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Instrumental and vocal music in England preceding and during the Shakespearean period, with special reference to the works of Shakespeare

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Thesis

INSTRUMENTAL AND VOCAL MUSIC IN ENGLAND PRECEDING AND DURING THE
SHAKESPEAREAN PERIOD, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORKS OF SHAKES-
PEARE

by

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[Mus. B., Boston University, 1935]

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INTRODUCTION

Harley Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, editors of *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, state that the student of Shakespeare must appreciate the "history and extent of the phenomenon of Shakespeare". That there is a phenomenon no one will deny, but just how great it actually is can be determined only by close and intelligent study. This does not mean that we must adopt an attitude of servile adoration toward everything which is even remotely connected with Shakespeare, but rather that we should make a frank, honest attempt to understand and evaluate the works of the dramatist, at the same time realizing that, after all, the man whose works we are studying was human and subject to the same frailties and shortcomings which beset everyone, and that he was just as prone to err as the least of us. It is our purpose, in this discussion, to avoid all appearance of sentimentalism and to present the results of our study and research in a manner which is free from affectation, without, however, leaving an impression of coldness or indifference toward the object of our study.

Beginning with a brief historical sketch of the development of music in England from about the middle of the fifteenth century to the end of Shakespeare's literary activity, and endeavoring to explain the terms "polyphony" and "homophony", as well as the importance of each type of writing in the musical compositions of the period, we set the stage, so to speak, for our discussion of the place of music in the life of the time.

1 New York: Macmillan Company, 1934
This discussion is not intended, primarily, for those who are technically trained musicians; such readers are referred to the numerous treatises which have been written on the music of Shakespeare and on the musical instruments and composers of the time. Rather, this is an attempt to present to the general reader an idea of the correlation between music and literature in the Shakespearean age and in the period which preceded it. We purpose, in the present writing, to show the influence of the native English music upon the works of the poet and to give specific references from his dramas and poems, as well as references from the works of his contemporaries and predecessors.

Much has already been written on the music of Shakespeare. That he knew something about music and felt its influence and power in the life of the time is evident to even the most casual reader. Realizing this, we shall not discuss his degree of professional knowledge—or lack of it—except in passing, but shall simply let the facts, as presented, speak for themselves.

The bibliography on Shakespearean music, compiled by Miss Dorothy May Markle for the College of Liberal Arts Library of Boston University, has been of great value in the present undertaking, and thanks are due her for her excellent work.

The glossary of musical terms will, it is hoped, prove of interest, as will also the list showing the works of Shakespeare which have inspired

1 The glossary of musical terms is compiled from Pulver's Dictionary of Old English Music, from Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, and from the Oxford Dictionary. The list of Shakespearean works which have been the inspiration for composers is derived from the card index in the
musical compositions; while the inclusion of several of the melodies that might have appeared in the early productions of Shakespeare’s plays may be of value.

Brown room of the Boston Public Library. The musical illustrations are taken from Edward W. Naylor’s Shakespeare and Music.
A MUSIC IN ENGLAND BEFORE AND DURING THE SHAKESPEAREAN PERIOD

I historical sketch

In the period from the middle of the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth the modern art of music had its origin. It developed from the school of Dunstable (d. 1453) and from an intricate system, the basis of which were the ecclesiastical (not Gregorian) modes, modified according to an arrangement invented in 1042 by Guido of Arezzo. The scale was divided into hexachords, with a diatonic semitone between the third and fourth notes of each series, the other intervals being whole tones.

\[ \text{This system was used to the latter part of the seventeenth century. There is much that is pedantic about this system of music, which was derived from the medieval interpretations of Pythagoras, as handed down by Boethius and others.} \]

Medieval times saw music chiefly in the courts, cathedrals, and monasteries. Everyday life was unsettled, so it can hardly be expected that much that was artistic could be supported. But the renaissance and the invention of printing helped spread musical knowledge and culture; as a result, when the Tudors came to the throne, prospects were better; court life demanded more in the way of secular ceremony, social conditions were less troubled and uncertain, and there was more leisure (and more interest) in the arts. Music now could play an important part in the nation's life.

Although there was some activity as early as 1465, the real beginning of the printing and publishing of music as an industry dates from 1501, when Petrucci established himself in Venice. Petrucci, who was

1 Grove says that this date is not confirmed and that 1476 is more near-
born in 1466 and died in 1539, was the inventor of music-printing with movable type, and was the first to print florid song from metal type. His first work was a collection of ninety-six songs. His editions, published with great neatness, are rare and are highly praised specimens of early press work. From this period music-printing on the Continent was fairly frequent and was more or less good, both from metal and from wood blocks.

Printing of secular music in England began with Wynkyn de Worde in 1530. 1 Grove, however, states that Wynkyn de Worde printed a few notes in Higden’s Polychronicon at Westminster in 1495. This printing consisted of but eight notes built up from “quads” and “rules” to illustrate a passage in the text. A previous edition, by Caxton, in 1482, had the notes filled in by hand. There was little music printed in England after this; R. Pynson printed several missals between 1500 and 1520, and Wynkyn de Worde printed the York Missal in 1509. The 1530 book of Wynkyn de Worde is an oblong quarto work, finely printed, of which only the bass part remains to us. The stave lines were printed after the notes had been done. This work is a book of songs bearing the legend: “In this boke are coteyn xx sages, ix of iiiii ptes and xi of thre ptes”.

By the time of Henry VIII we see a marked interest in music. Henry sent to Italy for John Hothby for, although Henry had distinguished native composers at his own court, he was not satisfied. The methods of the English composers of the time were little advanced over those of a hundred

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1 according to E. J. Dent in “Shakespeare and Music” (in A Companion to Shakespeare Studies, opp. cit., p. 138)
years previous, and for this reason foreign musicians were largely employed. But by the time that Shakespeare appeared there had come an age of great composers all over Europe, with music being widely cultivated and appreciated, and with English music and composers well to the fore. In fact, England has produced no such talent in any period of her musical history—if we except the works of Handel and Purcell in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—as appeared during the age of Shakespeare.

In 1575 Queen Elizabeth granted a patent right over the printing of music and the right of importation from foreign sources to William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in recognition of services given at the Chapel Royal. At Tallis's death Byrd became the sole owner of the right. All the different printers to print music and all the imprints made during the period of Byrd on the patent state that the book was printed by assignment of William Byrd. The patent was for twenty-one years. Another, at the expiration of this, was granted to Thomas Morley in 1598.

In the madrigal period English music-printing began to flourish. Thomas East (Este), one of the first to print music, began working about 1587-88. He died in 1609. Another of the same era was Peter Short, who worked at the "Star" on Bread Street Hill from 1584 to 1603. He was succeeded by Humphrey Lownes. These men printed many collections of madrigals and similar works from movable type.¹

In view of what has been stated it may readily be seen that there was a fairly sizable collection of printed music available for Shakespeare.

¹ the use of the word "key" in music dates from about 1000 A.D., not 1600, as usually claimed. About 1300 came the four-part chorus, an improvement over the two- and three-part harmony which had preceded it. From "Words and Music in Song", A.H. Fox Strangways, in Essays and Studies
When he began writing. In addition, there was a vast amount of "oral" music—folk music which had been sung by the people for generations and which filled an important role in the life of the time.

II Polyphony and homophony

The art of polyphony is generally considered to have emerged from the purely theoretical stage under the influence of John Dunstable. Dunstable's music approached a style intelligible to modern ears. But, even so, the development of the contrapuntal idea of independence of parts had not yet made clear that consecutive fourths and fifths, the "backbone" of descant, were at variance with the contrapuntal method. DESCANT, beginning in the twelfth century, was the first attempt at polyphony with contrary motion in the different parts. It was the opposite of "organum", in which parallel motion was the rule. (Loosely, descant might be termed the combining of two or more musical phrases or melodies).

Counterpoint, from the Latin "punctus contra punctus", is the art of polyphonic composition. In earliest times, the groundwork of a composition was called "plain-song" or the "canto fermo" (Latin "cantus firmus") while the accompanying parts were called the "counterpoint". The main melody was in the plain-song, or cantus firmus, and was generally lost, since the cantus firmus was often in the lower parts and the counterpoint obscured the melody. "Polyphony" resulted, with all parts fitting in and each part of EQUAL IMPORTANCE.
Counterpoint has very strict rules which must be rigidly observed. Consecutive fourths and fifths, mentioned earlier, are strictly forbidden.

**SAME EXERCISE, SHOWING CONSECUTIVE 5THS (A, B, C) BETWEEN TWO LOWER PARTS**

C.F. [Diagram]

**N.B.** The Cantus Firmus may be in any voice (i.e. part).

The works of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) and George Frederick Handel (1685-1759) represent polyphony at the height of its splendor.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the laws of counterpoint were substantially fixed and skill in composition increased. The century saw a complete freedom from the archaic world, and the best sixteenth century music shows the essentials in a state of perfect balance. Cadences of the music of this period show a great resemblance to the harmonic ideas of the present. The harmony of the century may seem strange to us, unaccustomed as we are to the style, and for this reason we may say that this music is a survival of the archaic scales, suited only for melodic purposes. But this is not so; the resultant harmony comes from a state of things in which only two species of chord are available as points of repose.

Polyphony has been termed "horizontal music", in contrast to homophonic or "vertical music" (i.e. analyzed from a harmonic standpoint).

In modern music homophony is a style in which one melody or part, supported to a greater or less extent by chords or chord combinations (i.e. an accompanied melody, in other words) predominates. This is the opposite of polyphony, in which all the parts of the composition are of equal importance.
The old system of polyphony gradually gave way to homophony about the end of the sixteenth century. Homophony first sprang up in Florence, shortly before the end of the century. The new music was an attempt to find something more suitable for dramatic expression than the polyphonic style. Homophony, crude at first, made itself felt in the whole musical system; the old method of composition, with its Cantus Firmus, was abandoned and the modern scale replaced the older one. We are told that homophony arose from an attempt at imitation of the Greek drama. From this came (early in the seventeenth century) the first music-dramas of Peri (1561-1633), Caccini (c. 1546-1618), and Monteverde (1567-1643).

The new Italian school soon revolutionised secular music, polyphony only surviving for a time in purely liturgical music. The change dates from about 1597. But no allusion is found to the "new music" in the plays produced by Shakespeare from 1597 to 1611, the date of *The Tempest*. It is surprising that the new style of writing had little or no effect in England in view of the fact that Italy had great influence upon English literature. Then, too, the masque reached its highest development in England, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and masques were closely allied to the opera. The explanation may lie in the fact that the English masque, unlike the music-dramas of Peri and other Italian composers, was made up of material which was ready at hand, while the Italian school deliberately attempted to produce a new art form.

1. The period which saw the germ only of homophony.
III COMPOSERS

a before Shakespeare

We have already referred to Dunstable as the probable influence which caused polyphonic music to rise above the purely theoretical stage and to point to something finer and more artistic. A glance at the little that is known of the man's life and work seems advisable and necessary at this point.

JOHN DUNSTABLE, or Dunstable, was born in Dunstable (Bedfordshire) England, about 1370 and died December 24, 1453. But little is known of him; most of his works were soon lost sight of and were not found until fairly recently when, in 1884, six volumes of manuscripts, known as the "Trent Codices", were discovered in the library of the cathedral of Trent by P. X. Haberl. Until this important discovery Dunstable was almost a legendary character. He has been called the "inventor" of counterpoint and has sometimes even been identified with St. Dunstable! But enough of his and his successors' music has been found to show that his influence was greater abroad than it was in England. Possibly this was due to political reasons, since music is dependent upon its surroundings and since the school of Dunstable arose in England's civil war period, when the court was too poor and disorganized to help the new school. The Wars of the Roses drove English musicians abroad, and the Netherlands, Italy, and Burgundy saw the fruit of Dunstable's work, so that by 1437 he had acquired a European reputation.

An examination of the works of Dunstable reveals the fact that England had a highly developed art in the fifteenth century, slightly antedating the oldest known French school; and it likewise shows that Dun-
stable had transferred the early style of the Florentine secular chanson, with instrumental accompaniment, to sacred compositions. The works recently found (that is, in 1884) indicate that English counterpoint was fully capable of showing the Netherlands composers the way by which they were to reach the "Golden Age" of music. Of Dunstable's work Riemann says, "Because of a surprising simplicity and grandeur of the melodic line Dunstable actually stands forth as an epoch-making personality". 1

JOHN HEYWOOD, or Johan Heewood, was born in 1497 and lived until about 1578. He was for a time a musician in the employ of the court, beginning as one of Henry VIII's "singing men". A "player on the virginals", he is known also as the writer of the first "willow" song. Later he was master of an organization of singing boys, probably connected with St. Paul's, and his farces may have been written for these boys.

Tye, Whyte, and Tallis are the older men of the period we are examining, while Bull, Byrd, and Philips represent the younger group.

Christopher Tye (c. 1515-1572) was an organist and composer, later rector at several towns. He published The Acts of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe METER(1553), as well as several anthems and a service, the masses and anthems still remaining in manuscript.

Whyte is known for his "Lamentations".

Thomas Tallis (sometimes spelled Tallys or Talys) was born about 1505 and died in 1585. He, like Tye, was a composer and an organist. In 1575, when he and William Byrd applied to Elizabeth for the grant of a lease, Tye described himself as "verie aged". "Verie aged", according

1 Hugo Riemann(Karl Wilhelm Julius); Handbuch der Musikgeschichte. Leipzig, 1907. 11-1-pp 106-109 ff
to the ideas of the time, would probably be about seventy. Tallis was joint organist of the Chapel Royal with Byrd and is so described on the title-page of a set of motets they published in 1575, dedicated to the Queen. Sixteen numbers are by Tallis, eighteen by Byrd. Richard Mlucaster was the author of one of the two long poems in the long preface in praise of the two composers. The only other works published during the lifetime of Tallis were five anthems set to English words and included by John Day in his Certaine Notes (1560–1565). The secular and instrumental works of Tallis which survive are of small importance.

Tallis has been called the "Father of English Cathedral Music", but this is a comparatively recent title since Byrd, in his own day, was styled "a Father in Musick", and Byrd did more than Tallis to establish what may be called the tradition of English cathedral music. It is not surprising to find that Byrd, long a co-worker with Tallis, was one of the witnesses of the latter's will and was one of his "overseers".

In the list of those who were given small sums in reward for their services when deprived of offices upon the dissolution of Waltham Abbey in 1540, Tallis received a larger amount than anyone else; twenty shillings for wages and twenty shillings "in reward", or as a gratuity.


RICHARD FARRANT (died in 1580) was a "composer of church music, etc", according to Grove. He was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal under Edward VI but there is no record of his appointment. In April, 1564, he resigned

1 His church music was collected and scored with as much completeness as possible by the editors of the Carnegie edition of Tudor Church Music
2 Grove, Dictionary of Music and Musicians
his office in the Chapel to become master of the choristers of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, as well as lay-clerk and organist. On November 5, 1569, he was reappointed to the Chapel Royal, continuing his work at Windsor until his death. Farrant is best known by his cathedral service in A minor and by two beautiful little anthems: "Call to Remembrance" and "Hide not Thou Thy Face".

As master of the Windsor choristers Farrant, like Edwards of the Chapel Royal, controlled one of the important companies of choir boy actors. From 1567 to his death Farrant was responsible for presenting a play before the Queen every year. Only two of his stage songs can now be identified with any certainty: "O Love from stately throne" and "Alas, ye salt sea gods", from a play called Panthea and Abradates. Both songs are for treble solo with string quartet accompaniment (generally four viols were used).

b Contemporaries of Shakespeare

WILLIAM BYRD (1538-1623) was a pupil of Tallis and was associated with him in his early days. Living nearly to the end of the reign of James I, Byrd produced a large amount of all kinds of music, much of which is printed, much still in manuscript. The exclusive privilege of printing music and selling music-paper, granted to Byrd and Tallis in 1575 by Queen Elizabeth, has already been noted.

Byrd’s work, always interesting, is strongly individual and combines “rugged grandeur and deep pathos”. ¹ His Latin church music shows his greatest ability. Cantiones Sacrae and Gradualia are (according to

¹ W. Barclay Squire, in Shakespeare’s England, vol. II, p. 27
Peacham) 1, "more Angelicall and Divine". Three masses, a recent writer says, "rank together as, beyond all conceivable question, the finest settings of the Mass that exist from an English hand; they are not so suave and broad as the work of Palestrina, but they are somehow more human and personal".

Byrd's secular vocal music is less individual than his church music but is still possessed of a quaint charm. His instrumental pieces for virginal rival those of Bull in their instinct for effective passages and remain always solid and sincere, in contrast to Bull's works. Byrd is, in fact, one of the very greatest musicians England has produced, and his greatness is beginning to be recognized. "When the complete edition of his works is available," says W. Barclay Squire, in "Music", 2 "his true position among European composers will be recognized." Surely, then, Byrd deserves the title of "A Father of Musick," the name by which he was described in an official register. "Homo memorabilis" was written by some enthusiast against his name in a manuscript in the royal collection.

THOMAS MORLEY (1557-1603?) was a pupil of Byrd and received a Bachelor of Music degree from Oxford in 1593. He was organist of St. Giles', Cripplegate, and of St. Paul's, and was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1592. Between 1596 and 1601 he was living at St. Helen's, Bishopgate. Although a man of poor health, his life was a busy one. He wrote the first

1 Henry Peacham, an English writer born about 1576, had many friends in London, among them Thomas Dowland, the musician, and Inigo Jones, the architect. Peacham was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. in 1594-5, M.A. in 1598. He was a tutor to boys preparing for the university, a traveller, and a Cavalier, though the central point of his most important book (Complete Gentleman, 1622) is a "more or less Puritan sentiment of duty". He died in poverty c. 1643, soon after the publication of his last book (1642). From Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., vol. XXVII, 417

2 Shakespeare's England, vol. II, p. 27
regular treatise on music published in England: A **Plaine and Ease Intro-
duction to Practicall Musicke** (1597) \(^1\), and edited the curious treatise,

The **First Booke of Consort Lessons**, made by divers exquisite authors for

sixe Instruments to play together, viz. the Treble Lute, the Pandore, the

Citterne, the Bass Viol, the Flute, and the Treble Viol (1599, revised

1611). Morley's works are unusually melodious for the period, and many

of his madrigals are still popular. Contemporaries of the man placed him

among the best English musicians of the day. He certainly stands out from

his fellow-composers in some respects, for he was a critic-composer, a

master of technique, knew all the styles, and was equally at home in the

church music of the Palestrina school, in madrigals like those of Castol-
di, and in the more florid virginal music, such as Byrd's.

Morley's name appears in two Rolls of Assessments for subsidies in

1590 and 1600. The first contains the name of William Shakespeare also;

his goods were valued the same as Morley's; five **funds**, the assessment be-
ing thirteen shillings fourpence. Shakespeare and Morley appealed against

the assessment, and there is no doubt that they had some personal inter-
course together, since Morley composed one--if not two--songs for what lit-
tle of original music for Shakespeare's plays still remains.

\(^1\) Morley's list of composers and theorists, listed on the last page of
this treatise, follows: Mr. Pashe, Robert Jones, John Dunstable, Lionel
Power, Robert Orwel, Mr. Wilkinson, John Guimeth, Robert Davis, Mr. Hisby,
Dr. Parfax, Dr. Kirby, Morgan Orig, Thomas Ashwell, Mr. Sturton, Jacket, Cor-
brand, Testwood, Unkle, Beech, Bramson, John Mason, Ludford, Fording, Cornish,
Pygot, Taverner, Redford, Hodges, Selby, Thorne, Olande, Averie, Dr. Tye, Dr.
Cooper, Dr. Newton, Mr. Tallis, Mr. White, Mr. Persons, Mr. Byrde, (The spelling
is Morley's). From Naumann's History of Music, p. 661.
JOHN BULL (1563-1628), the most brilliant organist of his day, was a pupil of Blitheman in the Chapel Royal and organist of Hereford Cathedral. Later he was also Master of the Children. In 1586 he received his bachelor's degree in music from Oxford, and his doctorate, from the same institution, in 1592. In 1596, on the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth, Bull was appointed professor of music at Gresham College, a position which he retained until his marriage, in 1607. 1611 saw him in the service of Prince Henry, but in 1613 he left the country to become one of the organists to the Archduke of Brussels. In 1617 he was organist of the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Antwerp. He thus forms a link between the English school of organists and the Dutch, of whom Sweelinck was by far the greatest. Some two hundred compositions are attributed to Bull.

ORLANDO GIBBONS (1563-1625), who held the degrees of Bachelor of Music and Mus. D., both from Oxford, and was the founder of the best school of Anglican church music, ranks almost as high as Byrd. Both were noted organists and composers of church music of the highest quality, although the style of Gibbons is the more modern of the two. Still, though Gibbons shows a tendency toward the new music in some of his anthems, his vocal music is solid and massive in spirit and retains all that is best of the old school. His madrigals and church music are both excellent and he tempers "austerity with a note of human personality, though never soaring into the heights of mystical fervor to which Byrd sometimes attains," says Squire, in Shakespeare's England. 1

Gibbons's instrumental music is less interesting by far than his

1 Opp. cit., p. 27
vocal works. The best of the instrumental work is found in Parthenia, a small collection of pieces for the virginals, published about 1611, in which he was associated with Byrd and Bax. The title-page reads:

**Parthenia**

or

The Mayden head

of the first music that

ever was printed for the Virginals

Composed

By three famous masters; Mr. Byrd, Dr. John Bull, and Orlando Gibbons.

THOMAS BATSON (c. 1575--?) was organist of Chester Cathedral from 1599 to 1611, and later was organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. He received his Bachelor of Music degree from Dublin. He wrote *A Set of Madrigals* in praise of Queen Elizabeth (1601), *First Set of Madrigals* (1604, reprinted in 1646), and a *Second Set* (1618).

THOMAS WELLES (dates unknown) was a distinguished writer of madrigals. In 1600 he was organist of Winchester College; in 1602 he received his Bachelor of Music degree from Oxford, and in 1608 was organist of Chichester Cathedral.

SIR THOMAS CAMPION (?--1619), a physician, poet, composer, and dramatist, was the author of two *Bookes of Ayres* (1610), followed by two more (1612); *Ayres for the Masque of Flowers* (1613); *Songs of Mourning* (for Prince Henry, 1613); and *A New Way of Making Foure Parts in Counterpoint* (1618). Educated at Cambridge, Campion studied law but did not practise. He was an accomplished musician; as the list of his works shows, he composed many airs for his lyrics. Though he practised medicine in his later years, he continued to produce lyrics and songs of good calibre until his death.

