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MUSIC IN SHAKESPEAREAN TRAGEDY

by

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CONTENTS

MUSIC EXAMPLES AND FACSIMILES

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER III

MUSIC EXAMPLES AND FACSIMILES

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER IX

ILLUSTRATIONS

Between pages 138 *and* 139

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ABBREVIATIONS

The plays of Shakespeare follow the abbreviations in C. T. Onions's *Shakespeare Glossary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The First Folio of 1623 prints thirty-six plays, to which modern editors usually add two plays written, in part at least, by Shakespeare, namely *Pericles* and the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. Most of Onions's abbreviations are obvious references to the main noun, such as: *Ado*, *Caes*, *Kins*, *Per*, *Wiv*.

Other equally obvious abbreviations of Onions are:

All's W	*All's Well that Ends Well*
F_1, F_2	1st Folio of 1623 (*Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*), 2nd Folio of 1632, etc.
LLL	*Love's Labour's Lost*
3 H 6	*Henry VI, Part III*
Lr	*King Lear*
Mer V	*Merchant of Venice*
MND	*Midsummer Night's Dream*
Q_1, Q_2	1st, 2nd Quarto edition of a play
Tp	*Tempest*
Tw N	*Twelfth Night*

In quotations from the plays S.D. stands for Stage Direction.

(J)	Caulfield	*Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays*, 2 vols., London, 1864
(EK)	Chambers	*Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1923
	Chambers WS	*William Shakespeare*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1930
(W)	Chappell	*Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols., London, 1855–59
(CL)	Day and (EB) Murrie	*English Song Books 1651–1702*, London, 1940
	Fitzwilliam	*Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, edd. J. A. Fuller-Maitland and W. Barclay Squire, 2 vols., London and Leipzig, 1894–99

(J)	Fletcher	*Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, edd. A. Glover and A. R. Waller, 10 vols., Cambridge, 1905–12
(WW)	Greg	*Bibliography of Printed English Drama*, London, 1939 ff. Vol. I: 1939, Vol II: 1951, Vol. III: 1957, Vol. IV: 1959
	Greg FF	*Shakespeare First Folio*, Oxford, 1955
(A)	Harbage	*Annals of English Drama*, Philadelphia, 1940
(B)	Jonson	*Works of Benjamin Jonson*, edd. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, 11 vols., Oxford, 1925–52
(GL)	Kittredge	*Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. G. L. Kittredge, Boston, 1936
	Kittredge SP	*Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare, with full explanatory notes*, Boston, 1946
(J)	Marston	*Works of John Marston*, ed. H. Harvey-Wood, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1934–39
	NA	*New Arden Edition of Shakespeare's Works*, edd. U. Ellis Fermor and others, London, 1946 ff.
	NS	*New* [Cambridge] *Shakespeare Edition*, edd. J. D. Wilson and others, Cambridge, 1921 ff.
	NV	*New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare's Works*, edd. H. H. Furness and others, Philadelphia, 1871 ff.
(T)	Nashe	*Works of Thomas Nashe*, edd. R. B. McKerrow and F. P. Wilson, 5 vols., Oxford, 1958
(EW)	Naylor	*Shakespeare and Music*, 2nd ed., London, 1931
	Naylor PM	*Poets and Music*, London, 1928
	Naylor SM	*Shakespeare Music*, 2nd ed., London, 1928
(R)	Noble	*Shakespeare's Use of Song*, London, 1923
(CT)	Onions	*Shakespeare Glossary*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1919, rev. 1953
	Onions SE	*Shakespeare's England*, edd. C. T. Onions, S. Lee, W. Raleigh and others, 2 vols., Oxford, 1916
(J)	Playford	*English Dancing Master, 1651*, facsimile reprint, ed. M. Dean-Smith, London, 1957
	Plutarch	*Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, Englished by Sir Thomas North, anno 1579*, intr. G. Wyndham (Tudor Translations, 1st Series, ed. W. Henley), 6 vols., London, 1895–96

(AW)	Pollard STC	(and G. R. Redgrave) *Short Title Catalogue . . . 1475–1640*, London, 1926
(J)	Webster	*Complete Works of John Webster*, ed. F. L. Lucas, 4 vols., London, 1928
(D)	Wing STC	*Short Title Catalogue . . . 1641–1700*, 3 vols., New York, 1945–51
(HE)	Wooldridge	*Old English Popular Music*, 2 vols., London, 1893 [a revision of Chappell], reprinted New York, 1961.

