave's Men 1594-1621
in the order in which the plays appear in the records of the company

The Battle of Alcazar <1594

The printed text of George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* survives in the 1594 quarto.¹ The title page claims that the play had been "sundry times played" by the Admiral's Men. This quarto text has been identified by some as the "Muly Molocco" which appears in Henslowe's records with Strange's Men in 1592-3.² During this period Alleyn was performing with Strange's Men yet retained the livery of the Lord Admiral. Perhaps the claim of the title page has more to do with the famous actor leading the company (and ostensibly playing the same role the parallel plot records him playing later at the Fortune) than it does with company patronage and identity in this period.³ The company later purchased several books from Alleyn's personal collection. It is at least possible that if he was playing Muly Mahomet with Strange's company in 1592 and retained the book of the play, that he could have provided the book to a Plotter in 1601 for the Admiral's Men.

Alternately, the play has been convincingly identified with the "Mahomet" of Henslowe's records.⁴ If we can accept Wiggins' choice of impossible things and date the Plot in 1601, then the Mahomet expenses fall into a logical pattern of expenditure to revive a play. If Mahomet is Henslowe's designation for the book behind the quarto text, then the records indicate that the company performed the play in 1594-5 and incurred production costs in 1601.⁵ Despite the convincing reasons behind such identifications, there does exist a third possibility – that *The Battle of Alcazar* (the title which appears on both the Plot and the 1594 quarto title page) was simply not included in Henslowe's records. They are, of course, far from complete.⁶ The clear relation between the unique opportunity offered by this early quarto and its parallel Plot necessitates incorporating the data offered by each of these witnesses. For the sake of this study, the text of *The Battle of Alcazar* then must be included because it allows for the most inclusive establishment of texts from which to draw evidence about the musical practices of the company.

¹ For a succinct summary of the evidence for Peele's authorship of the play first advanced by Edward Malone, see Charles Edelman, *The Stukeley Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2005) 16-18.

² George Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar* in *The Dramatic Works of George Peele* ed. John Yoklavich (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961) and Edelman.

³ Theatrical companies were less than stable during the early 1590s. The narrative histories provided by Chambers and Gurr indicate that company membership and subsequently company identity were often in a state of flux, with many reincarnations and reconstitutions of the several groups of performers.

⁴ See Roslyn Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991) 49; Martin Wiggins, "A Choice of Impossible Things: Dating the Revival of *The Battle of Alcazar*" *Shakespeare and ses contemporains: Actes de colloque 2002 del le Societie Francais Shakespeare* ed. Patricia Dorval (Montpellier 2002) 16.

⁵ Foakes HD: for performance records 23-27, for apparel 178, for the book 180.

⁶ See Beckerman "Theatrical Plots" 120.

***The Jew of Malta* June 14 May 1594**

With *The Jew of Malta* we encounter the first play which is simply established as part of the company repertory but whose extant text has come down to us from a significantly later period.⁷ Craik allows that the “long delay between the play’s composition and the appearance of the first surviving text has raised the question of authenticity.”⁸ The only musical moment recorded is Barabas’ disguised performance on the lute. The inclusion of this musical performance in establishing the various functions of music for the company is based on the embedded nature of the evidence within the text, which Thomas Heywood claims was “writ many years ago” (A4^r). Though it is possible that the text as we have it may have been revised or adapted, the function of Barabas’ lute performance is so integrated into the dramatic action that it seems unlikely to have changed much between the early performances by the company and the late appearance of the printed text.

***The Massacre at Paris* 3 July 1594**

The Massacre at Paris survives only in an undated octavo which Oliver argues was most probably published in 1602 “perhaps shortly after the Henslowe company purchased the authentic text from Alleyn.”⁹ In the records of company activity, performances were recorded in 1594.¹⁰ A long stage life is indicated by production costs recorded in the diary for silk stockings and an embroidered hat in 1598 as well as further costume expenditures in 1601.¹¹ The argument that the copy from which it was set was based on the practice of memorial reconstruction works in favor of this playbook as a source of valuable playhouse information.¹² The nature of the text as a short quarto, and the evidence omissions implied by the survival of a manuscript leaf (which expands the dialogue significantly) has led scholarship to shun the text as a literary object. But the uneven texture of this play highlights its strong connection to early performances. If the copy was provided via the memory, the musical moments represented in the text are ostensibly the ones that stood out in the memory of the reporter. Unless human brain function has changed drastically, it seems safe to assume that the type of musical signals present in the text are more easily committed to memory with a greater degree of authenticity than the verse lines spoken. The fact that an alarm happened at a particular dramatic moment was and is generally easier to recall than the exact words spoken in response to that aural signal.