JOHN DOWLAND (1562-1626), the most notable of the wandering Eng-
lish musicians of the period, was a famous lute-player. He first appeared in 1580 in the service of Sir Henry Cobham, English ambassador in Paris. Dowland was persuaded to become a Catholic by some English Catholic refugees in Paris. In 1588 he went back to England, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford. Shortly afterward he was invited to Germany by the Duke of Brunswick, passing later from the Duke's court to that of the Landgrave of Hesse. In 1598 he was lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark, returning to England from time to time until 1606, when he finally remained. 1612 found him "lutenist to Lord Walden", and in 1625 he was appointed one of six lutenists in the king's service. In 1597 he published *The First Book of Songs or Ayres of Four parts, with Tablature for the Lute*. This book had five editions before 1613. Dowland's music is found in many foreign collections, both in manuscript and printed in his own four books of "Songs or Ayres" is the very rare instrumental *Lachrymae or Seven Tears, figured in seven passionate Pavans* (published in 1605). Dowland's son, Robert, also became famous as a musician.

PETER PHILIPS is a link between the Dutch and English organists, as was John Bull. An ecclesiastic, Philips first appeared at Antwerp in 1591, and in 1598 was organist to the Archduke Albert. Philips is the most Italian in style of any of the English composers of the day; but though his later works show some tendency toward the new style of homophony, he never entirely loses all his English individuality.

RICHARD DERING (born at the end of the sixteenth century, died in 1630?) was educated in Italy. He took his Bachelor of Music degree, however, at Oxford, in 1610. It was Dering who published the oldest known compositions with "basso continuo". In 1617 he was organist to the Eng-
lish Benedictine nuns at Brussels, and court organist to Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625. Like Philips, Dering wrote music in both the homophonic and polyphonic styles.

JOHN WILSTIR spent the greater part of his life at Hengrave Hall in the service of Sir Thomas Kyto and his widow. He published only two volumes of madrigals (sixty-five in all), but they place him in the first rank of madrigal-writers.

JOHN BENNET wrote little—only one volume of madrigals exists. But every one is a gem and there is a vein of pathos running through them all.

With such an array of musical talent existing in the period in which he wrote, it does not seem strange that Shakespeare utilized this material. Rather, had he not done so, we should have been inclined to wonder at his neglect of so potent a factor in the life of his age.

IV MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN USE DURING THE PERIOD

Many of Shakespeare's musical allusions need explanation for the modern reader or layman because a great number of the instruments mentioned are now obsolete. For example, the 'FLUTE' mentioned by him was not the instrument we know to-day, but a 'RECORDER', which was blown from the end like a flageolet or penny whistle. The instrument came in several sizes; treble, tenor, and bass, and was used for part-music. A sweet, melancholy tone characterized the recorder. To-day this instrument does not exist.

the 'PIPE' was used for military purposes, more or less as it is to-day. But the form was different; it was more like an early simple form
of small transverse flute, the bore of which was cylindrical throughout and which, in consequence, produced very faulty intonation. The modern fife is of the conical type, midway in pitch between the "concert" flute and the piccolo.

The PIPE was a small flageolet used with the TABOR, a sort of small drum, for country dancing. The FLAGEOLET was a small, high-pitched member of the FLUTE-FLUTE family, and the last survivor of the recorder class. Flutes, recorders, fifes, and pipes all belonged to the large family of recorders.

The HAUTBOY was the universal woodwind instrument with a double reed. It marked a stage in the development of the instrument which began its career as a SHALM (or shawm) and ended it as an OBOE. The name is from the French HAUT BOIS, "high wood", which describes the material of which the instrument was made and which gave it its pitch. Though there were tenor and other hautboys known, the treble was by far the most common. Just when the word shalm, or shawm, was

***From F.S. Boas: Introduction to the Reading of Shakespeare, p. 61
dropped cannot be definitely fixed. It appeared in *Gorboduc*, however, where it was named in "the order and signification of the dumb-show before the fourth act". After this date (1560-61) its use became more and more common. The tone of the hautboy was more shrill and harsh than that of the hautboy in modern orchestras. (We commonly use the more familiar "oboe" in naming the instrument). Like the recorder, the hautboy came in several sizes, its bass variety being the equivalent of our modern bassoon.

The WAIT (wayte, or wayghte) was another name for the shalm, or shawm, an instrument dating from the Middle Ages and used by the watchman who waited at the gates of castles and cities. No doubt the name is taken from that of the watchman himself and it is mentioned very early in the State Papers. Early in the fifteenth century it was applied to municipal watchmen also employed as musicians and, later, both to the instruments (shawns or hautboys) and sometimes to the pieces of music played on them.

The HORN was considered a vulgar instrument, suitable only for hunting and for field sports, and was used only for hunting-music. The horn was not admitted to "consort" in the Shakespearean period, and even as late as the time of Handel (1685-1759) this prejudice still existed. But the horn, in reality, is the finest of the brass instruments.

The CORNET is often called for in stage directions. This instrument, much used in Tudor and Stuart England, was a horn-like instrument made of wood, generally covered with leather, and was often elaborately ornamented with ivory and silver. It must not, however, be confused with our modern brass instrument known as the cornet. Although curved specimens were the more common, cornets were made bent or straight. A complete set, or consort, of cornets contained a treble, a tenor or common cornet, and a grand cornet. This was known as a "nest of cornets". According to
most contemporary writers, the tone was bright and pleasing when the instrument was well played. The place of its origin is somewhat uncertain, though the early allusions to it in English manuscripts seem to indicate that England, if not the originator of the instrument, was one of the first countries to use it. The Harleian Manuscript (1419A) has a list of the musical instruments belonging to Henry VIII, and among them are listed, "Two gitteron pipes of ivorie tipped with silver and gilt: they are called Cornettes...", and "xiiij gitteroune pipes of woodde in a bagge of leather they are called Cornettes". References to the instrument become more frequent as we approach Elizabeth's reign. Dekker's masque, The King's Entertainment, shows by a stage direction that the cornet was reckoned among the high-class instruments of the day: "A noise of cornets, a consort, a set of Viols". In the seventeenth century drama the cornet was frequently used for sounding at the beginning of the acts, and Beaumont and Fletcher, Drayton (1607), Nathaniel Field (1612), Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson all speak of it or order its use in stage directions. Marston, in Sophonisba (Prologue to Act I), says, "Cornets sound a march".

The cornet had many uses. It was indispensable in the orchestra of woodwind instruments, and it may be traced in the band as far back as the fourteenth century where, in Octavian Imperator, a work of that time, it is thus mentioned: "The myghty men here mensraloye, Tromps, taborns, and Cornettys crye". Because the tone of the cornet was softer than that of the trumpet, indoor or private theatres made use of the sweeter toned instrument. It was likewise used a great deal at court and in sacred mu-

1 "noise"--music, or a company of musicians
sic where, when boys’ voices were not available, it was pressed into service to supply the parts the boys should have carried.

Prices paid for specimens of the cornet at the time of its active use varied according to the amount of work put into the various instruments. An example bought for Trinity College (Cambridge) in 1595 cost one pound, a large sum for that time; and Sir Thomas Elyot’s Household Accounts for 1573-4 show that four pounds was the sum given for seven cornets. English cornetists enjoyed a high reputation for excellence and held important positions in many foreign courts.

The TRUMPET was pre-eminently a musical instrument associated with royalty. In Germany trumpeters were regarded as the aristocrats of the musical profession and were privileged socially. Trumpet music at weddings, etc, was forbidden except for persons of a certain rank of nobility. In England, however, the players were not so important, though the instrument stood apart from the others as being especially dignified. Almost always the trumpet was associated with drums.

The SACKBUT, the old English name for the trombone, was associated with religious ceremonies generally. Cornets and sackbuts were often used in English cathedrals and churches to support the organs, weak and small at the time, or to replace them altogether. Sackbuts were not used for church music alone, though always for solemn, ceremonial music. During the reign of Henry VIII the sackbut was used in Canterbury to accompany sacred music. We find frequent references to this instrument in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

VIOLS were the most important of the stringed instruments played with a bow. The NABEC was almost obsolete in Shakespeare’s day, but men-
tion is made of it here because it must be counted among the first of the bowed instruments in Europe. Allusions to this ancient instrument (which is, no doubt, of Eastern origin) are frequent. In The Sover of Love De-
gre (l. 1071) it is referred to as the "ribible". Chaucer uses it in both forms, as regards spelling: "rebekke" in The Frere's Tale and "ribi-
ble" in The Coke's Tale. Drayton, in Eologue II of The Shepherd's Garland says:

He turn'd his rebeck to a mournful note,
And thereto sung this doleful elegy.

In Lydgate's Reason and Sensualtie (l. 5581-2) there is this reference:

Lutys, Rubibis, and Geterns,
More for asatys than taverns.

In its commonest form the viol was used in three sizes and pitches: treble, tenor, and bass. The name "chest of viols" was given to the complete set and the case in which they were kept. The tone of the viol was soft and sympathetic, well fitted for the accompaniment of voices. Chronologically the predecessors and later the contemporaries of the violin family, although historically and structurally: they had less to do with the later instruments, viols were very popular in England for many years. In 1526, in the list of the roy-
al musicians of Henry VIII, there were but two viols among a large number of percussion and brass instruments. Six years later, however, there were more—"three of the viols" being mentioned. This would indicate a def-
inite increase in the number. In 1555 the word VIOLIN is used and it oc-
curs in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.

Viols usually had six strings and were fretted like the guitar.

There was a contra-bass in England in Shakespeare's day called the VIOLON.
A door was sometimes cut in the back of this large instrument and a small boy put into it. A man could thus play the bass, sing the "mean" (middle) part, while the youngster, hidden inside the instrument, piped a shrill treble.

Sir Fastidious Brisk, in Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor*, is called upon to play this instrument. Indeed, it was one of the requirements of a gentleman, as we are to learn later, to be able to play upon this instrument.

The VIOLIN was introduced from Italy in Henry VIII's day. It enjoyed the patronage of royalty, although it was considered a coarse and aggressive instrument, suited only to country folk. Pulver, in his *Dictionary of Old English Music*, says that the words "violin" and "violon" in English writings of the sixteenth century can only refer to the treble and tenor viols. He states that violins were not much known before 1627/8, when Charles I paid twelve pounds for a "Cremona Violin to play to the Organ". If violins were so expensive they would hardly be used by country folk.

Although we use the word FIDULX as a colloquialism for "violin", the word was once used to designate a very different instrument. Both name and instrument date back to Saxon times. Illustrations, as found in early manuscripts, show the fiddle to be somewhat similar to the rebeck, though rather broader and shorter and strung with four instead of three strings. It is quite likely that in the Saxon period, as to-day, the word was used to mean any bowed instrument. Chaucer used the Anglo-Saxon form

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"fithale" in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. In the fourteenth century metrical romance, *Octavian Imperator* (l. 70), the form "fydelys" is used.

The **VIRGINAL** was mainly used by the ladies, Queen Elizabeth being a skilled performer. Collections of virginal music of the period formed a valuable source of supply for the popular tunes and other pieces of music alluded to by Shakespeare and others, although it is doubtful whether the virginal was used in either public or the "private" theatres of the Elizabethan period, since it could scarcely have been effective there. The expression "a pair of virginals" probably came from the fact that in the seventeenth century a second, smaller, virginal was added to the larger one and placed on top of the case, this second instrument being tuned an octave higher than the other and used together with it. Later, the added octave strings were placed in the case under the ordinary strings.

On the walls of the Easingfield Manor-house there is an inscription, dating from the reign of Henry VII, which is thought to be the first reference to the virginal:

*A slac strynge in a Virginall soundithe not sraitshe,
It doth abide no wrestinge it is so loose and light;
The sound-borde orasede, forsith the instrumente,
Throw misgoverance, to make notes which was not his intent.*

Because of Elizabeth's fondness for the instrument, it has been said that the virginal received its name from her. But this has not been satisfactorily proved, for the instrument was known by the name of virginal even before the time of the "Virgin Queen". Henry VIII is known to have played the virginal and to have employed professional performers.

Barber shops had lutes or virginals for customers to play upon while waiting, a fact which bears out the statement that the virginal and
lute were popular instruments of the period. Yet there is but one allu-
sion to the virginal in Shakespeare's plays, and that an indirect one. It
comes in The Winter's Tale when Leontes says that Hermione is 'still vir-
ginalling upon his palm' (Act I, scene ii, l. 125 f).

The LUTE was nearly as popular as the virginal but was superior
to it in musical effect. The instrument came originally from the Orient
and was introduced into Western Europe during the Crusades. The lute
used in England would date from the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. These
lutes were called by various names: "al'ud" (Arabic), "laud" (Spanish),
"lute" (Middle English), etc. Shakespeare has many allusions to this in-
strument. In fact, Pulver, in his dictionary, says that if references to
the lute were to be taken as an indication of the popularity of the instru-
ment in England, "the very air...must have trembled with the music of that
instrument. It was heard everywhere..." So popular did the instrument be-
come in Elizabeth's time that a bag of strings for the lute was a common
and very acceptable gift. Various instruction books appeared, such as The
Science of Luting (1565), and an edition of Adrien le Roy's Brief and Easy
instruction to...conduct and dispose the hand unto the Lute (1568), tran-
slated into English by J. Alford. In addition, the books of "Ayres" of the
period were so arranged that they could be played on the lute.

Jonson's Masque of Hymen gives a stage direction calling for the
"full music of twelve lutes", and Marston's Sophonisba (Act V) calls for the
same instrument: "A base Lute and a Treble Violl play for the act".

The ORGAN, a very important keyboard wind instrument which had a
great deal of influence upon the progress of musical art, dates back to very
early times. The earliest references to organs in England relate to an in-
strument at the end of the seventh century. The Venerable Bede also left an account of contemporary organs (beginning of the eighth century), and from his writings we gather that the tone was full and pleasing. There appears to be no indication of a keyboard until the end of the eleventh century, and it was not until the fifteenth century that the instrument became fully chromatic and had reed pipes added.

The organ was definitely used in the theatre; it is mentioned in Marstèn's Sophonisba, combined with other instruments. At this period the organ generally signifies an instrument with flute-like pipes. There was also the REGAL, a small instrument with beating reeds, akin to a diminutive harmonium but much harsher in tone, judging from surviving specimens. To the layman, "organ" means a church instrument. But in Shakespeare's day the organ was not used only in church. Smaller chamber-organs, easily moved about, were often found in private houses. The regal was often associated with melancholy situations and was so used by Monteverde in his opera Orfeo (published in Venice, 1609). The "infernal music" of Sophonisba was probably played upon the regal. The organ, with its brighter tone, was often used for dance-music—a fact which strengthens the assertion that the instrument was not only used in church.

A quartet of recorders sounded like a small chamber-organ. But since the same effect could be obtained from one instrument (the organ) and with only one player, it seemed to be the duty of an organ to save labor, inasmuch as the player of this instrument could do the work of four or even more performers. The organ set up at King's College, Cambridge, in 1606, by Thomas Dallam, was the first complete two-manual organ in England.

The BAGPIPE has several allusions. It was a very ancient instru-
ment, used as early as classical Greek and Roman times. Chaucer, in the Prologue to The Canterbury Tales (1365) says of the Miller that

A bagpipe wel koude he blowe and sowe,
And therewithal he broughte us out of townes.

The Canterbury pilgrims, then, made their journey to the accompaniment of the bagpipe. Greek music, extolled by old writers, may have had the bagpipe drone occasionally.

No account of early instruments would be complete without mention being made of the CITTERN, a flat-backed, pear-shaped instrument which was very popular in England during Shakespeare’s lifetime and later. The date and place of origin of the cittern are hard to decide. The ordinary cittern had four strings and a fretted fingerboard and was generally played with a plectrum or quill of whalebone, though the instrument was also played with the fingers, at such times producing a softer, less metallic tone than when a plectrum was used.

The cittern, like the lute and virginal, was common property in the barber shop; each customer tried his skill while waiting for his turn in the barber’s chair. The barber, generally, was a “musician of sorts” and was proud of his ability, even though professional musicians looked down upon him with scorn. Evidently the thought of barbers suggested citterns, and we have the following from Ben Jonson’s Staple of News (Act I, scene ii):

...He is my barber, Tom.

He got into a masque at Court, by his wit,
And the good means of his cittern holding up thus
For one of the music...

The idea, too, that the barber’s cittern was common property explains other passages which might be mystifying. One old play has a character remark that his wife was “a barber’s citterne, for every serving man to
play upon". And in *The Silent Woman* (Act III, scene v) of Ben Jonson we find: "I have married this cittern that's common to all men". It is quite evident that calling a lady a cittern, in the seventeenth century, was not giving her a compliment.

Since there are so many allusions to the cittern, it follows that it must have been a very popular instrument. But Grove, in his *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, says: "...the Gittern and Cithren never appear to have had much popularity in England." Very early references to the cittern are rare, but there is one in a manuscript in the British Museum, dating from the reign of Henry VIII, which contains nine pieces for the cittern in tablature. An early official allusion to the instrument was made in 1556, when among the New Year's gifts received by Queen Mary was "a faire Cyterne". In the section headed "Trifles" (1577), in Mandell's *Flowers of Epigrams*, there is still another reference to this instrument:

On Saturday I will you send
some lessons for your Lute;
And for your Cittern eke a few
take leaves till time of fruits.

The cittern, then, like the lute and virginal, was popular everywhere, from the barber shop to the royal palace, and it would seem that the instrument was always a source of great pleasure.

The ORCHESTRA, as we know it, was lacking in Elizabethan times. The qualities of tone represented by our string, woodwind, brass, and percussion sections were absent entirely from Elizabethan music. The Elizabethans, however, did have a strong sense of what we term instrumental color and its possibilities for use in dramatic effect; but the method used was that of grouping the instruments into families, not using them all together, although small, mixed combinations of three or four instruments,
with or without voices, were often used. Hence the term "broken consorts" or "broken music". "Broken music" was, of course, to be expected in domestic performances, because parts had to be played by whatever instruments were available at the time. It is much the same now, in the small hotel ensemble, when certain operatic selections are requested by the patrons. The violin must play solos written for flute, horn, clarinet, or any number of other instruments, while the 'cello and piano take all other parts, generally "filling in" as well as possible.

The orchestra, as such, scarcely existed until the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. With the invention of opera in Italy (1594-1600) new combinations of instruments began to be used, but their influence was not felt in England during Shakespeare's lifetime. England, as noted previously, had known combinations of musical instruments for a long time. Chaucer wrote of the "Cornemuse and Shalmyes and many other maner pipe" (House of Fame, line 1218 f), and of the "floytynges" (Prologue to The Canterbury Tales, l. 91) and "harpyg" (l. 266) of the Canterbury pilgrims--these instruments must have been known, then, as early as the fourteenth century, at least. He also mentions concerted playing: "bothe yn Dowced and yn Rede". The exact meaning of "dowced" is not known, although Grassineau (1740) said it was commonly called a dulcimer. The DULCIMER was an ancient stringed instrument, one of the forerunners of our modern piano, and was almost identical, in its early forms, with the PSALTERY, except that the strings (generally of metal) of the dulcimer were struck by hammers, while the psaltery was played with the fingers or with a plectrum.

Old musical dictionaries throw no light upon the subject, however.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the instruments in ex-
istence before and during the time of Shakespeare, but it is representative of the most popular and important instruments of the period in which we are interested. It indicates that Shakespeare, along with his predecessors and contemporaries, had ample opportunity for choice of a wide and varied array of musical accompaniment to the lyric passages of his plays and other works. The fact that the literature of our period abounds with references not only to music itself but also to the instruments which make the music does much to strengthen the assertion that England's musical career from, roughly, Henry VIII's reign through that of Elizabeth, was one which was second to none and which, in many ways, has not been equalled since that time.

2 ibid
3 from Sidney Lanier: Shakespeare and His Forerunners, p.19
B PLACE OF MUSIC IN THE LIFE OF THE PERIOD

I at Court

It has already been stated that the Tudor advent gave spirit and impetus to the musical life of the English people. Since Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth were all musicians and lovers of music, composers were held in high regard at court, although the average performer was less favored. 1 The musical list of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, according to Elson, 2 balances the literary one, when the name of Shakespeare is omitted. It was the era of England's greatest contrapuntal activity; the madrigal was in its highest stage of development, and religious composition was at its best. Such a state of affairs would have been impossible without the strong interest and support of the Crown. In fact, the Crown was the chief support of musicians, particularly after the Reformation. All of Henry VIII's children played the lute and there was a general encouraging of music in the life of the court circle. Pageants, processions, and tableaux were encouraged during the Elizabethan period, and music, dancing, and spectacle were combined with dialogue in numerous court exhibitions given by the child actors.

Music left the masses for the classes, we are told. Each nobleman had a certain number of musicians in his house, whose duty it was to perform and to teach what was considered essential, in the way of music, in a gentleman's education. Most of the distinguished musicians of the day

1 Henry VIII was a composer of church music, but likewise enjoyed himself singing in the 5-part canons composed by his nobleman friends
2 Shakespeare in Music: Boston, L.C.Page Co., 1900. Page 56 f
(except the members of the Royal Chapel and the organists of the great cathedrals) were in the service of great noblemen or country gentlemen. John Farmer dedicated his madrigals to his master, the Earl of Oxford; George Kirby was in the service of Sir Robert Jermyn; Thomas Graves was lutenist to Sir Henry Pierrepont; Henry Lichfield was in the service of Lady Cheyney; Henry Youll was the teacher of three sons of Edward Bacon, the third son of the Lord Keeper; John Bartlett dedicated his Books of Ayres to "his singular good Lord and Maister Sir Edward Seymour"; John Ward was a highly trusted servant to Sir Henry Fanshawe; and Robert Johnson, the original composer of the songs in The Tempest, was apprenticed to Sir George Carey before becoming lutenist to James I. Printed collections of madrigals and songs exist of all these men except Johnson.

Polyphony, contrary to a more or less general opinion, was not confined to the Church, but appeared in courts on the Continent and in England. Elizabeth, like her predecessors, had her regularly employed court musicians and was herself a player on the virginal and lute. Most of the compositions for these instruments followed the style of polyphony, for—it must be remembered—England was enjoying her greatest achievements in this style and homophony had not yet made its appearance. Many are the volumes of "ayres" which are dedicated to Elizabeth.¹

It is not illogical to believe that one way to account for the great number of musical references occurring in the works of the period we

¹ Bateson (c.1575--?) wrote a Set of Madrigals à la Praise of Queen Elizabeth (1601), and Byrd, Morley, Tallis, and others also wrote for her.
are considering is to declare that they are the reflection of the high esteem in which music was held by the Crown. This does not mean or necessarily imply that there was a servile courting of favor on the part of the writers of the time, but may be taken, rather, as an indication of the transmission of that interest and esteem from the higher to the lower circles of society. Nor are we overlooking the fact that the professional musician (the performer, as opposed to the composer) was not regarded with a very high degree of respect.