PREFACE

To offer yet another book on Shakespeare seems rash. Yet, the particular subject of music is none too well covered in an otherwise vast literature, and few would deny that the student eager to grasp Shakespeare's art as a whole cannot afford to ignore the playwright's use of music. To probe this subject calls for a combination of historical, literary and musical skills, and for one person to acquire all of these is difficult indeed. I can only hope that the usefulness of this monograph will outweigh its imperfections.

Most of us come to a prolonged study of Shakespeare by way of our experiences as schoolboys. In these early, impressionable years, we react to the plays as readers, listeners and even as amateur actors and producers. From the beginning I was fascinated by certain lyrics such as the grave-digger's song in *Hamlet* and Pandarus' air in *Troilus*, and realized how much of the pathetic effect of Ophelia hinges on her mad-songs. But, instinctively, one felt that the music usually heard in the commercial theatre was quite wrong and clashed with the 'tone' of the verse. To find the right tone and atmosphere, to unlock the treasury of Elizabethan music and provide Shakespearean producers and audiences with the fitting vocal and instrumental strains seemed an urgent duty. The books of Chappell, Naylor, Warlock and others were read with fascination and profit but, grateful as I have remained to these distinguished predecessors, I encountered more riddles than answers.

After the war a colleague, Professor H. B. Williams (Dartmouth College, U.S.A.), invited me to provide the music for several of his Shakespearean productions. Influenced by Poel, Craig and Granville-Barker, Williams stressed the continuity of the plays, respected the full text and used the acting area in a manner corresponding to the Elizabethan platform stage. In

permitting me to use Elizabethan music while New York's Broadway and London's West End continued in the idiom of nineteenth-century romanticism, he offered me an audience that was much wider than the one restricted to students in the history of music. (One suspects that, in a more important way, Arnold Dolmetsch reached a larger circle of listeners before the First World War when he provided music for William Poel's presentations of Shakespeare.)

In the process of working with a producer I was bound to learn a good deal about timing in the live theatre, a necessary awareness to complement one's more bookish researches. But, most of all, in this practical experience I found my theories vindicated: what was the right music historically proved also to be the right music for the general public. Audiences, not in the least tainted by antiquarian tendencies, loved the old music, and, without false modesty, the musician could claim to have contributed towards a theatrical success. In a few instances it was possible to unearth the old songs. In other cases it was necessary to adapt some other music of the period. But the obvious aim was to find more of the original music and have fewer adaptations.

For one winter I resided at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, relieved from teaching duties and privileged to discuss my work with Professor E. Panofsky, whose knowledge of Renaissance Art, including drama and poetics, is rivalled by few. At the same time, I began to compare notes with fellow-workers in the field, notably Mr. Sydney Beck of the New York Public Library, whose performing version of 'O mistress mine, where are you roaming?' appeared in *Renaissance News* in 1953. To our delight, Alfred Deller was quick to use this version, and it became popular in a gramophone recording. But, clearly, the perusal of the resources of American libraries, and the patient study of microfilms from Britain, could be no substitute for consulting printed and manuscript sources in the original. Between 1954 and 1956 work was pursued in the British Museum, and since 1956 research has been carried on at the Bodleian Library. As a result, I have not only had access to the treasures of that great institution, but also profited from the kindness and learning of my fellow-teachers and Bodleian's staff.

The original plan was to deal with all of Shakespeare's plays. But it quickly became evident that the cruxes and problems were considerable. On the 'Willow Song' alone it took years of work before the pieces began to fall into place. It seemed desirable, therefore, to present one's views and findings, for what they were worth, without further delay, and the result is this volume on the tragedies—with a further instalment on the comedies in the offing. Nevertheless, an endeavour has been made to have the present book as comprehensive as possible. The Index of Lyrics is a dictionary catalogue of the songs in all of Shakespeare's plays, listing even mere allusions to ballad titles. The retrospect of scholarship and the bibliography similarly deal with the entire Shakespearean *œuvre*, and, indeed, with the wider question of poetry-and-music in the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages. By way of the bibliographical Addenda, which have also been indexed, the aim has been to cover the sources known as recently as 1962.