***I and I Tamburlaine* 28 August 1594**

Both parts of *Tamburlaine* are printed together in the earliest extant text, the 1590 octavo. The title page of this early octavo claims that the text had been played “upon the stages of the city of London. By the Right Honorable the Lord Admiral, his servants.” Though the Admiral’s Men to which the title page refers does not indicate the company as it was constituted at the Rose in 1594, the presence of records in the

⁷ Foakes HD performance records: 16-26, 34, 36, 37, 47; for “diverse things” 170.

⁸ Craik *Jew* viii.

⁹ See H.J. Oliver, ed., *Dido Queen of Carthage and The Massacre at Paris* (London: Methuen, 1968) xlvi and xlix.

¹⁰ Foakes HD 22-4.

¹¹ Foakes HD 76, 82; 183-185.

¹² Maguire 281.

Henslowe papers indicates that both parts of *Tamburlaine* were performed by the company during the years of this study.¹³ The printed text flags one of the difficulties of depending on printed material for primary evidence of musical function and company practices in this project. Though there were several editions of the text published during years covered by this project, Ellis-Fermor's edition established the authority of the 1590 octavo, from which all the reprints during our period derive. The copy for the octavo is recognized to be of authorial origin and to have very little relation to the theatre. There is no way to identify the potential variations between the dramatist's intentions and the actuality of performance. But the musical demands of this authorial copy are in keeping with the uses of music throughout the repertory. The printed text is one on which we must cautiously rely if we are to be as inclusive as possible with the material that defines the function of music for the company.

This early source is doubly challenging, however, due to the fact that its title page connects it to a company that is not the Admiral's Men before their reconstitution at the Rose. However, the powerful figure of Alleyn provides a thread of continuity between the two companies.¹⁴ There is a strong possibility that many performance practices shared a degree of continuity between both incarnations of the Admiral's servants. The two groups had much more in common than a patron. When the company was newly settled in at the Rose, the performances of old favorites at the new venue, with the old star in place, suggests that practices which could be easily reproduced from previous productions, were. To keep the body of evidence as closely contained within the years of this study as possible, citations will be to the 1597 edition, the earliest printing during the years of the company's time at the Rose and the Fortune. Any variations in musical record between the authoritative 1590 edition and the 1597 edition will be noted.

***Doctor Faustus* 30 September 1594**

Henslowe's record of takings for "doctor ffostose" is his first recorded reference to a production of the play which can be associated specifically with the company at their home venue at the time, the Rose.¹⁵ The diary records twenty-two performances between 1594-1597.¹⁶ Bevington claims that there was a revival of the play after the arrival of the men from Pembroke's company in October of 1597, but allows that there is no record of this in the diary. The title page of the 1604 quarto claims that its text had been "acted by the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham his Servants." This indicates performances between 1597, when the company's patron acquired the title Earl of Nottingham and 1603, when the same company came under the patronage of Prince Henry. It is to these performances under the auspices of the Admiral's patronage that the early text of *Faustus* must be associated. Ormerod and Wortham have argued that the 1604 quarto offers "some consolation in the search for a pure text" and that the characteristics of the stage directions further indicate that the

¹³ See Foakes HD 23-29, 31 and 33 for *I Tamburlaine* and 26-29 and 33 for *II Tamburlaine*.

¹⁴ Chambers ES 2: 137.

¹⁵ Foakes HD 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 24-28, 30, 31, 34, 36, 47, 54, 55, 60 for performance records. Also see Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1988) 88-100.