II in the service of the Church

Originally, England was in the front rank of musical progress, but was, at Elizabeth's accession, below Italy and the Netherlands. The Council of Trent had curred the extravagances of theorists who had reduced church music to a "most unedifying condition". Great names of this period are Orlando di Lasso and Palestrina, both on the Continent, and their work has never been surpassed as music to accompany the religious ritual.

No doubt an attempt was made to retain some kind of dignified church music in England, for in 1564 Archbishop Parker wrote to Burghley that the French ambassador seemed to be glad that the English did not exclude music from their "quires", and felt that the music did not detract from the spirit of worship and prayer. Also, the year before, in Sandwich, he found the service of the English to be sung musically and with quiet devotion, the singing men being made up of the mayor, the jurats, and the head men of the town.

1 W. Barclay Squire, in Shakespeare's England, opp. cit., p. 17
In 1559 Queen Elizabeth’s Injunction recognized the fact that in some collegiate and parish churches there had been “livings” for some men and children to sing in church. The Queen did not wish to harm music; she ordered that “no alteration be made in the payments of singers, but that it be permitted at the beginning or end of common prayer, morning or evening, to sing a hymn or some such like song, in the best melody or music, as long as the words be distinguishable”.  

Music of an ornate character was very rare in the English church. Cathedrals probably retained anthems, but even here there were often restrictions as to any kind of ornate music. In Sandwich, as noted, and in other parishes, it was necessary to rely upon the musical services of “mayor and jurats and head men of the town”. No elaborate ecclesiastical music would—or could—result from such a state of affairs.

At the time of the Reformation the Roman ritual had been abandoned and with its abolition the important branch of church music became of no practical use. The church music of the period was inferior to the secular music, though nearly all the English composers prominent at the end of Elizabeth’s reign and in the early seventeenth century wrote a certain number of anthems and Anglican services, some of them very fine. But not until Orlando Gibbons was there anything nearly as good as the series of madrigals which made the period so important in the history of English music. Many of the chief musicians of the day clung to the older religion and wrote for the Roman ritual, even after it had been officially proscribed.

1 Foster Watson in English Grammar Schools to 1600, p. 206
2 see preceding page
The English Reformation, at first showing much Lutheran tendency during Elizabeth's reign, drew nearer the Calvinistic school. With this change came the taste for psalm-singing, often alluded to by Shakespeare and other dramatists of the day. This custom was introduced by the Huguenots from the Netherlands or largely spread by Flemish weavers who fled from the persecutions of Alvan. Falstaff's speech in *I Henry IV*, in which he says: "I would I were a weaver; I could sing psalms or anything", alludes to a definite fact in the history of English psalmody. Psalm-singing was evidently very popular from 1500 to 1600, some ninety editions of metrical psalms with music appearing then. Elizabethan bishops were expected to be able to sing well; it could scarcely be otherwise with such a fever of interest in psalm-singing.

The motet was a term applied at different times to compositions of varying character. Eventually, it was used exclusively to mean a work for sacred use, generally set to Latin text (from the Psalms or other parts of the Scriptures, and sometimes paraphrases on these) and treated in a capella style. The solo motet was known, but the form in part-writing was more common. In this use the motet dates from the second half of the fifteenth century and was used to expand the Mass service, later being replaced by the anthem in its "full" form.

Dunstable, Tye, Tallis, Farrant, Byrd, Morley, Gibbons, and others all wrote for the service of the Church and their compositions are representative of the best in the works of the writers of sacred music during

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1 *II,iv,146 f*
3 i.e. without accompaniment
4 see Glossary
the pre-Shakespearean and Shakespearean periods.

Whether the formal canons of the Church or the simpler psalms of the less rigid ritual, England had her own school of sacred music, differing in many ways from the schools of the Continent, though often acknowledging indebtedness to them.

III among the People

During the fifteenth century, as has been shown, there was much ecclesiastical music produced in England, and though there was some secular music available it was very scanty in comparison. One reason for this lay in the fact that church music was written down and preserved for regular use, whereas secular music—composed for the entertainment of people with few books and little need or knowledge of reading and writing—was largely a matter of "rote-learning"("by ear"). There was no necessity for preserving secular music in writing, since new songs and dances were always available.

But secular music made astonishing progress, nevertheless. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign England was behind the Netherlands and Italy; but by the end of the sixteenth century she had produced a school of composers the equals—and in some ways the superiors—of any on the Continent. This is not surprising when one realizes that there was a great deal of musical talent and ability in England which wanted only a favorable opportunity to become prominent.

There is much evidence that the English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a musical people. During the trying times of the Wars of the Roses and the Reformation music, though in a rude stage of de-
velopment, continued to be cultivated by the people, even though it had no opportunity of developing into a highly organized art. National music at this period was probably made up of simple instrumental works, played by artists of not too great skill, and of ballad-tunes and songs. These are the foundations of the English music of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Shakespeare and others note many ballad-tunes in a way which shows that they must have been familiar to the audiences of the day. Many such tunes have survived as the themes of these elaborate sets of variations to be found in such manuscript collections of virginal music as the Fitz William Virginal Book (preserved at Cambridge) and Cosyn's Virginal Book (in the collection of H. M. the King), or Lady Nevell's Book (in the library of the Marquis of Abergavenny).

The taste for music among the people was evidently widespread—else how account for the existence of so many itinerant musicians? True, though such evidence as we have is indirect, the lower classes seem to have been as enthusiastic about music as the higher classes were. Singing in parts, especially "catches", was a common amusement among blacksmiths, colliers, tinkers, cobblers, clothiers, watchmen, country parsons, and soldiers. 1 Among the composers we have mentioned John Dowland as belonging to the class of "wanderers", but there were many others, and it was they, together with the more humble class of workers, who kept alive the musical folk-lore in the days before secular music was written down.

Apart from the court musicians and those employed by other official bodies, there were many performers of a lower class who picked up a

1 E.W. Naylor: *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 15
living as best they could. They wandered through the streets seeking occasional engagements for weddings and other festivities, playing for entertainments in taverns and in houses of ill fame—anywhere and everywhere that they could find work. Is this the class (and it seems to be) that the County Paris brings to his intended wedding with Juliet?

The Armada year (1588) is generally fixed as the birth-date of the great school of English madrigalists. Still, in 1587, Gossen complains that "London is so full of unprofitable pipers and fiddlers, that a man can no sooner enter a tavern, than two or three cast of them hang at his heels, to give him a dance before he depart". Gossen evidently had in mind the class of vagabond musicians, referred to in the preceding paragraph, rather than the madrigalists. Following the Armada there was more luxury and a more settled political atmosphere; the national spirit was becoming more and more evident and the English were becoming conscious of themselves as a nation. Native musical talent therefore found greater opportunity for development and there was a quick absorption of the experience gained by the Netherlanders and Italians. Heads of important families acted as patrons to famous musicians, with the result that an English school appeared which we find was "combining the freshness and vigor of the national melody with the technical ability of a highly developed science".  

From 1588 to about 1630 there was much vocal music printed. Activity, musically speaking, was great. Morley's well known passage in the beginning of Plaine and easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (first issued in 1597) tells about Philomathes at a "banket" given by Master Sophoculus. A discussion about music arose, in which Philomathes was invited

1 Schoole of Abuse
2 Shakespeare's England, opp. cit., II, p.21
to take part. When he refused, protesting ignorance, "the whole compagnie
condemned mee of discurties... But supper being ended, and musicke booke,
according to the custome being brought to the table, the mistresse of the
house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing. But
when, after manie excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not, everie
one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demaunding how I was
brought up". From this quotation it would seem that it was the duty of
every gentleman to know how to sing. In fact, Henry Peacham, ¹ in his Compleat Gentleman, says that the perfect gentleman should be able to sing his
part "sure, at the first sight, withal" and to play the same upon his viol.
The "compleat gentleman" need not however, prove a master of music or ne-
glect his more "weightie employments".

Thomas Wilson, in his Art of Rhetoric (1553) says of any noble
person: "I may commend him for his learning... for playing at weapons,...
for vaulting, and for playing upon instruments". ² And Castiglione tells
us in his Book of the Courtier (translated in 1561 by Sir Thomas Hoby) that
music is an indispensable accomplishment for a gentleman. In medieval
days it was considered disgraceful and effeminate for any except those
trained for the priesthood to know music. But in Castiglione's book a
gentleman taking this view was sharply reprimanded.

The favorite type of vocal music in the sixteenth century was the
madrigal, a word often loosely used to describe all sorts of vocal part-mu-
sic. Strictly, the madrigal is an Italian form cultivated throughout the
century (sixteenth) but mainly during the first half. The leaders from
1450 to 1550 were the Netherlanders, and Italy was overrun with Netherlands

¹ see footnote # 1, p. 14
² Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subiects in England, Foster Watson,
p. xxv
musicians employed in Italian courts. The Italian madrigal, then, is a joint product of the Netherlands music and Italian poetry. England had a close connection with the Netherlands: the latter had learned musical style from England in the fifteenth century, a style seemingly arising from the contact between England and Italy in the fourteenth century. The Italian madrigal was cultivated at small courts and professional singers and instrumentalists were engaged. In England, however, the madrigal was performed more in amateur circles, especially in the homes of heads of great families.

The etymology of the word madrigal is hard to determine. It is from the Italian "mandre", a sheepfold, because set to words of a pastoral nature, so some people think; but this is not a tenable explanation of the word. Lanier \(^1\) thinks it is from the Spanish "madre", from the idea of the madrigal's first being a "mother-song" or nursery-song. Whatever derivation may be the true one, the fact remains that the madrigal was the most popular form of serious secular music in Shakespeare's day.

The structure of the madrigal is peculiar: it is not an exact canon but is a partial canon of a different sort: the second voice sings the same melody for the first two bars, in a different key, then goes to a new phrase of its own, making a kind of echo of the first voice. The third voice behaves similarly, so that the phrases cunningly reappear throughout the madrigal, like bird-voices in a wood. \(^2\) The fragment reproduced illustrates what has just been written concerning this interesting style of composition. This fragment

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1. Shakespeare and His Forerunners, Part II, p. 42
2. Ibid, p. 45
is by Thomas Weelkes and is dated 1597.

The old English canon *Sumer Is Icumen In*, dating from 1240, is an example of an exact canon (i.e., strict imitation in the different parts or voices).

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The English were always singers rather than instrumentalists. "Song" usually meant vocal part-music rather than songs for single voice with instrumental accompaniment. Though most of the secular music of the sixteenth century survives in the form of part-music, there is evidence that this music very often was performed in actual practice by one voice and instruments. Madrigals, catches, and ballads were the principal vo-

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1 generally conceded to be the approximate date of composition of this earliest canon. Written for six voices. For discussion and facsimile of MS see Jamieson Boyd Hurry: *Sumer Is Icumen In*; London, Novello and Co.
cal types, while the dance-tunes (and they were many) represented the instrumental side of the music of the period. Everybody, it seems, sang ballads. One of Bishop Hall's satires contains this line concerning them: they were "sung to the wheel and sung into the pail"—i.e. sung by those spinning and by those milking. Martin Marsihtus, an old piece dated 1592, has: "Every red-nosed rhymester is an author...So scarce a cat can look out of a gutter, but out starts a half-penny chronicler and presently a proper new ballet of a strange sight is indited".

The "ayres" of John Dowland, Campion, and Rossiter are short songs, sometimes for a single voice, sometimes simply harmonized for two, three, or four voices, and are nearly always accompanied by the lute. In this they are totally distinct from the intricacies of the polyphonic madrigals of Wilbye, Gibbons, and Weelkes, and have no resemblance to the Italian songs of Caccini, et al. A native product are these "ayres": the national song-tunes, refined, polished, and developed, and the forerunners of a distinctly English musical form known as the "glee" or "part-song".

It is easy and natural, in view of what has been stated, to agree with G. B. Harrison when he says: 1 "Until the overspreading of Puritanism the English were famous for their love of music and song".

IV in Education

Though England was always a music-loving nation she could not give much musical education to her people. There was but little music written down (aside from some of the compositions for sacred use) and mu-

1 England in Shakespeare's Day: headnote to "II-Music in the School Curriculum", p. 62
sical knowledge was irregular, except among professional minstrels and court musicians.

The curriculum of medieval times was made up largely of the trivium and quadrivium, music being included, of course, in the latter. The early medieval expression 1

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\text{Gram. loquitor, Dia. vera docet,} \\
\text{Rhet. verba colorat,} \\
\text{Mus. canit, Ar. numerat, Geo. ponderat,} \\
\text{Ast., colit astra}
\]

summed up what was meant by education in the Middle Ages.

Elizabethan education was largely built upon the medieval curriculum although the entrance of the vernacular into the educational system was bound to make a vast difference in the results obtained.

As early as 1295 there was a "rector scolarum" at Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1482 the school was endowed as a "Free Grammar School" by the chaplain of the Guild of the Holy Cross. In 1552 (under Edward VI) the people of Stratford bought back from the Crown their Guild, almshouses, and school. Thus, by the charter of June, 1553, the school was called "The King's New School of Stratford upon Avon". Part of this building is said to be still standing. From 1568 to 1595 the school was held in the adjoining chapel. In *Twelfth Night* 2 where Malvolio is compared to a "pedant that keeps school i' the church", Shakespeare was possibly suggesting or recalling the chapel where school was held when he was a boy. This is only a possibility, since he may have been thinking of the school in Southwark, near his theatre, or of St. Michael's School, Cornhill.

1 copied from Ph. D. dissertation; *Education in England from 1400-1700*, by R.L. Roberts, Boston University, 1911
2 III, 11, 80
Richard Fox, identified with the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was "Master of the Grammar" at Stratford-on-Avon in 1477-78. Walter Roche, elected Fellow of Corpus Christi in 1558, was master in 1571-1573, and was succeeded by Hunt and (in 1577) Jenkins, both identified with Fellows of colleges at Oxford. Shakespeare's first master must have been Walter Roche if—as is supposed—Shakespeare went to school at the age of seven (1571). He may also have had Samuel Hunt and Thomas Jenkins, all university men. George A. Plimpton, in his book, says that Shakespeare probably went to the Stratford Grammar School, presumably to 1580, and mentions the *Margarita Philosophica*, the first modern encyclopedia of note, which was based upon late Latin models. Its famous "Tower of Knowledge", representing the general scheme of education from Roman days to Shakespeare and beyond, is pictured.

The *Positions of Richard Mulcaster*, headmaster of Merchant Taylor's and St. Paul's, and the *Education of Children* (1588), by William Kemp, were important texts, both of which were used extensively in the Elizabethan period.

England's secondary education in the sixteenth century saw the tearing down as well as the building up of conditions. The destruction of the monasteries (the lesser ones in 1536, the greater abbeys in 1539), guilds, and chantries marked the peak of the mania for destroying. But the important school of St. Paul's and the City Grammar School of Bristol

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1 A boy had to be seven years old and able to read before he could be admitted into the Stratford school.
2 *The Education of Shakespeare*: London, Oxford University Press, 1933
3 page 4
had been founded before the climax of destruction had been reached, and the constructive movement continued to grow with the re-foundation of cathedrals and cathedral schools by Henry VIII, and with the founding of independent schools. It is impossible to know just how many schools were founded during Elizabeth's reign, though many attempts have been made to do so. Adams gives 137, the same number as that given in the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission (Vol. I, app. 46-57); but some authorities place the number as high as 150. Certain it is, however, that by the close of Elizabeth's reign the number of schools which had existed at the Reformation had been equalled, if not surpassed. In his History of the Elementary School Contest in England, Francis Adams claims that Queen Elizabeth founded twenty-five schools. Whether or not this is true, the fact remains that she was connected, directly or indirectly, with a large number of improvements, since petitions to the Queen often brought about results.

There were various motives which led to the founding of schools, one institution being established to "keep the youth from spending their time idly and to teach their duty". But the general motive was for Christian instruction and the "Latin tongue". The teaching staff of the average Elizabethan grammar school was not large, often consisting of but one person (a master, "pedagogue" or "ludimagister"). In several cases there were two: a master or "Hyghe Maister" and the usher or submaster, but rarely were there three or more on the teaching staff. The usher was required to be a virtuous, learned person, capable of taking the master's
place whenever necessary; the master, in some cases, had to be a married man; in others, a priest or unmarried man. High moral and religious qualities were stressed and scholastic requirements were often very rigid, many schools requiring a B. A.—sometimes even an M. A.—degree. Henry Savile would have his teacher of geometry also teach all kinds of arithmetic, land-surveying, canonic (or music), and mechanics. 1 There were few vacation days granted instructors, though provision was made for absences due to illness, and a system resembling pensioning was adopted in some places. The number of pupils in each school varied greatly; one school (at Penryn) was endowed for three boys, while another (at Shrewsbury) had three hundred and sixty boys (1581). 2

With this general background concerning the state of education in the period under consideration, we can better understand the attitude taken toward the inclusion of music in the school curriculum. 3 In Richard Mulseaster's Positions (1561) the author says that the student should try to acquire the ability "...of Reading, Writing, Drawing, Musicke by voice and instrument; and that they be the principall principles, to train up the mind in". "Mulseaster", says Foster Watson in English Grammar Schools to 1660, "lays down a method for the teacher to teach the necessary subjects of the curriculum, which must include music and drawing". Mulseaster thought that girls, as well as boys, should be taught. "Teach a woman as much as shall be needful", was his idea. "The learning to sing and to plaine by the books, a matter soone had, when Musick is first minded, which still preserve the cunning, though discontinuance disturb". And seeing

1 Foster Watson; Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in Eng. p 341 f
2 English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, App. Q, p. 189
that it is but little that they learne, and the times as little wherein they learne, bycause they haste still on toward husbandes, it was expedient, that they learned perfitly, and that with the losse of their pennie, they lose not their pennieworth also, besides the loss of their time, which is the greatest loss of all. By supporting the teaching of music to women, it follows that Mulcaster felt that music was "needful" to them. But this training in music should be started early: "Musick will prove a double principle both for the soule by the name of learning, and for the body, by way of exercise...it is best learned in childhood, when it can do no harm, and may best be had". Again: "As Musick is compoude of nature, malodie, and harmonie, it hath nothing to do with gymnastick and exercise, but serveth desire; or in some respects concerneth the mannering and training up of youth in the matter of knowledge". These quotations are all taken from Mulcaster's Positions. It must be admitted that, to us, they do not seem very enthusiastic championing of the cause of music; but it was championship of a sort that Mulcaster gave and the world should thank him for it. Had another author than Mulcaster written the textbook music might have had but scant attention paid to it.

Wilson's Rule of Reason, which appeared in 1552 and 1567, gives a definition in verse of the seven Liberal Arts:

"...Musike with tunes, delightes the eare;
And makes vs thynke it heaven".

This may have been taken literally by the educators of the sixteenth century and have influenced them in the introducing of psalm-singing into the school curriculum. At any rate, the singing of psalms at devotional exercises formed a part of the duty of the boys. Sternhold and Hopkins's Whole Book of Psalms had a very large circulation and was apparently the
most widely used text for musical instruction, since (by 1600) the book had seen seventy-four editions. This psalm-singing in the schools of the period shows how prevalent the practice was during the century.

In the course of education as outlined by Elyot in The Boke Named the Gouernour we find that music must be learned since, in moderation, it is necessary "for the better attaynyng the knowledge of a publike weale". The author states that no wise tutor will allow his pupil to "fatigate with continuall studie or lernyng" which has a tendency to dull the "delicate and tender witte". Variety should be introduced into the curriculum; "some pleasant lernyng and exercise, as playinge on instruments of musike" is not, if moderately indulged in, to be frowned upon. Elyot recalls to us the fact that the "noble kyng and prophete David", chosen of God, played upon the harp, and that Grecian princes often bolstered up their courage by playing upon musical instruments. Achilles would have slain Agamemnon, had not Pallas stayed his hand. Furious, Achilles would have returned home; but he took his harp and played thereon the ancient songs of his native Greece, whereby his wrath was assuaged and he became once more a rational being.

But, continues Elyot, noblemen should not spend their whole time in music. Nero is taken as the classic example of a man who played his harp and sang "without cessayng", severely punishing any who showed signs of weariness while the emperor played. Better were it that no music were taught than that a man should indulge in it to the exclusion of all else. King Philip, chiding his son Alexander for the open profession of music, intimated that a man should use his musical knowledge secretly, for his own enjoyment, or else should use it to pass judgment upon other musicians if
need should arise. Elyot seemingly agrees. "For, as Aristotle saith, music in the olde time was nombred amongst sciences, for as moche as nature seketh not only howe to be in business well occupied, but also howe in quietnes to be commendably disposed".

It is the tutor's duty to see that the musically gifted child be impressed with the fact that music is for recreation only, and that people do not have a regard for a nobly born man who conducts himself as a "common servant or minstrell" by "plaings or singing in a commune audience". And yet, the tutor shall encourage and commend the perfect understanding of music, adapting this science to a "necessary and laudable purpose".

Castiglione says, in the Second Book of the Courtier, that courtiers must not, as many men do, show how much they know—or do not know—about music, and this without any entreaty on the part of the assembled company. Rather, a courtier should show his music as "a thing to passe the time withal", and should do his playing in secret. This is, in effect, the same attitude as that taken by Elyot. Nevertheless, Castiglione's courtier must study and do well whatever he undertakes in the way of music.

Of instrumental and vocal music it would seem that the former is the better, for "me thinks then, answered Sir Fredericks, prickersong is a faire musicke, so it be done upon the books surely and after a good sort. But to sing to the lute is much better, because all the sweetnes consisteth in one alone, and a man is much more heedfull and understandeth better the feat manner, and the aire or veye of it, when the eares are not busied in

1 The Boke Named the Gouernour, p. 27, Everyman edition
2 translated (1561) by Sir Thomas Hoby
3 music sung from notes
hearing any more than one voice; and beside every little error is sooner perceived, which happeneth not in singing with company, for one heareth out another: 1 All fretted instruments are full of harmony, we learn. Lutes and viols (a "sette of Violes") give exquisite music, but the human voice—"brest", according to Castiglione’s translator—gives grace and beauty to all the instruments, and the courtier should strive for "cunning" upon them.

When a man is in "familiar and loving company" and has nothing else to do, he may perform upon his instruments, and it is especially fitting that he should play for women, because music is conducive to pleasant, agreeable thoughts. But it is unseemly for an old man to play and sing in a company of women, even though he can do both very well, the reason being that such songs contain words of love; and love, in old men, is to be jested at, in spite of the fact that, in other things, the men may be active and powerful beyond their years. This, however, does not prevent old men from singing and playing in secret and as a means of calming their minds when troubled.

Malcaster, as stated, stressed music, together with reading, writing, drawing, and grammar, as being necessary to an elementary education, and he divided music into vocal and instrumental. Three things are to be borne in mind: the child itself, the subject-matter, and the instrument to be learned. Attention must be given to accurate pitch of the voice and to the proper fingering of the instrument. When a boy is able to sing his part from notes (i.e. pricksong), alone or in company, and without a fre-

1 Second Book of the Courtie Everyman edition, p. 101
quent or great number of mistakes, he has the fundamentals of music. Later, his ability and cunning will increase. Certain rules of "setting and descant", to enable him to judge better, are given him. The virginal and lute are chosen as instruments because of the full quality of music they produce and because of the variety of fingerings shown on them. Enough lessons are given to enable the student to play reasonably well, "though not at first sight, whether by ear or by the book..." The author goes on to state that he will strive to bring about the desired results through conference with the best "practitioners" and most learned writers of his time, and to add whatever seems necessary for better instruction.

Roger Ascham, in his Scholasticus, says that music, with arithmetic and geometry, spoils men's manners and makes them turn to the lighter side of life; and "the contents of the first books of Texitphilus", also by Ascham, tells us that shooting is "fitter for students than any music or instrumentes". This idea is developed on page 39 and following, and Plato and Aristotle are cited as saying that music "used amonges the Lydians is verie ill for young men", and would rather entice them to "noughtines, than stirre them to honestie". Another kind of music, invented by the Dorians, is praised by both Plato and Aristotle because of its manly, rough, stout sound. "Nowe whether these balades, and roundes, these galiardses, pavanaes and daunces, so nicesly fingered,...be lyke of the musicke of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned iudge". A chance for personal opinion there; but there is no doubt in the author's mind that "lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambuks, with other instrumentes..."
be condemned of Aristotle..." 1 Here, too, is a reference to the types of songs and dances which were so prevalent at the time when Ascham wrote.

Pallas threw away the pipe she had invented because such an instrument "belonged nothing to learnyng". Quoting Galen, Ascham says: "muhe musike marreth mennes maners", though there are some who disagree with that statement, saying that music quickens a man's mind. But wits are not sharpened by "suhe sweete softenesse"; they are made blunt. Not only are Galen, Plato, and Aristotle given as authorities, but Herodotus and others are cited as giving examples of the softening effect of music. Ascham stresses the fact that "lutinge and singinge take away a manlye stomake". Page forty-one verges on the sarcastic:"...eyther Aristotle and Plato knowe not what was good and evyll for learninge and vertue..." And again: "But perhaps you knowe some great goodness of such musike and suhe instrumentes,whereunto Plato and Aristotle his brayne could neuer attayne, and therefore I will saye no more against it". And yet, "Youthe ought to learne to singe".2 The laudable custom of the English in teaching children pricksong and plainsong should not "decay". Music is as fit and natural for the bringing up of children as milk is; children hear their mothers' songs from earliest childhood, just as they drink milk from the very beginning of their lives.

Of the praising of God in song there is no need to comment, according to Ascham. Lawyers and preachers, particularly, need to be able to sing, 3 for singing is a help toward a good speaking voice. 4 Of those who came daily to the University, where one had learned to sing, six had not. 5

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1 Aristotle Politics, 6.6
2 p. 22—"the contentes of the first books"
3 p. 42
4 p. 43
5 ibid
Certainly this seems to bear out his statement that the youth of the land should learn to sing. In fact, Ascham evidently approves of the study of music if kept within bounds. And Mucklester, before quoted, says that "musick will not harm thee, if thy behaviour is good, and thy conceit honest...."

It is not necessary to cite here the many references which Shakespeare makes to education. The reference to the "whining school-boy, with his satchel...creeping like snail unwillingly to school" is taken to represent the second of the seven ages of man. The Romeo and Juliet quotation on the boy's eagerness to leave his studies is well known. Would the injection of music into the course of study of these youngsters take some of the sting out of education? Would it prevent the boys from being "fatigate with continuall studie" and keep their "delicate and tender witte" from becoming dulled? Possibly.

V in the Theatre

a pre-Shakespearean

The fact that music played an important part in court and church life, as well as in the everyday life of the people, both at home and in education, serves as a strong reason for us to expect to find music in the theatre. That we do find it we are well aware.

1 As You Like It: II, vii, 145 ff
2 II, ii, 157
The Play of Saint Catherine, the first record of a stage performance in England, was produced by the choir boys at Dunstable in the early 12th century. Priests, in the earliest dramas, were not the only actors; choir boys, suited by nature for various parts, also acted; yet comparatively few boys could be used, naturally, due to the small number of actors in the early dramas. Ecclesiastical drama was expressed through choir singers, and choir schools (St. Paul's, etc) sprang from the cathedrals' needs. Professional companies of boy actors were recruited from the choirs and choir schools. As the sixteenth century approached there were many highly organized cathedral choirs, as well as monastic, grammar, and public schools, in all of which acting became important. The boy actors were usually choristers of the ruler's private chapel and members of these choirs were obtained by impressment from all over the kingdom. An order of Richard III, between 1483 and 1485, tells of the "expert habilitie and connynge in the science of musique" of one John Welyonek, and commissions him to "take and sease" within all places in the kingdom, "as well cathedral churches, colleges, chappells", except the College Royal at Windsor, "... all such singing men and children, being expert in the said science of musique, as he can finde..."

Music was very important in the plays given by the choristers of the Chapel Royal and other church groups. These plays, growing largely from the chapel service, had been, in fact, largely musical. The boys of Windsor, St. Paul's, and the Chapel Royal were excellent choristers, and—

1 from *The School Drama in England*, by T.H. Vail Motter. N.Y., Longmans Green, 1929
2 about 1110
and the plays given by these children were equally good, since Elizabeth, like Richard III, had granted the master the privilege of "taking up" (impressing by force) boys from other choirs and schools.

Elizabeth had recognized three classes of boys at St. Peter's College, Westminster, the third of which was the choir-boy group of the Abbey. The exact date of the founding of St. Paul's School is not known, though early in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry I, there was a school connected with St. Paul's Cathedral. There were three classes of boys, evidently: choristers, almonry boys, and grammar students. By 1345 there were separate grammar and choir schools. It is hard to distinguish between the activities of the two schools, since Thomas Gyles, master of the "Quiristers" in St. Paul's Cathedral, was directed to instruct the boys in the catechism, writing, and music, and then allow them to go to St. Paul's School for grammar and other studies.

John Ritwise, author of the modern Latin play, Dido, was chorister master, later becoming High Master of Colet's school. Lily, first High Master of the school re-established by Colet, left no record of speaking or dramatic activity, although he seems to have encouraged singing. John Redford, in 1534 the Master of the Choir School of St. Paul's, was a composer of instrumental music and a writer of plays. Wyt and Science was probably intended for his boys. Heywood, assistant during Redford's mastership, was also a musician.

In 1586, perhaps earlier, one of the first of the companies of English actors which had so important an influence abroad, appeared in Denmark. These boys were taught at the school until 1849, when a separate school was established for them. Chambers thinks there was little distinction during the early period between the Westminster boys and the choristers, but authorities of the school say there has always been a distinction.
Theatre musicians produced a school from the large store of song-tunes and ballads, the taste for which was a natural inheritance, not dependent upon musical science or culture, and distinctly different from the elaborate dramatic efforts of the Italians. The "ayres" of the period provided sufficient material for the dramatic music of the day.¹

The medieval mysteries had used music a great deal, but generally in the form of Latin hymns and antiphons, as—for example—the Norwich Play of the Creation (1565) which calls for a hymn (triplets, tenor, medias, and bass) to be sung at the end. Still, some English lyrics, such as carols and folk songs, are to be found, as well as directions for instrumental music. The Morality of Wyt and Science (about 1530) tells us that "honest Recreation, Comfort, Quyknnes, and Strenght...knele about Wyt and sing". "Wellcom, my nowme " is the "thyrd song". At the end we read; "Meere cumth in foure, wyth violes, and syng, 'Remember Me', and at the last overe all make our(t)sye, and see goe forth syngyng. Thus endeth the Play of Wyt and Science, made by Master John Redford. Finis".

The old Morality of Wisdom has the following:

MIND: I rejoice of these; now let us sing!
UNDERSTANDING: And if I spare evil joy, me wing.
MIND: A tenor to you both I bring.
UN: And I a mean for any king.
WILL: And but a treble I outwring. (They sing)

The sixteenth century saw more use of songs and instrumental dances and further development of them, so that the Latin hymns and canticles naturally disappeared.

¹ instrumentalists formed a large proportion of the company of each troupe of performers in the English travelling companies. In Strasburg, in 1607, there were seven instrumentalists in a company of fifteen people.
After 1560 the dumb-show, which was always accompanied by instrumental music, was a characteristic feature of the plays produced. \(^1\) Corbtun 2 is an excellent example; each act is preceded by a dumb-show, and different instruments are specified for each one, in order to heighten the dramatic effects by appropriate instrumental color. Violins accompany the first show, where six wild men, clothed in leaves, enter; cornets sound during the second, when the king and his nobles come upon the stage; flutes play for the third, the mourning show; hautboys play for the fourth; and drums and flutes for the fifth, which is a battle scene. In each case except the last we read that the "musicke ceased". In the fifth the directions read: "the drommes and fluits did cease". Battle music, even then, was evidently considered apart from the music which accompanied other scenes. While we have no record of the actual pieces played in the dramas employing dumb-shows, we can note the fact that the incidental music was elaborate. These plays were acted before audiences of culture and at times when there was money to pay for elaborateness of musical accompaniment.

A word, at least, must be said concerning the folk plays. The musical instrument accompanying these plays was generally a fiddle or a rustic substitute called a hurdy-gurdy or "humpen-scrump". \(^3\) There might be a drum or even a tin whistle, mouth-organ, or rattle. "Greensleeves" was a tune often used and was probably traditional in several of the southern districts. The songs for these plays were anything from carols and other folk songs to patriotic or music-hall ditties (or what corresponded

1 it is thought that the idea of the dumb-show may have come from the Italian opera  
2 acted by the young gentlemen of the Inner Temple in 1561-2 (Adams: Pre-Shakespearean Drama) 
3 from The English Folk Play, B.K. Chambers, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933
to that type of song.

The Shetland Sword Dance makes mention of a "Porte", a lively tune to be played by the "minstrel man". The date of the original manuscript of this play is not known; the version studied is copied from an old manuscript. 1 The Oxfordshire St. George Play bids the "morres-men come forward and dance to a tune from fife and drum". Later, the directions read: "drum and fife sound"; again, we have the stock character, Father Christmas, singing: "Hold, men, hold". 2 The Revesby Sword Play has for one of its characters the "Fidler, or Mr. Musick Man". When the Fool says, "I love to have money in both pockets", we are hearing of an old song, long popular, and referred to in the sixteenth century. Pickle Herring says, "Love, I have a beard as white as milk". This is possibly an echo of an old Elizabethan song: "His head as white as milk". Again, the sons of the Fool sing: "Good people all". 3

By quoting specific references to music in the plays of the pre-Shakespearean period we may show clearly to what a great extent and how often music appeared in the drama of the time. In Heywood's The Fourr PP there is a direction: "Here they synge". But no song is given. 4 The Damon and Pythias play (1565) has Grimm, the collier, sing a "bussing (i.e. buzzing) base" and two of his friends, Jack and Will, "quiddle upon it"—that is, they sing the tune and the words while he buzzes the burden. Peele's Old Wives Tale (1595) tells us that "this smith leads a life as

1 Adams: Pre-Shakespearean Drama, p. 350
2 " " " " " " " p. 353
3 " " " " " " p. 357
4 " " " " " " p. 371
merry as a king; Sirrah Frolic, I am sure you are not without some round or other; no doubt but Clunch (the smith) can bear his part". Such references lead us to the conclusion that the lower classes indeed knew something about music and were interested in it.

Nicholas Udall, while headmaster at Eton (1534-1541) wrote the first English comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*, in which there are many references to music. Mathewa Merygreeke, in the first scene of the first act, "entreteth singing", and in the second tells Ralph that

"... if you please, I wylle home
And call your musitians; for in this your case
It would sette you forth, and all your wowyng grace;
Ye may not lack your instrumentes to play and sing".

And Ralph loves "singyng out of measure". Tibet Talk-a-pace, maid to Cus­tance, sings of the "olde browne bread crusts..." while Annot Alyface, another maid, suggests that she, Tibet, and Margerie sing a song. They "see singe here: 'Pipe, mery Annot, etc'". 1 Merygreeke tells the musicians to "Up wyth some mery noysse, sirs, to bring home the bride", and asks the musicians 2 if it were "meete" that Ralph should

"tarie so long in one place
Without harmonie of musike?"

Ralph's spirits, according to Merygreeke, should be fed with "musike". Madge Wamblecrust tells the musicians to "pipe up a mery note" 3 and says she will "foote it for a grote". As is often the case, the scene closes with the players singing as they go out.

Dobinet Doughtie, Ralph's page, laments the turn affairs have taken. Since his master is in love, poor Dobinet is ever "trotting to and

1 I, iii, 51 ff. Prof. Manly says, "I suppose 'etc' is to be expanded as 'Pipe, Tibet; pipe, Margerie.'"
2 I, iv, 91
3 I, iv, 111 ff
Then up to our lute at midnight, twangle-dane twang;
Then twang with our sonets, and twang with our dumps,
And heavy from our heart, as heavy as lead lumps;
Then to our recorder, with toodleloodle poops;
As the howlet out of an yvie bush should hoopes.
Anon to our gitterne, thrumple dum, thrumple dum—
Thrumple dum, thrumple dum, thrumple dum, thrumple dum.
Of songs and balades also he is a maker... 1

This speech, in addition to giving a rather good idea of the instruments
and the types of music popular in the sixteenth century, seems to make an
attempt to imitate the sounds of the instruments mentioned.

Several times during the play the "musitians" are called for.
Near the end of the fourth act, in the sixth scene, the sound of a drum is
heard within; and again, in the next scene, "the drum sounds". And Mathewes,
true to the character he presents when he first appears in the play, says
(near the end of the drama): 2 "Then let me fet your quier that we may have
a song"; while Gawyn Goodluck has "hearde no melodie all this yeare long".

Ralph Roister Doister paved the way, it would seem, for what fol-
lowes, for it is a fact that music continued to be important in the offerings
of the English stage.

In Act II, scene v, of Gammer Gurton's Needle, the second English
comedy, 3 we have the following: Diccon says, "In the meantime, felowe, vpp
vpp your fiddles! I saie, take them, and let your freymdes here such mirth
as ye can make them!" The "Ale Song", too, helps the progress of that rol-
llicking piece. In fact, it was the custom to insert songs into the various

1 II, i, 20 ff
2 v, vi, 42
3 generally conceded to have been produced in the 1560's
4 Adams notes the fact that in the academic drama there is evidence that
music separated the various acts of the plays
plays of the period—another indication of the importance of music in the
life of the time. John Lyly’s Alexander and Campaspe (1580?) gives us
“Cupid and Campaspe” and “Spring’s Welcome”; his Galathea (1585) has “Cu­
pid’s Indictment”; Midas offers “Daphne”; and Mother Bombie has “O Cupid; Monarch over Kings”, to mention but a few.

Genone, in George Peele’s The Assignment of Paris (1584) says, “My
Love can pipe, my Love can sing”, and talks of the “merry, merry rounde­
lay”, while we read of the fact that “melodious birds sing madrigals”, in
Marlowe’s Passionate Shepherd (1589). The same author, in The Tragicall
History of Doctor Faustus (about 1588), has “music sound as Helen passeth
over the stage”, and he foreshadows the plays of Shakespeare with his
“sound a semmet” (scene vii). 1 Apollo, in Midas, sings to his lute and
Pan to his pipe, and “three fiddlers” who must also be actors, are brought
on to play in Mother Bombie. Thus we have references to the popular forms
of song (i.e. roundelay’s and madrigals) as well as references to instru­
ments.

The music of Gorboduc has already been noted, but space does not
permit detailed mention of specific references of many other plays of the
pre-Shakespearean period. Still, mention must be made of the fact that
Cambyses, Lyly’s Endimion, Greene’s Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and James
the Second all contain numerous references to music and musical instruments.

The plays written by Richard Edwards, who became Master of the
Children of the Chapel Royal in 1561, are of interest to us in our present
study because of the songs which are introduced into them. These songs
generally come in death scenes or in other tensely emotional moments, and

1 Hubbell and Beaty: An Introduction to Drama. Macmillan and Co., N.Y., 1935
are characterized by alliteration and much repetition of words and phrases. When set to music, however, such devices are not objectionable; our songs to-day are filled with repetition and it is a common means of securing an intensified emotional effect. Several of the songs of the plays of Edwards have been discovered and are the work of such leading church musicians of the period as Richard Farrant and William Byrd. These songs have great beauty and expressiveness, as well as great skill in composition, and are generally set with an accompaniment of four viols. G. E. P. Arlwright, who discovered the songs and showed their importance, suggested that possibly some of the numbers in Byrd's *Songs of Sadnes and Pietie* may also have been composed for chorister plays.

The choirs had elaborate musical education and ability and music was, naturally, an important factor in their plays. We wonder, when we see the songs which have come down to us from the period, why England never produced from them something akin to the opera which was beginning at this time to take shape in Italy. But when we consider that, in the 1580's, the men's companies began to act and had recruits from the choirs as well as apprentices of their own, absorbing what they could of the boys' musical ability, though doing nothing to develop it further, it is not so surprising that England's "opera" did not materialize. Alleyn, Burbage, and others could appeal to an audience as boy actors could not; yet the boy players had high standards and skill and their reputation was fairly secure since, for several years after 1583, John Lyly wrote plays for them. These plays, formally and delicately written, must have suited the boys' abilities. Though Lyly might have used Edwards's *Dem0n and Pythias* as some sort of model, he improved upon it a great deal. *Galathea* gave opportuni-
ty for "fairies dancing and playing" and Endimion has more fairies and a long dumb-show\(^1\) to be done to music.

What a background for Shakespeare! It would almost seem that, to be any kind of a success, the poet would be obliged to make extensive use of music in his work, even though he might have had no natural tendency to do so.

b contemporaneous

Other dramatists wrote for the boys plays similar to those written and produced by Lyly and others, and the boys' companies had great success. The Marprelate Controversy of 1588 and 1589, as well as other events, put a stop to the popularity of these companies, however, and their influence was no longer felt, though we later again hear of the youthful actors. We immediately think of the scene in Hamlet\(^2\) in which we are made to feel that these companies are the rivals, and serious rivals, at that, of the men's groups. It is interesting to note that James I, in a commission issued in 1606, said that the boys who were taken for the Royal Chapels should have good voices but should not be used or employed as comedians or stage-players, since it was not "fitt or desent that such as should sing the praise of God Almighty should be... employed in such... profane exercises".

The pieces acted at Elizabeth's court were officially classified as "morals, pastorals, stories, histories, tragedies, comedies, interludes, inventions, and antic plays",\(^3\) and music was important in many of them. The music of the masque was very elaborate and costly, and for this reason

1  II, iii
2  II, i, 348 ff; "These are now the fashion, and so betattle the "common stages"—so they call them—that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills, and so dare scarce come thither".
3  see Sidney Lee's Life of William Shakespeare, p. 67
was not suited to the theatre, although from a decorative standpoint the masque had some influence upon the stage. In Campion's masque "in honor of Lord May" (1607) there are directions for four groups of musicians: a consort of hautboys in the gallery; lower down, on the right of the stage, a group of six voices and six cornets; on the left, a group of twelve in which bowed instruments predominated; and last, nearer the audience, a group of ten: two violins, a harpsichord, and lutes, with a trombone as bass. The four groups were used separately for different parts of the masque. In addition, there were singers who accompanied themselves on lutes on the stage; and at the climax of the masque, when the chief dancers appeared, Campion used his entire orchestra simultaneously, together with a group of five "voices" on each side of the stage. The class of experienced theatrical musicians from which the wandering players were drawn was able to supply music meeting the dramatic requirements of the masque.

That the masque had considerable effect upon Shakespeare's plays is evident when we think of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*. These two plays, with the masque of the Carolean era, are the direct ancestors of Purcell's operas. Though the masque was lacking in dramatic interest, it offered almost unlimited musical possibilities and opportunities. Long stretches of music gave splendid chance to composers for grouping movements into extended musical compositions, and it is these extended compositions which are the chief contribution of the masque to the development of English opera. Naturally, nothing as elaborate as the masque could become popular entertainment, in view of the enormous financial bur-

1 Henry Purcell: c. 1658-9-1695
Boys' companies provided music other than the song and dance accompaniments and incidental music in the plays. The public theatres used jigs to end the entertainment, but at the Blackfriars, when the boys were acting, there was music between the acts and an hour of it before the play began. The excellence of the acting and playing is recorded in the diary of the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania. The Duke visited the Blackfriars in September, 1602, and his journal entry speaks of the splendid performance he heard upon "Orgeln, Leuten, Pandoren, Madoren, Geigen, und Pfeiffen", as well as the delightful singing of a boy "cum voce tremula".

The men's companies, in their public, open-air theatres could not at first compete with the boys, either in quality or in quantity of the music performed. Nevertheless, music was a vital necessity in the plays of the period. Fanfares were blown from the turret upon the trumpet or sackbut to tell of the play's opening. In a history play the trumpeter was used throughout for flourishes, retreats, and the like, and shared honors with the drummer in "alarums" and other like "effects". The drummer was necessary for the marches and there are numerous directions for these, as well as for the alarums. The alarum may be "loud", "slow", "short"--the marches may be "afar off", a "dead" march, or some specific type as, in Hamlet, the Danish march. The audience probably recognized the significance of the "flourish" or the "retreat", generally, though it is doubtful if the "alarum far aff, as at a sea fight", in Antony and Cleopatra, created any vivid images in the minds of the spectators.

Trumpeter and drummer often appeared in character as, in King Lear.
When Edgar, \(^1\) "armed, with a trumpet before him", enters to take up Edmund's challenge. A drummer was often a part of the symbolic "army" which figures so large in Elizabethan drama. Neither trumpeter nor drummer, often, was regularly an actor, but the musicians were generally capable of a few lines if necessary, and some of the actors—apart from the clowns, who had to be expert upon pipe and tabor, at least—would have a reasonable amount of skill upon one or two instruments.

In addition, more elaborate music was often demanded: a consort of viols, or hautboys, or recorders, or a "broken consort". Performers could be hired for the occasion to play the "ayres" or tunes which occurred in the dramas and which were well known, since there is nothing to lead us to believe that special music was written for the plays. Instead, the dramatist probably wrote his own lyrics (unless they were imported by him) to whatever tunes were popular at the time. This practice was not peculiar to Shakespeare's day; it was not until the middle of the last century that copyright acts put a stop to the custom. It is definitely known that, for inter-act music in the private theatres, the people could—and would—call for whatever tunes had caught their fancy. \(^2\)

As suggested, various sorts of musicians could be hired: possibly "Sneak's noise", referred to in Hamlet and II Henry IV, \(^3\) and again in Heywood's The Iron Age (about fifteen years after Hamlet). These references seem to suggest that the "noise" of Sneak might have been employed in the theatre; certainly they suggest more than a passing reputation. Thurio,

1 V. iii, 118
2 A Companion to Shakespeare Studies, opp. cit., p. 151
3 see Glossary under "Noise" (Appendix I)
however, in Two Gentlemen of Verona, Gentlemen wants a different kind of music for a serenade to Silvia when he says:

...let us into the city presently
To sort some gentlemen well skill'd in music. 1

Nor does Cloten want Sneak for the aubade in Cymbeline. 2

In addition to the seemingly popular Sneak, there were the men attached to the households of the companies' own patrons, the Lord Admiral or Lord Chamberlain, or some other great lord. These musicians were free to take "outside engagements"—there was no "union" to prevent their accepting anything in the line of work which happened to come their way. Prices paid to these players varied greatly: the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe paid the "waits" of Lincoln three shillings four-pence in reward for playing (in 1561-62). The Queen's Trumpeters, however, had twenty shillings, and so did the Queen's "violens at New Yewestyde". "My Lord of Rutland's man who plaid uppon the lute" received, by his own account, six shillings. While the pay was based upon such a sliding scale it is a question as to just what happened in the theatres. Coriolanus and Henry VIII, both late plays, call for woodwinds, brass, drums, and almost certainly for strings as well; Henry VIII specifically requires hautboys, drums, and trumpets, cornets, lute, as well as a solo song and "quirristers singing". 4

By 1624 and probably earlier the orchestra was a part of a theatre's establishment. There is a reference (1624) to twenty-one "musicians and

1 III, ii, 91,92
2 II, iii, 21 ff
3 III, i, 3 ff
4 IV, i (order of coronation)
other necessary attendants" upon the King's Men, the company with which Shakespeare had been connected. But it stands to reason that the public theatres could not provide as good music as the choristers' theatres could. A consort of viols, for instance, suited to performance in private houses, would be fairly effective in an indoor theatre, but its delicate tone might easily be lost in the open-air theatre.

The public theatres, and the private ones as well, no doubt, had their musicians in a curtained box called the "music-room". This was a part of the gallery at the back which, in later theatres, probably turned to enclose part of the side of the stage. But often the musicians had to play on the stage itself— or, as in Antony and Cleopatra, under the stage.

It was not until fairly late in the seventeenth century that the orchestra took its place in front of the stage in the position in which it appears in the modern theatre.

As is to be expected, the works of Shakespeare's contemporaries, following the lead of the writers who had gone before, contain many references to music and musical instruments. Ben Jonson mentions a lute-string and has a page sing (Act I) and "musicians strike up all together" (Act III) in The Silent Woman. References to music in Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle (1607) and songs with instrumental accompaniment which are included in the play are too numerous to record fully here. In this play we have several original songs as well as "Swing we, and chant it", taken from Morley's First Book of Ballads (1600), "Nose, nose, jolly red nose",

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1 printed in 1613
2 in Ravenscroft's Deuteromelia (1609)
and "Ho, ho, nobody at home", a catch. 1 "Kiss me, sweeting" is from a song in John Dowland's *First Book of Songs or Airs* (1597) and "Why, an if she be, what care I?" is from a song in Robert Jones's *First Book of Songs and Airs* (1600). "Light" music is called for in this play: the musicians are called upon to play "Baloo", a popular tune of the day. But the good wife says, "No, good George, let's ha' 'Lachrymae'". 2 Again, there is grumbling by the Citizen at the "scurvy music". The man believes "he has not got me the waits of Southwark". Mistress Merry, too, talks of the "scraping" (fiddling) of the musicians.

John Fletcher's "Aspatia's Song", from *The Maid's Tragedy* (1611), belongs to this period. Philaster (also 1611), the work of Beaumont and Fletcher, has its share of references. In Act II, scene iii, Arethusa asks Bellario if he can "sing and play". But Pharamond, in scene iv, finds "no music in these boys" when Megra says that Bellario will sit by Pharamond's pillow, when Pharamond and Arethusa are married, and play and sing them to sleep. Arethusa tells us of the page's singing "crying elegies" to Philaster, and of taking up his lute and singing the princess to sleep. In Act IV, scene iii, Philaster tells Bellario and Arethusa to feel his pulse to see if they have ever known a man in a more feeble "tune" to die. Bellario answers that his pulse keeps "madman's time". Bellario, meaning because he has lost his best "airs" with his fortunes, says he wants a "celestial harp". Various types of musical composition are mentioned: Philaster and Arethusa are told by the king that Hyman shall be made to turn his coat and "sing sad requiems" (V,iii), and Dion, in the same scene, speaks

1 in Ravenscroft's *Pamphlet* (1609)
2 this was a dance-tune by Dowland, opp. cit.
of having the people "Sung in sonnets and bawled in new brave ballads", and that all tongues should "troll" them in "saecula saeculorum". A knowledge of the mechanics of musical instruments is implied in the fourth citizen's remark: "I'll have his little gut to string a kit with; for certainly a royal gut will sound like silver" (V, iv).

Even the despicable Volpone says: "Tune your voices once more to the touch of your instruments and give the honourable assembly some delightful recreation". In the same play Nano, the dwarf, says: "I come not here to discourse of... his music, his trigon..." Another reference to a musical instrument comes when Volpone says: "...did they (i.e. your teeth) dance like virginal jacks?" Still another instrument finds its way into the play when Corvino tells Celia, his wife, to get her a cittern. That there is some sensitiveness to sound is indicated by the fact that Lady Politic-Would-Be is "all for music, save, i' the forenoons, an hour or two for painting". But music is her true rapture: when there is concert (i.e. harmony) in face, voice, and clothes. Mosca speaks of making "so rare a music out of discords..." and we have the sly Volpone singing to Celia, as he attempts to attract her to himself.

Beaumont and Fletcher, in their *Coxcomb*, tell of the watch: "good sober gentlemen,...like careful members of the city...singing catches".

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1 *Volpone*, by Ben Jonson (1605-1607) II, ii
2 I, ii
3 a triangular lyre
4 II, ii
5 II, v
6 III, iv
7 V, ii
8 III, vii
Again, in *The Faithful Friends*, the collaborators say that a soldier should sing nothing other than catches: "catch that catch can is all our life you know". *Bonduca*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, the play which was altered for an operatic setting by Purcell in 1695, has a catch in three parts, sung by the Roman soldiers.

There is no doubt that music had always been considered an attraction in the theatre, and that as much of it as possible was provided. When we realize that actors, many of them, were capable of playing some instrument when required and that most professional musicians were able to play two or more different instruments, the fact is brought home to us very forcibly that music indeed played an important part in the drama of the Elizabethan and preceding periods in England and that its value is still felt in the theatre of our own day.
C REFERENCES TO MUSIC IN THE NON-DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

Although the period which we are considering was pre-eminently one of drama, so far as literary composition was concerned, there are still to be found a sizable number of references to music in the non-dramatic output of the time. Holinshed's Chronicles \(^1\) tells us "Of good Queen Elizabeth, and how she came into her Kingdom:—on Whitsunday, in the first year of her reign, the citizens of London sent many warriors before her, and "to every hundred, two wifflers\(^2\) were assigned". There were also drums and fifes in the procession. Thomas Nashe, in his Life of Jack Wilton (1594) has a choice bit of realistic description at the execution of Cutwolf. Says Nashe: "The executioner...would crack necks as fast as a cook cracks eggs; a fiddler cannot turn his pin so soon as he would turn a man off the ladder". "Fiddler", in this case, does not necessarily mean a violinist, as it might at the present time, but, as noted earlier in this discussion \(^3\), might be used to denote any bowed instrument.

Ruon of Bordeaux, translated early in the sixteenth century by Lord Berners, contains a reference to the horn of Oberon. Shakespeare may have known the story and have been influenced by it, although of this we are not certain. This is said to be the first reference, however, to the horn of Oberon. Another reference to musical instruments, though of a later date, occurs in Michael Drayton's The Battle of Agincourt (1605),

1 Ralph Holinshed; (---?--1580?)
2 see Glossary (Appendix I)
3 see under "Musical instruments in use during the period"
where he says: "...drum to drum did groan; ...trumpet to trumpet spoke..."\(^1\)

Again, when the people are thronging to the palace after Red Cross has overcome the dragon and saved Una's father and mother, \(^2\) we read:

And after to his pallace he them bringes,  
With shummes, and trumpets, and with clarions sweet;  
And all the way the ioyous people singes,  
And with their garments strowes the paved street...

Book II, canto x, lines three and four, tell of the

Argument worthy of Moenian quill;  
Or rather worthy of great Phoebus' rote...

In lines 59 and 60 of the same canto Spenser tells us that Helena, mother of Constantine, was

...most famous hight,  
For skil in musick of all in her daies,  
As well in curious instruments as cunning laies.

Still another quotation from Spenser comes from the Epithalamion, \(^3\) where we find more references to the instruments of the time:

\[ \text{Harke how the minstrels gin to shrill aloud} \]
\[ \text{Their merry musick that resounds from far,} \]
\[ \text{The pipe, the tabor, and the trembling crowd,} \]
\[ \text{That well agree withouten breach or jar,} \]
\[ \text{But most of all the damozels delite,} \]
\[ \text{When they their timbrels smite.} \]

In line 218 of the same poem we read: "And let the roring organs loudly play". This is a Miltonian sounding line, to say the least.

The Gull's Horn Book (1609) of Thomas Dekker gives valuable advice to the young dandy of the time. It was not fit that the gallant, when he went to the play, should be "basely (like a viol) cased up in a corner".

But, considering the reputed popularity of that instrument, the viol would

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2 Spenser: Faerie Queene, Book I, canto xii, l. 13 ff
3 line 129 ff
not long be in its case in the corner, but would be in use soon after its owner arrived at his destination. So, too, the gallant: he should be "in circulation", not out of sight. He should not, however, arrive until the "quaking Prologue...is ready to give the trumpets their cue that he's upon point to enter..." Since the trumpets announced the beginning of the play, the dandy should time his arrival to coincide with the trumpets' call for attention.

Still another reference to a musical instrument comes in Francis Bacon's Of Adversity (about 1605): "even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols..." The "hearse-like airs" lead us naturally to the line: "Let dirge be sung", from "Love is Dead", in Sidney's Arcadia (before 1585). Another song, called "The Nightingale", occurs in this book, as well as numerous passages, lyrical in nature, which do not contain definite musical references. Quite different is the thought in the second book of The Faerie Queene: 1

Diverse delights they found themselves to please;
Some sang in sweet consort; some laught for joy.

At the marriage of Red Cross and Una we find: 2

And all the while sweete musicke did apply
Her curious skill the warbling notes to play,
To drive away the dull melancholy;
The whiles one sung a song of love and 1olity.

The next stanza contains the allusion to the sound of "an heavenly noise":

...like as it had bene
Many an angels voice
Singing before th' Eternall Majesty
In their trinall triplicties on hys...

Rosalynde (1590), by Thomas Lodge, contains various "sonnets" of

1 canto ix, l. 35 f
2 Book I, canto xii, l. 35 ff
Rosader and Montanus. Rosalynde, "taking up her lute that lay by her, she
warbled out this ditty:

'Love in my bosom like a bee
Doth suck his sweet
Now with his wings he plays with me,
Now with his feet..."

The two shepherds watched their flocks feed and played "many pleasant tunes"
on their pipes, falling from music into "much amorous chat". In this pa-
toral, idyllic atmosphere, small wonder that "pleasant tunes" led to "much
amorous chat". Almost at once Aliena (Alinda) entreats Montanus (Rosader)
to "sing some amorous sonnet", made by him when he was "deeply passionate".
He obliges with:

Phoebe sate
Sweet she sate
Sweet sate Phoebe when I saw her...

Not long afterward, "Aliena, she, to show her willingness, drew forth a re-
corder, and began to wind it". There follows the "wooing solologue betwixt
Rosalynde and Rosader." Montanus sings another ditty—a mournful one this
time, and another sonnet follows, answered by Phoebe's "scornfully warbled"
reply to his "Passion". But Corydon, "about mid-dinner, to make them mer-
ry, came in with an old crowd" and sang a pleasant song about a "blithe and
bonny country lass". How much better than the "mournful ditties" and
"scornfully warbled replies" which have preceded his efforts!

Returning to the gay young blade who is learning from Dekker the
etiquette of the theatre, we discover that he is to "find fault with the
music", and "whistle at the songs" of the play. "Their poet cries, perhaps,
'A pox go with you,' but care not you for that,—there's no music without

1 the selections from Rosalynde are taken from A.M. and P.H. Turner; Malory
to Mrs. Behn; N.Y., Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1950
"frets". Shakespeare was not the only one who relished a pun, and "fret" gave ample opportunity for indulging this liking. In fact, this is one of the words which has been played upon almost unceasingly.

But the gallant does not always go to the play; the tavern attracts him at times. It seems that here fiddlers had as much liberty as rogues to go anywhere they pleased, and had the "passport of the house about them". From other sources we are led to believe that conditions and manners were much as Dekker pictures them in his *Hornbook*. We know that he drew heavily upon the life of his native London for material for his writing, and we can easily reconstruct the scenes he describes. That these and similar scenes were known to Shakespeare there is no reason for doubting.
D EVIDENCES OF SHAKESPEARE'S KNOWLEDGE OF MUSIC AS SHOWN BY.

I a study of his life

By attempting to show the importance of music in every phase of the life of the period preceding and during Shakespeare's lifetime, we have endeavored to lead up to a study of the poet's life and works and of the position which music holds in both. But, as always, when one writes on a subject which deals with Shakespeare, there is a tendency to read into the poems and plays a great deal of what we imagine is a reflection of the poet's life. This is rather dangerous, inasmuch as we can build up a case for ourselves on whatever grounds we wish, proving, as we go, such points as we may desire to establish upon the way. As a matter of fact, a study of his life gives us so very little that is definite that we are tempted to go directly to Shakespeare's works to find out what his knowledge of music was. Nevertheless, we shall attempt to find, if possible, definite evidences of Shakespeare's knowledge of music as it appears from a study of his life and from his use of musical terms and allusions in his works; but, even so, there is much that is conjecture, much that is uncertain, and the individual reader must, after all, be his own judge. Unless a lifetime be spent in study and research, little that has not already been said can hope to be written. And yet there is a certain fascination about the subject; perhaps there is hidden away some phrase or word which will shed light upon what has until now been unknown.

In Chapter III of Facts About Shakespeare the authors do not accept the view of enthusiastic writers who claim that Shakespeare had pro-

1 Neilson and Thorndike; N.Y., Macmillan Co., 1915
fessional knowledge in many fields, but think of him as having had an unusually keen mind and power of observation, as well as an ability to store away the fruits of that observation, to be used when the need arose. They think of him as a "reader rather than a scholar"; a reader who accumulated a large amount of diversified knowledge which was stored away for future use and whose efforts extended over a wide range of subjects. The authors say that Shakespeare deserves credit for having a large acquaintance with the arts and sciences of his time but that he cannot be called a master or an expert in our modern sense.

Contrast this viewpoint with that of another writer, ¹ who says: "There can be no doubt whatever that Shakespeare himself had a very considerable knowledge of music. His poems and plays are full of allusions to the art; not only does he speak of music plainly and directly, but he very often mentions technical musical terms in a metaphorical sense. But where writers of the nineteenth century seldom mention music without committing some ridiculous error, Shakespeare never makes a mistake, even when he alludes to theoretical details of a difficult and obscure kind."

The writer goes on to say that it is a matter of conjecture as to how Shakespeare acquired his knowledge: he probably learned the rudiments of music (including sight singing) at Stratford, and it is possible that he found someone to teach him to play the lute, since, as noted, it was considered a necessity for any educated man to know how to play passably well upon this instrument and possibly upon the virginal, if not the recorder, as well. No record exists, however, as to Shakespeare's abilities as a

performer, either instrumental or vocal.

Much has been written and much more will probably be written on the subject, pro and con, of Shakespeare's technical knowledge of music. Each side—in its own estimation—conclusively proves its point; but the fact remains that there was a decided interest in music during the poet's lifetime and that he, possessed as he was of a keen, observant mind, would undoubtedly be affected by music to a great extent.

In 1575 Queen Elizabeth was a guest at the Earl of Leicester's castle and was entertained by "fantastic pageants, masques, and fireworks" during her stay at Kenilworth Park, Leicester's residence, but fifteen miles from Stratford, might easily have attracted John Shakespeare and his young son and they may have witnessed some of the presentations given in the Queen's honor. Strolling players, too, gave productions of the dramas of the time and the boy would have had contact of one kind or another with the music which appeared in these plays. In the masques or pageants which were so popular when Shakespeare was a young man, music, dancing, and elaborate costumes and scenery overshadowed the dialogue. Surely, upon a nature as sensitive as we are led to believe that of Shakespeare was, all this display was bound to make an impression.

There is reason to believe that Shakespeare's musical education—whether little or much—was strictly along the lines of the polyphonic school. The "new" music, as exemplified in the school of homophony, did not make itself felt in England until much later than it did on the Continent. Later, during Shakespeare's London period, his association with

1 according to Lanier
the theatre would have exposed him to this music, had it been important there. But, as noted previously, there is no mention of this "new" music in the period from 1597 to 1611, as far as the works of Shakespeare are concerned. It may be taken, then, as fairly conclusive evidence that the poet's training was along the lines of the polyphonic, rather than the homophonic school of composition.

The life in London and the association with the dramatists of the time would expose the young author to the music which loomed so large in the stage productions of the time, while he, along with the other actors, would be likely to know something of the instruments of the period and would be expected to be able to play if necessary. In fact, if we are to believe Pulver's statement that the lute was heard everywhere we can scarcely help thinking that Shakespeare, like so many gentlemen of his time, was able to play upon this popular instrument. On the other hand, "It may safely be accepted from his first arrival in London...that Shakespeare's mental energy was absorbed by his poetic and dramatic ambitions. He had no time to devote to a technical or professional training in another sphere of activity." 1

His association with the men and women of Elizabeth's court would expose him to the best of the secular music of the time, and he would meet the court composers and know the sort of music which was being produced. Since music was so popular at the court of the Queen, what more natural than that it should find its way into the works of the poet? The well known allusion to "jacke" in the 128th sonnet may possibly have been occa-

1 Sidney Lee: Life of William Shakespeare, p. 44
sioned by Shakespeare's knowledge of Elizabeth's fondness for the virgin-al, with which "jacks" were, of course, connected. 1

Regardless of the arguments for or against Shakespeare's being an adherent of the Catholic Church, he must have come in contact with sacred music in some form; the elaborate church music of Tye, Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Gibbons, and other composers of the time must have been known to him.

Shakespeare was intensely interested in the concrete in life and events; he was possessed of abnormally acute senses and with emotions stirred by feeling, was a lover of the out-of-doors, a man "thoroughly strong and healthy, both in mind and body". 2 Thus reasons Dr. Spurgeon, and quotes from Aubrey's Brief Lives: "He (Shakespeare) was wont to goe to his native country once a year". 3 This love of the country might easily account for the abundant references to bird songs in his works and to the many similes of a musical nature to be found.

"Perhaps Shakespeare was an accomplished musician himself; perhaps he not only discoursed in verse, but occasionally gave utterance to... the stormy emotions of his soul in the sweet notes of music". 4 Shakespeare, according to the same writer, appears related to the German, rather than to the English, insofar as his musical inclinations are concerned, since the Germans were far in advance, musically, of the English.

Though differing in ways of expressing their beliefs and taking issue in some places, writers seem to agree in saying that the evidence

1 this conclusion is the result of reading done in connection with the subject under discussion
2 quoted by Caroline Spurgeon in Shakespeare's Imagery, footnote to p. 203 (from Goethe's Conversations with Eckermann, 1828, Bohn's ed., p. 310)
3 ibid, p. 204
4 Hermann Ulrici, Shakespeare's Dramatic Art, p. 248
points to Shakespeare's having had more than a superficial knowledge of
music. If we can take the numerous references in his works as an indi-
cation of that knowledge, we must certainly agree with that statement.

II his use of music in his works

William Hazlitt, in the introduction to his series of lectures on
the English poets said: "There is a near connection between music and deep-
rooted passion." This, in itself, might almost be explanation enough of
the reason for Shakespeare's use of music in his plays. Be the passion
love or hate, the scene a wedding or a funeral, music finds its place in
the works of the poet.

Quoting from Ulrici, in Shakespeare's Dramatic Art, we have: "How
intensely Shakespeare loved music, how highly he appreciated it, how deep-
ly his inmost soul was imbued with it, is proved by so many and unequivocal
passages in his works, that there can be no question as to this predilec-
tion, to this characteristic trait of his nature". And Edward W. Naylor
says: "...out of thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare there are no less than
thirty-two which contain interesting references to music and music matters
IN THE TEXT ITSELF. There are also over three hundred stage directions
which are musical in their nature, and these occur in thirty-six out of
thirty-seven plays". The musical references in the text occur mostly in
the comedies, while the stage directions are found chiefly in the tragedies
and are generally--though not always--of a military nature. The comedies
contain witticisms and "word-quebbing", generally, when musical references
occur. But it is not the purpose of this discussion to treat the many
1 opp. cit., p. 246
2 Shakespeare and Music, pp. 3, 4
references of a musical nature to be found in Shakespeare in anything approaching an exhaustive manner. Since a mere listing of the references would in itself be meaningless and would do little for us but fill up space, we have selected those references which we think are representative of the different types to be found in the plays and poems, even though some of the best known allusions may be omitted.

The chronicle plays of Shakespeare's predecessors were really nothing more than processions of poorly connected historical episodes in which drums and trumpets, with the accompanying roar of cannons and the clashing of swords covered up poor dramatic action and dialogue. Shakespeare improved both the action and speech and the accompanying martial music. Blanch, in *King John*, asks if "braying trumpets and loud churlish drums" shall be measures of the pomp of her wedding day. This is the bride's reaction to these martial instruments with their discordant loudness. Another time, perhaps, they would be less annoying. And King Richard, too, complains of the "boist'rous untun'd drums, with harsh-resounding trumpets' dreadful bray..." *(Incidentally, in E. K. Chambers's book we read: "I do not know whether Richard II has ever been set to music and furnished forth the book of an opera, but it would lend itself to such treatment...")*

Many are the times when the stage directions read to sound a sonnet, or flourish, or that trumpets sound. Often the characters call attention to these off-stage effects: in *Richard III*, Buckingham says: "Hark a drum!" And King Richard, in the fourth scene of Act IV, enters with

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1 III, iii, 303 ff
2 Richard II, i, iii, 134
3 Shakespeare: A Survey, p. 88
4 III, v, 15
his train, marching, and with drums and trumpets. Further on in the same
scene (l. 150) the King shouts: "A flourish, trumpets! Strike alarum, drums!"
And again: "Strike up the drum" (l. 179). But there is the quiet note as
well as the martial tone to some of the references in the history plays.
The sensitiveness of the characters and—if we are to believe the commenta-
tors—of Shakespeare himself is evidenced in such speeches as that of Rich-
ard in Richard II: 1

Music do I hear? [Music]
Ha, ha! keep time! How sour sweet music is,
When time is broke and no proportion kept!
So is it in the music of men's lives.

He has "daintiness of ear to check time broke in a disordert'd string", but
he has not an ear for the "concord" of his state and time to hear his "true
time broke". A play, this is, on "time" and "Time". There is a dignity
in the speech of King Henry when, upon learning of the dying king's attempt
to sing, he says: 2

'Tis strange that death should sing.
I am the cygnet to this pale faint swan,
Who chants a doleful hymn to his own death
And, from the organ-pipe of frailty, sings
His soul and body to their lasting rest.

Of course, it is the voice of the king which is the "organ-pipe of frailty",
but the speech shows a knowledge of things musical.

Gloucester speaks of the "lascivious pleasing of a lute"; and
talks of the "weak piping time of peace" when there is nothing to do but
"descant" on his deformity. "Descant" and its use here is taken as an in-
stance of Shakespeare's technical knowledge of music. It might appear that
the dramatist had a flute or some other wind instrument of the time in mind.

1 V, v, 41 ff
2 King John v, vii, 19 ff
3 Richard III i, 1, 18
when he had Rumour, in the Induction of *II Henry IV* (I. 15 ff.), soliloquise
concerning itself and say that it is a pipe which is easy to play upon;
surmises, jealousies, conjectures blow upon it. Surely, such references
are a far cry from the way in which music was used in the old chronicle
plays. And what is there of the old chronicle play idea of music in the
speech of Prince Hal, when he says: 1

"The southern wind
Doth play the trumpet to his purpose"?

Certainly this is a more refined use of music and shows the advance which
had been made over the roughness and harshness of the early chronicles.

*A Henry IV* 2 contains a passage thought to be a compliment to
Queen Elizabeth's playing of instruments, particularly the virginal and
lute. Mortimer compliments his Welsh wife upon the words she has just
spoken:

"...for thy tongue
Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penn'd,
Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower
With ravishing division, to her lute".

The woman will sing the song that pleases her husband, he is told, and he
says he will be glad to listen to her. The scene between Hotapur and Lady
Percy where the man urges her to sing is a far cry from the old chronicle
play. The seriousness, too, of the use of music in the old plays is
matched by Falstaff playing on his truncheon like a fife. 3 He says of his
soldiers that some of them would as "lieve hear the devil as a drum", 4 but
wishes that the tavern were his own drum. Such bravery!

Prince Henry says he has "sounded the very base-string of humili-

1 *I Henry IV*, V, i, 3, 4
2 III, i
3 ibid III, iii, 101
4 ibid IV, ii, 19
ty", and Falstaff says he feels as "melancholy as a gib cat" or (as Prince Hal adds) "an old lion, or a lover's lute". Falstaff finishes the comparison by saying, "Yea, or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe". When the King says the raven's note is a "dismal tune", we have further evidence of the sensitiveness of Shakespeare's characters to sound. Where, in the drama before Shakespeare, do we find such allusions? The tendency is rather toward the noise and clamor of war; but in these historical plays we have many allusions to un-warlike music.

Sidney Lee says that Lyly, with his "musically turned lyrics", obviously inspired Shakespeare's early dramatic efforts. True; but it was inspiration only: Shakespeare took up the standard and carried it on to greater glories and triumphs than any Lyly had experienced.

Nearly all of Shakespeare's musicians are shown as vagabonds or Bohemians. This is not surprising, in view of the light in which performers were regarded. Mercutio, it will be remembered, dislikes being told that he "consorts" with Romeo when Mercutio and Tybalt meet, and rails at Tybalt's use of the word, twisting it to give it its musical connotation and accusing Tybalt of making a minstrel of him. There was evidently a wide gulf fixed between the court composer and the mere performer.

Shakespeare often affects a sinister attitude toward his musicians and gives their songs a framework of satirical comment from the other actors: the scene from Much Ado About Nothing where Balthasar enters "with music" is far from complimentary to any musician. Yet, in As You Like It, the

1 I Henry IV, II, iv, 5
2 Ibid., I, ii, 62-65
3 II Henry VI, III, ii, 40
4 Life of William Shakespeare, opp. cit., p. 105
5 See Elson: Shakespeare in Music, p. 57
6 Romeo and Juliet III, i, 48 ff
7 II, iii, 45 ff
8 II, v "in the Forest of Arden"
comment is less humiliating for the singer. The "duodama" of the refrain may be Shakespeare poking fun at the meaningless character of many "burdens" of the time. In Act V, scene iii, line 11 ff, of the same play we have:

"I Page: Shall we clap into 't roundly, without hawking or spitting or saying we are hoarse, which are the only prologues to a bad voice?" What a thrust at the vocalists who—then, as now!—have to be coaxed to sing and who make many excuses for not being in "good form"! Can we resist the temptation of thinking that here, at least, Shakespeare has hit tongue in his cheek and is heartily enjoying himself?

The musicians in Romeo and Juliet, though called upon to play for a wedding, may, they believe, be obliged to play for a funeral. Wedding or funeral, it is all the same to them. From personal observation it has been noted that that attitude exists to-day; a certain type of musician cares little what his "job" be, provided that remuneration follows. Is it this attitude at which Shakespeare makes his thrusts? In the scene where "When griping grief" appears, the satire is not directed against the music, but against the "intention finders" who look for that in a poem which was never intended by the writer. Peter's rather condescending answer to James Soundpost's "Faith, I know not what to say" seems to be another thrust at the singer; often people with beautiful voices had—then, as now—little else in their education than the cultivation of that voice; or, as Elson puts it, their "education never extended any higher than their throat" (sic). Peter, according to the same writer, takes it for granted

1 see Glossary of musical terms (Appendix I). For "duodama" see discussion in Furness: Variorum ed. of Shakespeare, vol. viii, pp. 97-100
2 Romeo and Juliet, IV, v, 128
3 Id id, v, 140
4 Shakespeare in Music, opp. cit., p. 72
that the singer is duller than the other musicians, and it is against such ignorant people that the barb seems to be directed. Richard Grant White says that "You are the singer" (1. 141) shows that Shakespeare understood the violin—that the soundpost stands under the highest string of the instrument, and that the E-string was called the "cantore", or the "singer". This view, according to Elson, is far-fetched. Indeed, many singers of to-day, he claims, might be taken as "terrible examples of Shakespeare's meaning".

We recall the statement of the Hostess ¹ that the Prince broke Falstaff's head "for liking his fathor to a singing-man of Windsor". This is but another reference to the contempt in which wandering musicians—not composers, it must be remembered—were held. ²

Simon Catling, Hugh Rebeck, and James Soundpost suggest, by their names, players of stringed instruments. But one says: "Faith, we may put up our pipes and be gone". ³ It would seem, then, that they enter playing on wind instruments (shawms or recorders). These would sound more effective than strings, as a matter of fact, when played behind the scenes. Count Orsino's music in Twelfth Night is very different and more correct, dramatically. His musicians are in permanent attendance: "on call". He was the patron of the musicians, just as was the Esterhazy family of Haydn ⁴ in a later century. A more dignified setting, certainly, than that of Capulet's house. These musicians of Orsino certainly play stringed instruments, for they accompany very quiet speech, as well as song. ⁵

1 ¹ Henry IV, 11, i, 96 f
2 ² there were many laws against wandering musicians. Some of these laws, Elson states, having fallen into disuse, have never been repealed
3 ³ Romeo and Juliet IV, v, 96
4 ⁴ Joseph Haydn: 1732-1809
5 ⁵ Twelfth Night II, iv
While music plays an important part in almost all of the comedies, the tragedies have a good share likewise. But it is not merely that Shakespeare has a decided preference for music—he seems to understand and be able to judge of the theory of the art. This is illustrated in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, where Julia and Lucetta are talking. The manner in which a song should be sung is minutely discussed and it has been said that the passage was inserted intentionally to show Shakespeare's knowledge of the technical branch of music. This, of course, may or may not be true.

In Shakespeare and the Theatre there is a paper on "Shakespeare's Songs and Stage", in which the statement is made that "little attempt has been made by students or by producers to understand the function and place of the songs, and the familiarity enjoyed by them has in no way stimulated the spirit of inquiry, but on the contrary has deterred it". There is an effort made to understand the function of the songs and attention is called to the fact that none of the plays definitely known to be Shakespeare's opens with song, although Twelfth Night starts with music. There was a definite reason for the inclusion of music—certain stage effects, for instance, were possible which could not be obtained in any other way. Songs

1 I, ii, 61 ff
2 Ulrici: Shakespeare's Dramatic Art, opp. cit., p. 248
3 Burney, in his A General History of Music, etc., London, 1789, 111 336 f, draws attention to the fact that there are none but bona fide technical expressions used in the part of the scene in which music occurs
4 p. 128. Read on February 17, 1926, before the Shakespeare Association
5 by Richmond Noble
in Shakespeare are essential to the play—there is a definite bearing upon the plot, generally, and action is not slowed down because of the music. There is no feeling of abruptness; the song falls naturally into position. The point is made that Shakespeare learned just how great the service was which song could give to his plays. This is definitely illustrated by the use made of music in _A Midsummer Night's Dream_. But if the music in this play—and in other plays, notably the dance-song at the end of _The Merry Wives of Windsor_—were omitted, there would need to be a re-writing of the dramatic sequences.

Having discovered the dramatic value of song in his plays, Shakespeare developed and used it still further. The naturalness of songs in the plays is fittingly illustrated in _The Tempest_; dialogue and action run easily into song, whether it be Ariel inviting Ferdinand to shore or Caliban breaking into song as a result of his drinking. And who can fail to have an emotional response to Desdemona's plaintive "willow" song, or to Ophelia's pitiful ditties? There is something about these musical bits which moves even the most blase audience and which gives a poignancy to the scenes which would otherwise be lacking. This is not merely a personal reaction; I have talked with several people who were not the least bit interested in music and who professed to be "tone-deaf", and each one admitted that the pictures presented by these two characters as they sang would remain long after some of the more seemingly moving scenes of the plays had faded from memory.

It is customary in the legends of most countries to attribute to the fairies a decided fondness for music. Shakespeare was, no doubt, conscious of this, for we very often have musical accompaniment when fairies
enter upon the stage. We know that Prospero's island is "full of noises, sounds, and sweet airs", and that there are sometimes "a thousand twangling instruments" and voices to be heard. Titania, in A Midsummer Night's Dream, calls for a "roundel and a fairy song" when she wants to take a nap, and promises Bottom, later, fairies who shall sing as they attend on him while he sleeps on pressed flowers. Thomas F. Thiselton Dyer, in his Folk Lore of Shakespeare says: "Mr. Singer...has this note: 'Shakespeare considered soft music favorable to sleep'. (Surely this is not a very original idea!)

The power of music as a medical agency was early recognized and there is no doubt that Shakespeare knew of this power. The use of music to cure Lear's madness is well known and it is not far-fetched, since—even to-day—music is used to a great extent in the treatment of neurotic patients and even of those who are definitely insane.

Of course Shakespeare knew of the importance of music at weddings and wedding feasts. Why should he not use this knowledge? No wedding of the time was complete, if we may judge from references of the Elizabethans, without musical accompaniment of the gayest sort. The Romeo and Juliet reference, already noted, recurs to us in this connection. So, too, music accompanies the body to the grave, just as now there is music at funerals. Again a Romeo and Juliet reference, this time the bereaved Capulet telling...

1 II, ii, 1
2 III, i, 160 ff
3 Harper and Bros., New York, 1884, p. 277
4 personal experiences and those of friends have shown that it is much more gratifying, often, to teach music in institutions for the insane than it is to do private work. There seems to be an almost pathetic seeking to learn in cases where there is mental deficiency
of the "solemn hymns" of the wedding feast changing to "sullen dirges".1

So, too, in Cymbeline,2 Arviragus says:

"And let us, Polydore, though now our voices
Have got the mannish crack, sing him to the ground,
As once our mother; use like note and words".

To which Guiderius replies that he cannot sing: that

"...notes of sorrow out of tune are worse
Than priests and fames that lie".

Bells toll for Ophelia 3 when the priest says she will be allowed her vir-

gin rites, including "bell and burial".

Though Shakespeare's characters talk more about music than those
of brother dramatists, it is interesting to note that they do not give us
information about the practical part of the stage music as some other com-
edies do. Other authors, among them Marston,4 have more elaborate and
specific stage directions as to how the music should be performed. The
music in Shakespeare's plays may be classed under three headings: fanfares,
dances, and songs. Fanfares include all references dealing with trumpet
calls: alarums, retreats, tuckets, flourishes, etc., as well as marches for
drums. The term "sennet", never satisfactorily explained, may be included
in this list, but must not be confused with the flourish which was a shorter
piece of music. This group is not associated with battles; otherwise the
trumpet was kept for scenes connected with the nobility.

All purely instrumental music may be classed under dances, whether
the music was used for dancing or not, since most of the serious instrumen-

1 IV, v, 88
2 IV, ii, 235 ff
3 V, i, 257 (Hamlet)
4 cf. Antonio and Malinda
al music of Shakespeare's time was written in dance forms. Pavane and galliard, though dances, were being treated as serious music and were being used in string quartets and symphonies. The only other artistic music written at this period was based on the principle of the fugue and was generally called fantasies or fancies. ¹ Such music was suited to private performances, but probably was not much used in the theatres, except private ones, where it was no doubt played before performances or between the acts. References to these dances are frequent; Henry V gives us the "nimble galliard", ² "lavoltsas high, and swift corvanto", ³ and there are frequent allusions to the pavane.

Shakespeare varied his use of songs in his plays. The small boy who played Moth in Love's Labour's Lost, it seems, what was probably an Irish song, its title corrupted to "Consonine". The songs at the end of the play were likely sung by Moth and another boy. In The Two Gentlemen of Verona and The Merchant of Venice the solo singers come on for the occasion only, probably engaged for the particular purpose and occasion. In The Merchant of Venice some of the minor actors and attendants "bear the burden" (i.e. sing the chorus). It has been suggested that Shakespeare was lavish in the music of Much Ado About Nothing and As You Like It because the competition of the "children of the Chapel" was beginning to be felt. Twelfth Night, following these two, also has much music; but it certainly seems as though the music is an integral part of these plays, and not something to "draw trade", so to speak.

In the last-period comedies there is music likewise. The Winter's Tale has the wandering ballad-vendor and thief, Autolycus, sing his songs

¹ see glossary of musical terms (Appendix I)
² I, ii, 252
³ III, v, 35
to sell them. Naturally, they must be sung well. Cymbeline, in addition to the "Hark, hark, the Lark!" has the "ingenious instrument" 1 in Belisarius's cave—an instrument which will play music if you "give it motion". This instrument was an accompaniment for "Fear no more the heat o' the sun". The Tempest, half masque in spirit and fun, naturally has much music in it, and music that is dramatically used. It is vital to the spirit of the play, but never once does it dominate—always it is kept under, subservient to the action.

The songs in the tragedies are few, but they have a very definite dramatic function. They are associated with abnormal states of mind; Ophelia and Edgar (who, pretending to be mad, shows abnormal traits). Music, as noted earlier, is one means used to restore Lear's sanity, and it is music which holds Leontes spellbound while Hermione's statue comes to life. Desdemona's song shows us Shakespeare's artistry in the use of music; we realize her suffering and we have a quiet note of contrast to the horrible murder scene which soon follows.

Just how far Shakespeare was indebted to traditional music is hard to determine. He makes many references to words of songs and ballads which came before his time, but these songs seldom are sung or are sung only in snatches. Not all allusions are to traditional ballads, however: "Farewell, dear heart" 2 was a song composed by Robert Jones and published in 1600, a year before the play appeared. The truth about the complete songs which were possibly corrupted by the text in printing, is hard to dis-

1 IV, ii, 186
2 Twelfth Night II, iii, 110
cover. Shakespeare is credited with having written some, other writers are said to have written others. But tunes which seem to belong to Shakespeare's songs do not always fit the Shakespeare words. For instance, it is still undecided whether "It was a lover and his lass" 1 and "O Mistress mine" 2 were written by Shakespeare and set to music by Morley, or whether Morley's settings were in existence before Shakespeare wrote his plays; at any rate, Morley's music and Shakespeare's words do not agree as well as one would expect if Morley had composed the music for the first actual performance. There is doubt, too, about the tunes being original with Morley—there is a possibility that he may have arranged tunes already well known. The only other settings of Shakespeare's songs that are anywhere near contemporaneous, aside from the two just mentioned, are Dr. John Wilson's settings of "Lawn as white as driven snow" 3 and "Take, O take those lips away"; 4 and Robert Johnson's "Full fathom five" and "Where the bee sucks". 5 But it is doubtful if any of these are the original settings used; Johnson's music may have been written for the revival of The Tempest in 1613; Wilson's settings must have come quite a bit later, since he was not born until 1594. It has been suggested that many of Shakespeare's songs were written to tunes already existing, though these tunes may have since been lost. This is an obvious and logical assumption, even though proof of the idea cannot be definitely established.

1 As You Like It V, iii, 17 ff
2 Twelfth Night II, iii, 40 ff
3 The Winter's Tale IV, iv, 220 ff
4 Measure for Measure IV, i, 1 ff
5 The Tempest I, ii, 396 ff; V, i, 88 ff
Shakespeare mentions many of the musical instruments popular at the time in which he lived, and has his characters show a sensitiveness to sound which, we are told, is a reflection of the dramatist's own feelings. Shylock, in *The Merchant of Venice*, 1 speaks of the "wry-neck'd fife", 2 and he twice mentions the bagpipe: 3 once as singing "I' the nose", and again as a "woollen bagpipe", though why "woollen" is a mystery.

The remark of Romeo in Act II, scene ii, about lovers' tongues by night sounding "like softest music" shows a keen appreciation for music, as well as a sensitiveness to sound in general. Romeo might easily have compared the sound of lovers' tongues to something else: rippling water, a treetop breeze—any one of a score of things. There are other evidences of this sensitiveness to sound: the "discords" of Othello and Desdemona are to be nothing more harsh than kisses; 4 while the "shrill trump...the ear-piercing fife" 5 show a knowledge of the qualities of those instruments. The "so harsh a chime" 6 of Pericles and other equally vivid impressions strengthen our feeling that there was a sharpness of perception in Shakespeare's attention to music and musical instruments. In *The Tempest*, where Alfonso speaks of that "deep and dreadful organ-pipe" 7 which pronounced Prospero's name, we have an allusion which may have been written because

1 II, v, 27 ff
2 E.W.Naylor, in *Shakespeare and Music*, opp.cit., says that the fife had a crooked mouthpiece. The instrument itself was straight, but the player had to twist his head to get at the mouthpiece
3 IV, i
4 Othello II, 1, 200
5 ibid III, iii, 351 f
6 I, i, 85
7 III, iii, 98
England was very conscious of the organ set up at King's College, Cambridge, in 1605, by Thomas Dallam. This was the first complete two-manual organ of England.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* 1 occurs the following dialogue:

Holofernes: I will not be put out of countenance.
Biron: Because thou hast no face.
Holofernes: What is this?
Boyat: A cittern-head.

The last remark was occasioned by the fact that the head of the cittern was often elaborately carved, sometimes artistically, sometimes grotesquely. Feste, in *Twelfth Night*, plays the pipe and tabor in combination. Something of a dance step is probably included as well. Still in existence is a portrait of Richard Tarlton playing on pipe and tabor and one of William Kempe dancing a morris from London to Norwich, while a man walks beside him playing a pipe and tabor. Tarlton and Kempe were actors in Shakespeare's company. Sir Andrew Aguecheek, according to Sir Toby Belch's boast, "...plays o' the viol de gamboys". This is a bass-viol, played between the legs of the performer, in the manner of the modern 'cello. Since any educated gentleman might be expected to know how to play the viol, even though we do not actually hear Sir Andrew play, we do not doubt his ability to do so. All these references would seem to point to a rather definite knowledge of the instruments of the time.

But did Shakespeare have a poor knowledge of the virginal, popular though it was? There occur in the 128th sonnet the lines:

"How oft...  
Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap  
To kiss the tender inward of thy hand..."

This 'kissing of the inward of the hand' would be a physical impossibility.

1 V, ii, 611 ff
The "jacks", which roughly correspond to the hammers of the piano of to-day, could not leap, nimbly or otherwise, to kiss the palm of the player. So, also, in the couplet of the same sonnet:

"Since saucy jacks so happy are in this, 
Give them thy fingers, me thy lips to kiss",

there is a persistence of the same idea. The obvious thing to do is to substitute the word "key" for "jack"; by so doing the sense is improved. But even so, as even the veriest amateur is aware, the jacks (i.e. keys) would not touch the "tender inward" (which evidently means the palm) of the player's hand. It is unlike Shakespeare to be so careless in his use of technical terms unless, as has been hinted, he lacked technical knowledge of the mechanics of the instrument. The use of the word "jack" is common in old writings as meaning any implement which fulfills the functions of a servant—as, for example, a boot-jack. But there is no such meaning intended here. A much more literal use of the word occurs in Nonseur d'Ql-live (1606) by Chapman: "The weaver, Sir, much like a Virginal jack, starts nimbly up..." 1

A less serious allusion to a musical instrument occurs in The Tam- ing of the Shrew 2 when Kathie vents her spleen upon her music-teacher. Hortensio reenters with his head broken, whereupon Baptista says (l. 143): "How now, my friend, why dost thou look so pale?" He replies that his pu-

1 "Perhaps the lack of allusions to the instrument (virginal) in Shake-
spere may be explained by a peculiar error that occurs in one of his sonnets, and which may show that he had not a very popular knowledge of the instrument". (L.C. Elson, in Shakespeare in Music, opp.cit., p.38).

2 A student of the late Louis C. Elson (see above) told me recently that she had heard Mr. Elson say that never, in his study of the many references to music found in Shakespeare, had he discovered an error. The student went on to say that Mr. Elson was working on his book at the time this statement was made
pil will never make a musician. "Iron may hold with her, but never lutes". Upon being asked if he cannot break Katherine to the lute he exclaims: "Why, no; for she hath broke the lute to me". The picture he paints of himself looking through the lute, "as on a pillory", the while his pupil calls him a "rascal fiddler" and a "twangling Jack", is amusing, to say the least. (The "twangling jack" may be another reference to the "jacks" of the virginal). The horn is used, of course, in A Midsummer Night's Dream when Theseus bids the huntsmen wake the sleeping lovers. Nor are these all the allusions to musical instruments to be found in the works of Shakespeare; they are sufficient, however, to show that there was more than a superficial knowledge of music on the part of the poet.

Elson¹ says the surest proof, probably, of Shakespeare's "vocal proficiency is found in his evident knowledge of 'gamut', or 'Sol-Fa-ing'. This is the vocalist's ability to recognize the intervals between notes, and the pitch of the notes themselves, by syllables that have been attached to them". The "gamut" (gamma-ut) was taught to all beginners. Hortensio, giving a music lesson to Bianca, in The Taming of the Shrew ², tells his pupil that she must learn the rudiments of music by learning the "gamut of Hortensio". Accordingly, she reads:

"GAMUT I am, the ground of all accord,
A RE, to plead Hortensio's passion.
B, MI, Bianca, take him for thy lord,
G FA UT, that loves him with all affection.
DI SOL RE, one clef, two notes have I.
E LA MI, show pity, or I die".

This passage, if discussed for its various musical references, would take up more space than is here available. But the fact remains that there is much to make us agree with Elson's statement.

¹ Shakespeare on Music, opp. cit., p. 106
² III, i, 73 ff
For all his knowledge of music and his sensitiveness to it and to its dramatic possibilities and theatrical values, Shakespeare never adopted the principle of opera. Percy Scholes, according to E. J. Dent in "Shakespeare and Music", takes the stand that "Shakespeare's use of music was invariably intended to signify some abnormal psychological state". Simply because Shakespeare associated music with the supernatural (a practice which, we have seen, goes back to very early times) does not mean that he intended to show abnormality in his characters by the use of music. He does use music for mad-scenes, as noted earlier; but the presence of music was not intended as an indication of the abnormality of those characters. Rather, Shakespeare knew the adaptability of music to the theatre and knew the attraction music had for the people who attended the plays. Then, too, it had become possible for playwrights to hire as many musicians as were needed—what more natural than that he should make free use of the fact? There is no doubt about the conspicuous nature of the music in The Tempest and about the magical effects in this and in other plays, but we cannot bring ourselves to the conclusion that there was even a remote thought of opera in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote, any more than that he intended to show abnormality by the use of music. Fancy Hamlet or Othello "bursting into melody" at crucial moments? Or Macbeth pondering over his decision to do murder? Shakespeare knew humanity and the workings of the human mind far too well to indulge in any such artificial technique as that required by the laws of operatic writing. Shakespeare's characters use music as any of us would who had learned it as an accomplishment; and we should be ready to play or sing when called upon to do so. Or if, like

Feste, we were professional entertainers, we should "ply our trade" as a matter of course. Autolycus, too, as a ballad-vendor, simply follows his trade. But always, in Shakespeare, we have characters who sing and play for the pleasure to be derived from it. Small wonder, then, that the listeners (both the other characters and the audience) derive enjoyment from the singing and playing.

That Shakespeare's influence has been felt in later ages is indisputable. Sidney Lee, in his A Life of William Shakespeare, ¹ says that "music and art in England owe much to Shakespeare's influence. From Thomas Morley, Purcell, Matthew Locke, and Arne, to William Linley, Sir Henry Bishop, and Sir Arthur Sullivan, every distinguished musician of the past has sought to improve on his predecessor's setting of one or more of Shakespeare's songs, or has composed concerted music in illustration of some of his dramatic themes".

What more fitting close for our discussion could there be than the simple statement that we are still trying to "appreciate the history and extent of the phenomenon of Shakespeare"? ²

¹ opp cit., p. 607
² see Introduction
In the period immediately preceding Shakespeare and continuing, roughly, throughout his lifetime, England produced a number of brilliant composers. In fact, if we exclude the name of Shakespeare, we may say that the musical list balanced the literary one very well indeed. From 1450 to 1600 is considered the period in which the modern art of music originated, developing from a system which was derived from the medieval interpretation of Pythagoras, as handed down by Boethius and others. While medieval times saw it chiefly in courts and in the Church, with the Renaissance music spread among the people; printed music appeared, and by the time of Henry VIII there was a marked interest everywhere apparent.

It was a period of polyphonic or "horizontal" music, as opposed to homophonic or "vertical" music. Though homophony dates from about 1597, we find no allusions to the "new music" in the plays of Shakespeare from 1597 to 1611—an indication that this style was slow in taking root in England.

Certain composers stand out in the pre-Shakespearean period. John Dunstable (d. 1453) had great influence both at home and abroad; John Heywood probably wrote farces for his "singing boys" at St. Paul's; and Christopher Tye and Thomas Tallis are representative of the composers of this era. These men were generally organists as well as composers. William Byrd, Thomas Morley, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Sir Thomas Campion, John Dowland, and others were all active during Shakespeare's lifetime. It is believed that Morley and the poet were personally acquainted and that Morley's songs were used in the presentation of Shakespeare's plays.
Many were the musical instruments in use during the period under discussion, but they are, for the most part, strange to us and do not now exist.

Music held a very high position at Court, in the Church, and among the people, as well as in education and in the theatre. All of Henry VIII's children were trained musicians and lovers of music and encouraged the development of the art to a great extent. Noblemen, too, acted as patrons. There was an effort made to retain some kind of dignified church music in England, and we find the "mayor, the jurats, and the head men of the town" (of Sandwich) numbered among the "singing men" of the Church. Though the Roman ritual had been discarded, many of the chief musicians still wrote for it. Psalm-singing, too, was popular from 1500 to 1600, and the motet became the leading form of sacred composition in the period.

Secular music was scanty in comparison with sacred music, for the simple reason that the former was largely a matter of rote-learning, since the people knew little of reading and writing, while the latter was written down and preserved for future use. But secular music progressed rapidly and we have the great school of English madrigalists appearing in 1588. Much vocal music was brought forth from 1588 to 1630, and the English lived up to their name of "a singing nation".

It was part of the education of a gentleman to know how to play the lute. Music appeared in the school curriculum and had the backing of such authorities as Richard Mulcaster, Sir Thomas Elyot, Count Baldassare Castiglione, and others. Even Roger Ascham evidently approved of the study of music in moderation.

The theatre saw much use of music, from the earliest recorded per-
formance, that of the Play of St. Catherine, about 1110, through the Miracles and Moralities, and down to the plays of the "University Wits" and Shakespeare. The choristers of St. Paul's and other places gave plays which were largely musical. There was a gradual change from the use of hymns and antiphons in the old plays to the incorporation of songs and instrumental dances. The dumb-show, after 1550, was an important feature of many plays, and was always accompanied by instrumental music. With the first comedies and tragedy, we see further use of the song and dance.

Contemporaneous with Shakespeare were many men who wrote for the children's companies which had such great success in producing their delicately constructed plays in an effective and artistic manner. The masque, though lacking in dramatic interest, offered much in the way of musical opportunity. The effect of this type of dramatic writing is evident in The Tempest and A Midsummer Night's Dream.

Shakespeare, it is generally conceded, was a keen observer and had a large store of knowledge of various kinds; but whether this included a technical knowledge of music is a subject of dispute, since no records exist to tell us if such was the case. If he followed the custom of a gentleman of the time he knew how to play the lute, and possibly the virginal and recorder. There is reason to believe that Shakespeare's musical education was strictly along polyphonic lines. He must have gained a great deal of information about music from the people with whom he came in contact during the "London period", both at Court and in the theatre, and he must have been familiar with church music as well.

References to music in Shakespeare's plays and poems are numerous and varied. His histories are a vast improvement, in every way, over the
old chronicle plays, and in all his works he shows a sensitiveness to musical sounds and to the timbre of the various instruments.

Naylor, in his *Shakespeare and Music*, says that there are over three hundred stage directions of a musical nature occurring in thirty-six of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare, with musical references found most often in the comedies, while the stage directions occur chiefly in the tragedies and are generally of a military nature.

The speeches of the various characters give us an excellent idea of the light in which music and musicians were regarded in the Elizabethan age: we have the vagabond or bohemian type of performer presented, and are shown the contempt which was felt toward such musicians. In addition, there is the more respectful, serious attitude which was shown toward composers and toward music as an art. Several instances of Shakespeare’s knowledge of the theory of music are shown, and it is in such places that the sinister, mocking attitude is missing. His use of music in accompanying scenes in which fairies appear and his knowledge of its power in the treatment of mental cases is well illustrated in the plays. But for all his knowledge of music and sensitiveness to it and to its dramatic possibilities and theatrical values, Shakespeare never attempted opera. This may be surprising, in view of the immense popularity of this form of composition, until we realize anew the fact that Shakespeare’s characters use songs and other music naturally, spontaneously; while opera, on the other hand, is bound to be stilted and unnatural. Is it not this very naturalness of Shakespeare which makes his works live?
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M.B. The CAMBRIDGE EDITION of Shakespeare's Complete Works was used in the preparation of this thesis.
APPENDIX I

Glossary of Musical Terms

ACCORD
A term used in Elizabethan England to convey the idea of harmony. The verb from which it came (late Latin accordare, to agree) gave the Middle English accorden. Shakespeare uses accord in The Taming of the Shrew (III, 1, 73): "Greet I am, the ground of all accord".

ALARUM
A call to arms; a signal calling upon men to arm.

ANTHEM
Originally, a composition set to words from some part of the Scriptures (generally the Psalms) and set in antiphonal manner. This later characteristic was soon overlooked and the anthem became more in the nature of a motet or a song-form without any distinguishing feature. The "full" anthem is entirely choral in treatment; the "verse" anthem has solos, duets, trios, quartets, etc, the choir often merely supplying an overture and a coda.

ANTIPHON
One of the earliest forms of rendering the Psalms, in which two half-choirs sang alternately, as in response to one another. No doubt, the antiphon had its origin in the psalmody of the Jews.

AUBADE
From the French: an open air morning concert. Cf. Cymbaline, II, iii, 2f: "Hark, hark, the lark".

AYRES
Melodies for which the composers of the 16th and 17th centuries could not easily find suitable titles were often simply called airs or ayres.
BAGPIES  an ancient wind-instrument. The French form was known as "cornemuse". There are many references to bagpipes in the literature of the Shakespearean and preceding periods.

BARBER'S MUSIC  the cittern, lute, virginal, etc, were used in the barber shops.

BARBITON  a many-stringed musical instrument, a kind of lyre or lute.  (See reference to Toxophilus, by Ascham, page 53).

BASE  
(1) the old English spelling for "bass" or lowest part of the harmony;  
(2) the base was often used as a colloquialism for bass-viol or viol da gamba.

BASE-STRING  
the lowest string on the viols and the unfingered strings of the lutes.  (Henry IV, II, iv, 4, 5: "I have sounded the very base-string of humility").

BROKEN MUSIC  has many meanings and uses.  In Henry V, V, ii, 262 f, we read:  
"Come, your answer in broken music;..."  In Troilus and Cressida, III, i, 52, we have:  "Fair prince, here is good broken music".  The two cases quoted mean music in parts.  The term may also mean the sounding together of instruments belonging to different families.

BURDEN  
a recurring refrain, generally sung in chorus at the end of each verse and sometimes at the close of each line.  Often it was simply "Hey, troly loly", (mentioned in Piers Plowman).

Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing, III, iv, 44-46:  "Clap's into 'Light o' Love'; that goes without a burden. Do you sing it, and I'll dance it".  In Antony and Cleopatra, II, vii, 118 Shakespeare uses "holding" in the same sense:  "The holding
**Canary**
every man shall bear as loud as his strong sides can volley".
a dance—form in jig rhythm, very popular in England in the
16th and 17th centuries. *Love’s Labor’s Lost*, III,i,11 ff;
"...but to jig off a tune at the tongue’s end, canary to it
with your feet..."; *All’s Well That Ends Well*, II,i,75 ff;
"I have seen a medicine that’s able to breathe life into a
stone, quicken a rock, and make you dance canary with sprite-
ly fire and motion..." are good examples of Elizabethan ref-
ences.

**Canon**
a kind of musical composition in which the different parts
take up the same subject, one after the other, either at the
same or at a different pitch, in strict imitation.

**Canzonet**
a little song. A popular form of composition taken from It-
alian “canzonetta”. It was often used in England. We find
the word occurring in *Love’s Labor’s Lost* and in Ben Jonson’s
*Cynthia’s Revels*, IV,i: “I will have a canzonet made, with no-
thing in it but sirrah”. Morley published a *First Book of
Canzonets to Two Voices* (1595).

**Carian’s Whistle**
a term frequently used in Elizabethan music-books. It
originated in the fact that the carmen of the period had a
reputation for musicianship and whistled all the tunes they
heard. Falstaff says that Shallow “…sang those tunes…he
heard the carmen whistle, and swore they were his fancies or
his good-nights”. (II Henry IV,III,ii,339 ff). See FANCY.

**Catling**
the highest (treble) string of the lute; probably a diminu-
tive of cat, from the supposed origin of the strings. Trai-
Lud and Orasside, III, iii, 302 ff: "Whate music will be in him when Hector has knock'd out his brains, I know not; but, I am sure, none, unless the fiddler Apollo get his sinews to make catlings on". By analogy, Simon Catling (in R. and J. V, V), would be the name of a luter, not a fiddler, since James Soundpost would play the violin. The word is often spelled "catleen".

CHAPEL ROYAL the clergy and musicians who perform divine service for the sovereigns of England. A MS from the time of Edward IV contains the earliest information we have and is a valuable source for a history of the Chapel. "Chaplaines and Clerkes of the Chapelle", we learn, were expected to be "endowed with virtues morelle and specikatyve, as of the musickes, shewing in descante... Suffytynge in organes playinge..." Seven pence a day was the amount paid for all this.

The choir of the Chapel Royal is the oldest of which we have definite information, and it was probably taken as a model for the other choirs. During Edward IV's reign "Children of the Chappell" (there were eight, later more) were under the direction of a "Master of Songs", later known as the "Master of the Children". (See under EDUCATION). After their voices broke the boys were sent, at the King's charge, to Oxford or Cambridge. When their voices merited the promotion, the young men were often elevated to sing with the "Gentlemen of the Chapel". The first recorded Master of the Children had a salary of forty marks a year.
CHEST OF VIOLS  the name given to a complete set of viols and the case in which they were kept.

CITOLE  a medieval stringed and plucked instrument, smaller than the later lutes, with a flat back, similar to the cittern of the 17th century. Chaucer (Knight’s Tale, i.1959) has: “A citole in hir right hand hadde she”.

CITTERN  a flat-backed, pear-shaped instrument, very popular in the late 16th and 17th centuries.

CONSENT  used as a noun and as a verb by Elizabethans to mean harmony or concord. Spenser tells of “A lay of love’s delight, with sweet consent”, and “Such musickes is wise words with time consented To moderate stiffe minds disposed to strive”.

CONSORT  (1) the equivalent of our modern word concert; (2) an earlier meaning was the simultaneous playing of different instruments in parts, such as would “consort” together.

COLANTO  a dance supposed by some to have been introduced to France from Italy by Catherine de Medici and brought to England during Elizabeth’s time. The Queen was celebrated as a coranto dancer. Shakespeare refers to the dance in Twelfth Night: “Why dost thou not go to church in a galliard and come home in a coranto?” (I,iii,135 f). See also under VOLTE.

CORNETTICE  a bagpipe. Chaucer speaks of the “cornemuse and shalymes” (House of Fame, 1. 1218)

CORNET  a woodwind instrument popular in Tudor and Stuart England. A hornlike instrument of wood, generally covered with leather and often elaborately ornamented with ivory and silver.
the "craying" of their wares by itinerant tradesmen was an old institution and each article had its own traditional melody, the origin of which is not known. Thomas Welske wrote The Crues of London, as did also Orlando Gibbons and Richard Dering (Country Crues, c. 1616).

(rote, rota, rotte) an ancient stringed instrument originally played with the fingers or a plectrum, later also with a bow. Spenser writes of the "trembling crowd" in the Epitalamion (1594).

used as a verb by Shakespeare in Richard III (1,2,26,27): "Unless to see my shadow in the sun and descent on mine own deformity".

to "divide" a piece of music meant to write a variation on it by dividing the long notes into a larger number of short ones.

Spenser (Faerie Queen, III,1,40) has:

"And all the while sweet musicke did divide Her looser notes with Lydian harmony".

Romeo and Juliet (III,v,29) gives us the reference: "Some say the lark makes sweet division..."

an ancient instrument, similar to the psaltery. (See illustrations, page 32).

a form of dance of which but little is known. There are two references in Shakespeare: The Rape of Lucrece, 1.11.27; "Distress like dumps when time is kept with tears", and Romeo and Juliet (IV,v,107 ff): "O, play me some merry dump to comfort me. (1 Mus) Not a dump we; 'tis no time to play now".

"Dump" is generally taken to mean a doleful dance or tune
which accompanies the dance.

FALL the cadence or close of a musical phrase. Twelfth Night (I,i, 4): "That strain again! It had a dying fall".

FANCY a free form of composition for instruments, popular in Shakespeare's day. II Henry IV (III,i,i,338 ff): "'A came ever in the rearward of the fashion, and sayng those tunes to the oversouth'd huswives that he heard the carman whistle, and sware they were his fancies or his good-nights". (See CAR-MAN'S WHISTLE)

FIDDLE an instrument dating back to Anglo-Saxon times. (Fithele). (See illustration, page 25).

FIPPLE-FLUTE a recorder

FLAGEOLET a small, high-pitched member of the fipple-flute family, and the last survivor of the instruments of the recorder class.

FLOURISH a military trumpet-call, for signalling purposes. Antony and Cleopatra (II,vii,138 ff) has these directions immediately following: "Sound a flourish, with drums".

FRETS a method of mechanically dividing the fingerboards of stringed instruments into semitone intervals. Taming of the Shrew (II,i,150 ff): "I did but tell her she mistook her frets... 'Frets, call you these?' quoth she; 'I'll fume with them;'". Hamlet (III,ii,386):"...though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me". There are many allusions to the word, showing that it was in common, everyday use. This is another argument for the assertion that music was universally cultivated.
GALLIARD

A popular dance of Italian origin, coming to England by way of France. Twelfth Night (I, iii, 127): "What is thy excellence in a galliard, knight?" And "Why dost thou not go to church in a galliard...?" (155). Again (I. 140 ff): "I did think, by the excellent constitution of thy leg, it was form'd under the star of a galliard". CINQUE-PACE was another name for this dance, because of the five steps of which the dance was composed. Cf. Much Ado (II, i, 75 ff): "...wooing, wedding, and repenting, is as a Scotch jig, a measure, and a cinque-pace... and then comes repentance and, with his bad legs, falls into the cinque-pace faster and faster, till he sink into his grave". In Henry V (I, i, 251, 2): "And bids you be advis'd there's nought in France that can be with a nimble galliard won". "Sink-a-pace" was another variant of the same word.

GAMUT

(gam-ut) in ancient music, the range or compass of the sounds in common use. "Gamut I am, the ground of all accord", says Hortensio in The Taming of the Shrew (III, i, 75).

GITTERN

(Also ghittern) an early instrument, not to be confused with the guitar. The strings of the gittern were vibrated by means of a plectrum. Piers Plowman has a reference to a gittern; Chaucer likewise: "And as well coude he playe on his giterne" (Miller's Tale, I. 3333); "And Absolon his gyternes hath ytake" (Id., I. 3353). Line 4396 of The Cook's Tale also mentions this instrument, and the plural form (giternes) is to be found in The Pardoner's Tale, I. 466. The verbal form occurs in The Miller's Tale, I. 3365: "Fal wel accordaunt
to his pytynge". The Squyr of Rowe Begre has the form ge-
tron (1. 1070), and Octavian Imperator (1. 69; 14th century)
has the word in its more common form (gytynne).

GLEEMEN musicians of Anglo-Saxon England whose name was derived from the
the Anglo-Saxon word "gle", meaning music. Gleemen were the
forerunners of the later minstrels, and their music, added to
that brought in by the Normans, formed the basis for a na-
tional English school.

GOOD-NIGHT a form of composition in 16th and 17th century England, proba-
bly used as the concluding item of an entertainment. Shake-
speare uses it in II Henry IV (III, i). See FAUCY and CARMAN'S
WHISTLE).

HARP a plucked instrument of very great antiquity and doubtful or-
igin.

HAUTBOY a woodwind instrument with a double reed, the forerunner of
our modern oboe.

HAY a 16th century country-dance of the "round" type. Love's La-
bor's Lost (V, i, 160, 161): "...or I will play on the tabor to
the Worthies, and let them dance the hay".

HORSEPIPE (1) a wind instrument of British origin, chiefly centered in
Cornwall and Wales. Greene, in his Groatworth of Witte, men-
tions the hornepipe as an instrument: "... and so desiring them to
play on a hornepipe, layde on the Pavement lustily with his
leaden heeles". Ben Jonson (Sad Shepherd, I, i) tells of
awakening "the nimble hornepipe and the timburine".

(2) a dance, named by the instrument which originally accom-
panied it. Chaucer alludes to the "hornepype of Gornewayle".
In a 1495 Mystery Play there is a stage-direction: "Here mynstrelyys, an hornpipe". Spenser alludes to the way in which the instrument named the dance (Shepherd's Calendar, 1579):

... a lusty tabere
That to the many a hornpipe played
Whereeto they dauncen each one with his maid.

Ben Jonson says: "... fetch the fiddlers out of France
To wonder at the Hornpipes here..."

JACK
the upright slip of wood which carried the quill, or piece of metal or leather, which was used as a plectrum in the virginal, etc.

JIG
(also gigge, gigue, gygge) a dance-form which took the place of the galliard. Beaumont and Fletcher, in The Knight of the Burning Pestle (IV, i) make the citizen's wife say: "George, I will have him daunce fading; fading is a fine jig, I'll assure you". Love's Labor's Lost (IV): "Go, whip thy gig" is using "gig" as a doublet for jig, meaning to spin. There is a song idea connected with jig: the verses had a constantly recurring refrain.

KIT
a small stringed instrument. Early references may mean a pocket rebec. The word occurs in Rastel's Interlude of the Fours Elements (early 16th century):

This daunce would do miche better yet
If we had a kit or taberet.

LEESON
a short composition of no particular characteristics, but which had to be suitable for study purposes. Shakespeare's time used the word in an everyday sense, and Hortensio (Tem-
of the Shrew) tells Lucentio (III.i,59,60): "You may go
walk, and give me leave a while. My lessons make no music in
three parts". This was the Shakespearean way of saying, evi-
dently, that "Three is a crowd!"

LUTE

the name of a large, important family of plucked stringed in-
struments. (See MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN USE DURING THE PERIOD).

MADRIGAL

a popular form of vocal composition which came to England by
way of the Low Countries in the last quarter of the 16th cen-
tury. It became a favorite, suited to the talent and taste
of English composers who proved and perfected the form. Writ-
ten in any number of parts, from two to six (or eight), it
differed from the Glee, where each part was a solo part. The
derivation of the name "madrigal" is unknown—possibly it is
from the Latin and Greek "mandra", a stable, whence the Ita-
lian "mandra", a sheepfold, herd, or drove, then the Italian
"mandrigale", a shepherd's song. This may explain the pastor-
al character of the early madrigals.

MASQUE

a form of entertainment introduced from Italy to England dur-
ing Henry VIII's reign.

MEAN

loosely (16th and 17th centuries) applied to any particular
voice, instrument, or string between the treble and the bass.
Shakespeare puns upon the word; Love's Labor's Lost (V,ii,327
ff): "...may, he can sing a mean most meanly...

MEASURE

(also minikin) in Elizabethan England, loosely, a dance. Cf.
L.L.(V,ii,221,222): "Curtsey, sweet hearts; and so the mea-
sure ends. More measure of this measure; be not nice". Also,
Much Ado About Nothing (II,1,79,80); here is shown that the word means a movement "mannerly-modest...full of state and anc-
ciency..."

a composition for sacred use, generally set to Latin text.

Elizabethan England often used "noise" as meaning sound. Spenser speaks of a "heavenly noise". In Shakespeare's time a "noise of music" was a haphazard combination of instrumentals not numerous enough to make a "band". II Henry IV (II,iv, 12); "...and see if thou canst find out Sneak's noise. Mistress Tearsheet would fain hear some music". Heywood (Iron Age, Act III):

"Where's this great sword and buckler man of Greece? Wee shall have him in one of Sneakes noise, And come peaking into the tents of the Greeks, With will you have any musicke Gentlemen?"

Ben Jonson (The Tale of a Tub): "Press all the noises of Fins-
bury in our name".

fundamentally, a collection of wind-instruments, one or more series of pipes made of various materials and giving forth sounds by different means.

plucked instrument handled like the lutes; popular very early in the 17th century. John Dowland's first and second books of "Songes and Ayres of foure parts with Tablature for the Lute. So made that all the partes together, or either of them severally may be sung to the Lute, Orphirion, etc", show that the instrument was worthy of some attention and study. The orphirion was used (1600) for accompanying purposes.

a plucked instrument strung with wire and used to supply a
bass. Mentioned in 1556: Jocaste (George Gascoigne) in "the order of the dumme shewe and Musicke before every Acte". Thomas Heywood (Fair Maid of the Exchange-1607): "What's her haire? faith to Pandora wiars, there's not thelike simile..." In 1611 Thomas Morley published his "First Booke of consort lessons... for sixe instrumentes to play together; viz.: the Treble Lute, the Pandora..."

PASSAMEZZO a 16th century Italian dance, about which there is much doubt. Suggested by PAVANE (q.v.). Shakespeare may have used the term in Twelfth Night (V,i,206): "Then he's a rogue, and a passy measures pavin". But varied readings for this line are given: "passy measures pavin" becomes "past-measure painim" (in Theobald's 1733 edition). The First Folio gives Panyn; the Second gives Paulin.

PAVANE (pavin, pavyn) an important and interesting dance form of the 16th century, slow and dignified. It originated in Italy and reached England by way of France. The Pavane was sung as well as danced. Parthenia (1610) has examples of the Pavane, as do the works of John Dowland.

PLAIN-SONG broadly, the unison, unmeasured chant in use before the evolution of measured music. Later used to distinguish the un-harmonised Gregorian chant from the harmonised mensurable music.

POINT point of war, set of notes on a trumpet. Coriolanus (IV,vi, 125): "The second name of men, obeys his points as if he were his officer". "Points", here, are commands (as if given by a
a stringed instrument played by plucking with the fingers or with a plectrum. It had many shapes—the shallow sound-box being chiefly triangular, square, or oblong. (See illustrations, page 32).

an extemporized added part harmonized in fifths, before they were forbidden. Chaucer, in *The Miller's Tale* (l. 3328–3332):

says:

In twenty manere koude he trippe and daunce
After the scole of Oxenforde the,
And with his legges casten to and fro,
And playen songes on a smal rubible; 1
Therto he song som tyme a loud quynoble.

the truly English way of spelling choir. In *Henry VIII* (IV, i)

Shakespeare uses the older form, though this has been changed in modern reprints of his works.

a stringed, bowed instrument of great antiquity, often referred to in literature and in old records. (See under *QUINIBLE*, above).

in Elizabethan times this word commonly meant "to sing" or "to warble".

(English flute, common flute, fipple-flute, flute douce, doucet, doucette, etc). A wind-instrument of the whistle-headed family, very popular in England for over three hundred years.

1 See *REBECK*, below
REGAL

a small portable organ, sometimes with a single set of pipes. It produced its music by means of reed pipes set into vibration by air from bellows at the back of the instrument.

RELISH

as a verb, "to relish" meant to embellish with graces or ornaments. Shakespeare uses it thus in Two Gentlemen of Verona (II,1,20,21): "...to relish a love-song, like a robin-redbreast".

RULES

in the 16th and 17th centuries, the lines upon which music was written were often called "rules".

SABRETT

a triangular stringed instrument of very sharp, shrill tone. Not to be confused with SACKBUT (q.v.). (Cf. Ascham's Toxophilus, page 53).

SACKBUT

(the Oxford Dictionary gives sago, -but, -bot, saggabut, -butt, shagbot, shagbot (e), shakebott, shagbush, -but, sackbot, -but, sackabot, sackabut, sackabut, -but). I find no reference to SAGBOLT in the Oxford Dictionary, though there is little doubt but that this is but another of the numerous spellings of the word. The SACKBUT was the old English name for the trombone. A very popular instrument and one often mentioned in the literature of the 16th and 17th centuries.

GRATUIT

a military signal, but different from the flourish. Elizabethan stage-directions often call for a sennet to be sounded, and Shakespeare uses the direction frequently.

SERPET

a wood-wind bass instrument played through a cup-shaped mouthpiece. Thus, it was related to the cornet and acted as bass to that group of instruments. The SERPET'S active life extended from the end of the 16th century to the first part
of the 19th, when it was superseded by the bass-tuba.

SHALM
(shawm, shalmay, shalmoy) a double-reed wind instrument, very ancient, and made in a variety of pitches, from treble to bass.

SPINET
a keyboard instrument closely resembling the virginal in action, but differing from it in shape. The true virginal was in a rectangular case, but the spinet was in the form of a harp laid horizontally. The English use of the spinet dates from the time of Henry VIII.

STUMP
an instrument with wire strings, invented by Daniel Farrant.

TABOR
a drum, varying in size and method of handling, according to the period. There are many references to it, in Shakespeare as well as in other writers.

THRENDE
(threnos) a dirge.

THRENOS
(a form of composition of which little seems to be known. It is possible that it is only a variation of the word DUMP (q.v).

Thomson Ford's Musick of Sundrie Kindes (1607) has "A Pill to Purge Melancholie, M. Richard Martin's Thumpe".

TIMBREL
an ancient tambourine.

TRIPLEX
an old term for triple time. Twelfth Night (V, i, 40) has: "The triplex, sir, is a good tripping measure..." Triplex was also used to designate the third part in polyphonic music.

TROLL
(to sing (something) in the manner of a round or catch; to sing in a full, rolling voice; to chant merrily or jovially.

Hammer Gurton's Needle, Song II: "Then doth she trollle to mee the bowle". Shakespeare, in The Tempest (III, i, 126)."Will
you troll the catch you taught me but while-ere?" Following this question, Stephano sings: "Flout 'em and scout 'em..."

**TUCKET**

(tuck) a military call, said by Francis Markham (1622) to have been a "signal for marching used by cavalry". Cf. Henry V, Act IV, scene ii, lines 34,35: "Then let the trumpets sound the tucket sonance and the note to mount".

**VIOLES**

(vial, viall) a family of bowed, stringed instruments, very popular in England, and commonly appearing in three sizes and pitches: treble, tenor, and bass. Shakespearean references are many. (See under MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN USE DURING THE PERIOD).

**VIRGINAL**

a keyboard instrument popular, roughly, from about 1500 to 1700.

**VOLTS**

an ancient dance-form originating as a variety of galliard. The dance was characterized by the leap of the lady as her partner turned her. Both Mary Stuart and Elizabeth were fond of the dance, but Mary "did not dance so high as her royal cousin of England" (Melville). In Henry V (III, v, 32 ff) we read:

> They bid us to the English dancing-schools,
> And teach voltes high, and swift corantes;
> Saying our grace is only in our heels...

Robert Greene, in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (first acted in 1591), speaks of the dolphins being drawn to "dance voltes in the purple streams". (Note the English use of the French article with the word itself).

**WAIT**

(wayte, wayghte) an instrument used by the watchmen who "waited" at the gates of cities and castles.
WHIFFLER  a player on a kind of pipe (whiffle) who led the way in a procession as an usher. The instrument probably received its name from the puff (whiff) of wind required to produce the music. The pipe named the player. In the Chorus to Act V of Henry V (lines 11-13) Shakespeare uses it:

... the deep-mouth'd sea,
Which like a mighty whiffler 'fore the King
Seems to prepare his way.

WREST in connection with music, wrest meant to tune the strings, particularly of keyboard instruments. The word is used figuratively by Shakespeare in Troilus and Cressida (III,iii,22-25):

... but this Antenor,
I know, is such a wrest in their affairs
That their negotiations all must slack,
Wanting his manage...
APPENDIX II

WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE WHICH HAVE INSPIRED COMPOSERS: COMPOSERS WHO HAVE USED SHAKESPEAREAN MATERIAL

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA


Antoine et Cléopâtre: orchestral suite. Florent Schmitt

AS YOU LIKE IT


All the music of the play... added 3 songs composed for the play by Dr. Arne. Compiled by Sir Henry Rowley Bishop. London. Goulding, D'Almaine and Co. (1824?)

As You Like It: masque from the music to Shakespeare's A.Y.L.I.

By Edward German. London. Novello and Co., Ltd. (1902)


COMEDY OF ERRORS


Comedy of Errors: ( Irrungen) Oper in 3 Akten. Carl Adolf Lorenz, Ber-
lin. Schlesinger (189--?)

**CORIOLANUS**


**HAMLET**


Ouverture zu Hamlet: Joseph Joachim. MS. Leipzig. Breitkopf und Härtel (187--?)


Hamlet: Phantasie-Ouverture für grosses Orchester. Petr Il'itch


Heugel et cie (1869)

Hamlet: revamped, modernized, and set to music. Charles Carroll

Saule. St. Louis. Jones and Co. (1879)

**HENRY VIII**


Overture, and music incidental to Shakespeare's play (for piano).


"Orpheus with his Lyre": song with piano acc. Sir Arthur Sullivan.

Boston. Oliver Ditson Co. (188-?)

Three dances from the music to Shakespeare's play. James Edward German. London. Novello and Co., Ltd. (1901)


**JULIUS CAESAR**

Four choruses in the tragedy of Julius Caesar. John Sheffield; set to music by J.E. Galliard. MS (17-?)


Brunschweig. Litolf (186-?)

**HENRY IV**

"At the Bear's Head": musical interlude in one act. Music, founded on old English melodies, by Gustav Holst. Op. 42. London. No-
KING JOHN


KING LEAR

König Lear: Ouverture für Orchester zu W. Shakespeares Tragödie.

Mili Alexiowitz Balakirew. Leipzig. Zimmermann (186--?)


König Lear: Oper in drei Akten nach Shakespeare und Holinshed....

Ouverture. Litolff, Henry Charles. Braunschweig. Litolff

King Lear and his daughters quer: Hugo Vamp. London. Davidson (185--?)

LOVE'S LABOR'S LOST


Lucas, Weber and Co. (186--?)

MACBETH


Leipzig. Breitkopf und Härtel (1884)

Macbeth: tragic opera in 4 acts. Music by Verdi. N. Y. Taylor and Co. (185--?)


Macbeth: drama lyrique en sept tableaux (un prologue et trois actes)


Macbeth: "The musick in the tragedy of Macbeth. Composed by M. Locke." (The music is now believed to have been composed by Henry Purcell). L2. (18--?)


Scene dans la Gardner des sorcières (IVme acte, scene Ire) de la tragédie Macbeth: pour grand orchestre. Leipzig. Balaieff (1902)


Macbeth: J. Harroway. London. Davidson (186--?)
Macbeth Bewitched: Celebrated comic scena... London. Musical Bouquet office (186--?)

MERCHANT OF VENICE

"Take, O take...": B. Van Dieren. London. Oxford University Press (1925)

"To keep my gentle Jessy"... music by Thomas Arne. London (1790?)


Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor: komische phantastische Oper in 3
Songs, duetts, etc introduced in...Harry Wives of Windsor, selected
entirely (with one exception) from the plays, poems, and son-
nets of Shakespeare. Music by Mr. Horn, with the exception of
four pieces composed and selected by Mr. Parry. London. Sampson
Low. (1824)
Falstaff: lyrical comedy in 3 acts by Fortunino Giuseppe Francesco
Verdi. Milan. Ricordi and Co. (1893)

MIDWINTER NIGHT'S DREAM

Elfenlied aus Shakespeares Sommernachtstraum für Frauenchor, so-
The Fairies: an opera. Words taken from Shakespeare, etc. Set to
music by Mr. Smith. (Adapted from M.N.D. by D. Garrick). Lon-
don. Walsh (1755)
"A Bank Whereon the Wild Thyme Blovs": duet; words from M.N.
D. By Charles E. Horn. London. Cramer, Addison and Beale (183-?)
Overture, songs, duetts, trios, quartettes, choruses, marches, and melo-
dramatic music in Shakespeare's M.N.D..., the whole of the
music, with the exception of 5 pieces altered from Arne, Smith,
Goulding, N' Almzine, Potter and Co. (181--7)
Midsummer Night's Dream: overture, scherzo, notturno, wedding march,
(Various arrangements and editions available). Leipzig. Bilen-
burg (1924?)
The Fairy Queen: an opera. Represented at the Queen’s Theatre by Their Majesties’ Servants. London. Printed for Jacob Tonson. (1692). The music was by Purcell


Oberon’s Court, or Songs of the Fairies, by Elfin (pseud). Music by Charles E. Horn. London. Walsh (162--?)


MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING


OTHELLO


Othello, der Mörder von Venedig: Oper in drei Akten (Tragische Oper). (Musik von Rossini). Berlin (1850)

Otello: lyrical drama in 4 acts. Fortunino Giuseppe Francesco Verdi Milan. Ricordi and Co. (1887)

Shakespeare's Othello, übersetzt von Dr. Johann Heinrich Voss. Jena. Frommann (1805)

Othello: the music arranged by J. Harroway. Versified... by Hugo Vamp. London. Davidson (186--?)

RICHARD III


RICHARD III. Otello: music arranged by J. Harroway. Versified... by Hugo Vamp. London. Davidson (186--?)

ROGEO AND JULIET


Romeo and Juliet: dramatic symphony. Louis Hector Berlioz. Cincinnati. Church and Co. (1878)

Guilietta e Romeo; "dramma per musica en tre atti". Zingarelli was the composer of the music. Paris. Au Théâtre de l'imperatrice
Paris. Choudens (1868)

Queen Mab: Shakespearean poem #7 for grand orchestra and chorus
und Härtel. (1904)

Les amants de Vérona: opera en 4 actes... Paul Xavier Désiré Rich-
ard, Marquis d' Ivry. Paris. Flaxland (1867)

Pavane from music to Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. Composed by
Edward German for the production of the play at the Lyceum
(1902)

Schuberth and Co. (186—?)

Romeo und Julie: Orchester Vorspiel. Nach gelassenes Werk, revidirt
von E.A. MacDonald. Boston. Schmidt (1891)

Romeo und Juliet: opera in 4 acts. John Barkworth. London. MacDon-
aghi, Capdeville and Co., Ltd. (1925)

Berlin. Bote und Bock (186—?)

Romeo und Juliet: lyric drama in 3 acts and 1 tableau. Harry Rowe
Shelley. N.Y. Schuberth and Co. (1901)


Romeo et Juliette: ouverture fantaisie d'après Shakespeare. Petr
Il'itch Tchaikovski. Berlin. Bote und Bock (188—?)

Giulietta e Romeo: tragedia in tre atti. Riccardo Zandonai, Milano.
Ricordi e c. (1923)

**SONGS**


Collection, compiled by John Caulfield: songs, duets, glees, choruses, etc. London. Caulfield. (185--?)

The Songs from Shakespeare's Plays: set to the old tunes. T. Maskell Hardy, editor. London. Curwen and Sons, Ltd. (193--?)

"It was a Lover and His Lass": duet (S.A.) Music by Mary Carmichael. London. Boosey and Co. (187--?)


Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs...accompaniments for the pianoforte, from the works of Purcell, Fielding...Linley, W., editor. London. Preston (1815-16)

A Shakespeare Song Cycle: Grace Wassall. Cincinnati. The John Church Co. (1904)

The Shakespeare Songs: complete collection of the songs written by or attributed to Shakespeare. Edited by Tucker Brooke (WORDS ONLY--no music). N.Y. Morrow and Co. (1929)

Six Shakespeare Songs: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco. London. J. and W. Chester, Ltd. (1923)
Songs from Shakespeare: London, Cassell and Co., Ltd. (1886)

Sonnets of Shakespeare...and miscellaneous songs, by...Richard Simpson. London, Lucas, Weber and Co. (1878)

Six Madrigals, for 4 voices. Composed...by John Davy. Op. 15. London. Salle (1810?)

Songs from Shakespeare's Tempest. Music by Joseph Moorat. London. (1908) In Sh., Wh., The Tempest

Gesänge und Shakespeares Was ihr wollt: Carl Gottfried Wilhelm Taubert. Berlin, Westphal (186--)

Thirteen Standard Songs of Shakespeare: music by Purcell, Arne, Bishop, Schubert, etc. London. Chappell and Co., Ltd. (1915)


INTERPOLATED SONGS

"As it fell upon a day": duet (from the sonnets). Sir Henry Rowley Bishop. Boston. Ditson (185-?)

"Charmer, hear your faithful lover"; favorite song in Coriolanus. London? (177-?)


"Come, let us agree": (sung in T. of A.). Henry Purcell. London. (1700?)

"Dear, dear, pretty, pretty, pretty youth": (sung by girl in The Tempest). Henry Purcell. London (1696?)
"Fill, fill, fill all the glasses": (2-pt. song in Henry V). Purcell.
London (1740?)

**TAMING OF THE SHREW**


**Taming of the Shrew**: songs (by various composers). London. Willis and Co. (1825?)

**THE TEMPEST**

"Full fathom" and "Where the bee sucks": Robert Johnson. Oxford. (1660) Published by John Wilson in "Cheerfull ayres or bal-
lads". (In Sh., the Tempest.) London (1895)

**Musik zu W. Shakespeares Der Sturm von Engelbert Humperdinck. Leipzig** (1907)

Two chants d'Ariel (from The Tempest) Arthur Honegger. Paris. Sonart (1926)

The Tempest: an opera. Set to music by Mr. Smith. London. Printed for I. Walsh (1756?)


"Where the bee sucks": arr. for piano by Mr. Peile. Boston. Bradlee (183--?)

**Overture to The Tempest**: Sir Julius Benedict. London. Enoch (187--?)

**Ariel's song from Shakespeare's Tempest**: für Orchester. Walter...
Braunfels, Leipzig, Lenckart (1911)


*Prospero*: concert overture for full orchestra. Frederick Corder, London, Novello, Ewer and Co. (1864?)

*Bohre*: Oper in 3 Akten. Fíbich, Praha, Urbanek (1895)


Prelude *pour* *La Tempête de W. Shakespeare*; pour orchestre. Arthur Honegger, Paris, Senart (1924)

Symphonische Dichtung nach *Shakespeare's Sturm*; für Orchester, John Knowles Paine, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel (1907)

*The Tempest*: Henry Purcell (and Arne, Smith, Linley), London, Longdane (183—?)

*Die Geister-Insel*: ein Singspiel in 3 Akten. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Berlin (1799)

*La tempest*: "an entirely new grand opera, in 3 acts." Music by Halévy (see above).

Music to *Shakespeare's Tempest*: piano (4 hands), Sir Arthur Sullivan, London, Novello and Co., Ltd. (188—?)


*Der Sturm*: Oper in 3 Aufzügen. Anton Urspruch, Hamburg, Cranz (1884)


TENFTH NIGHT


TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA


VENUS AND ADONIS

"Bid me discourse": Henry R. Bishop. N.Y. Lesier (183--?)

"Lo here the gentle lark": H.R. Bishop

WINTER'S TALE

Hermione: grosse Oper in 4 Aufzügen. Max Bruch. Berlin: Simrock (1872)


WHOOP, NO IN NO HARM, GOOD MAN (late 16th century) H.T., IV, iii

(Whoop, do me no harm, good man)

THE HUNT IN US. 1537, at least

Roman and Juliet, III, V

HEART'S EASE. (Words not known. Tune before
1566). Romeo and Juliet, IV, V

WOUNDED SLEEPING GRIEF (Rhine Edwards, poet and composer, d.
1566)
GREEN SLEEVES. (Tune is probably of Henry VIII's time)

CATHOLIC WHISTLE. (Tune as given by Byrd, who wrote variations before 1591)

HOW SHOULD I YOUR TRUE LOVE KNOW (Hamlet). Corruption of tune "Talshingam"

HOLD THY PEACE. (T. N. II, iii) "CATCH" for three voices

THE KING'S HUNTING JIG. By Dr. Bull (1563-1628) See Hamlet, II, ii, 522
Part of *MY LADY CAREY'S DANCE*, c. 1600. (See T.G.III, ii, 84; etc.)

This is about one-third of it. The last strain of all is given here. Authenticity of this version of *MY LADY CAREY'S DANCE* is doubtful. A copy of the original for virginals, dated 1510, may be found in *Shakespeare's Music* (Curwen pub.), p. 7. (Edited by E.W. Naylor)