A word should be said about the transcription of the old texts. All literary quotations of Shakespeare and his contemporaries are offered in modern spelling. The same is true of the titles of books, except in a few instances where the old form is sufficiently standard to make modernization awkward (*Schoole of Musicke*, *Cittharn Schoole*, etc.). Whenever there was doubt about modernization or emendation, the original spelling of Folio and/or Quarto is given in a footnote. Similarly, the musical transcriptions are offered in modern clefs with modern bar-lines. The purpose of this book is not only to serve students of the history of music, but also lovers and producers of Shakespeare. All songs have therefore been transposed for medium voice range, and the accompaniment can readily be performed by an amateur at the keyboard. The notes on transcription record both the original key and any emendations made. Facsimiles of eight of the original sources, supplemented by full bibliographical descriptions of all sources will offer the music historian all the relevant information. It is planned to publish the songs by themselves, for various voice ranges, and in lute tablature.

To present one's results between two covers naturally entails bringing research to a temporary halt. The subject of the Homerus Latinus, referred to in a brief footnote on page 90,

could easily be expanded into a full-length article, and the subject of Senecan tragedy on which I have touched at various places deserves a monograph of its own. Since the completion of this volume I have written a paper on 'Music in Neo-Senecan Drama of the Elizabethan Period', dealing particularly with Chapman, and I now believe that Chapman's stage direction, referred to on page 19, belongs not to Tamyra and her maid but to a subsequent scene. (This paper is to appear in the Proceedings of a Seneca Congress, held in Paris in 1962, to be published by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, under the editorship of J. Jacquot.)

Another piece of unfinished research is indicated by plates 8(a) and (b), that fascinating transformation of Saint Cecilia playing the organ into an English Lady playing the virginals. Dr. D. Rogers of the Bodleian and I are preparing an article on the subject, to appear in *The Library*; in the meantime, a chronological bibliography appears following this preface.

Finally, it remains my pleasant duty to acknowledge the many acts of kindness and assistance offered to me in the course of this study. In matters of palaeography I have received help on puzzling questions from Miss Margaret C. Crum, Mr. Ian Harwood and Mrs. Diana Poulton. On bibliographical problems I have had the aid of Dr. H. K. Andrews, Mr. Sydney Beck, Professor Thurston Dart and Mr. J. G. McManaway. On individual songs I was able to avail myself of suggestions and criticisms by Miss Helen L. Gardner and Dr. Frank Ll. Harrison. Several persons were kind enough to read parts of this book in typescript and offer critical comments on substance and detail, notably Mr. David J. Greer, Mrs. Jean Robertson-Bromley, Mr. Ernest Schanzer, Mr. Virgil Thomson and Dr. D. P. Walker. Finally, it was my good fortune to have Professor F. P. Wilson take time from his many duties to peruse the entire typescript and let me have the benefit of his criticisms. Needless to say, such imperfections as remain are my own.

In regard to the pictorial illustrations, Dr. Roy Strong of the National Portrait Gallery provided a list of Elizabethan portraits showing musical matters and made many helpful suggestions regarding permissions and photographic reproductions. Dr. E. J. Wellesz, editor of this series, gave me much needed advice from his rich fund of experience; and Mr. Colin Frank-

lin, of the publishing house, listened sympathetically to my ideas, even when some of them, such as the placement of footnotes and facsimiles, were distinctly out of fashion.

Acknowledgements for the Illustrations are made following the List of Illustrations. For the Music Examples and Facsimilies, I am indebted to the governing bodies or librarians of the following institutions:

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales; Arundel, Library of the Duke of Norfolk; Cambridge, University Library; Dublin, Trinity College Library; London, British Museum; New York, Public Library; Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire; Washington, Folger Library.

The following editors have permitted me to reprint material previously published in the form of articles: A. S. Downer (*English Institute Essays*); J. Jacquot (*Fêtes de la Renaissance*); A. Nicoll (*Shakespeare Survey*); G. Thibault (*Annales Musicologiques*).

During the course of this work I have received research grants from the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and the American Philosophical Society. To all these persons and institutions I offer my sincere and humble gratitude. My greatest obligation is expressed in the dedication of this book.

F.W.S.

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PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE TITLE PAGE OF *PARTHENIA*

1612/13 *Parthenia* [Pollard-Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue*, nos. 4252, 11827], copy in Huntington Library.

c. 1613 *Parthenia* [not distinguished by *Short Title Catalogue*]. A second state which differs from the Huntington copy in two respects: First, the leaf bearing the dedication to Prince Frederick and Princess Elizabeth is omitted; secondly, there are several minor pages on the engraved title page, notably,

(a) 'Dedicated to all the Maisters and Louers of Musick' has been added;

(b) 'Dor: Euans' has been expanded to 'Dorethie Euans';

(c) 'Are to be sould by G. Lowe printr in Loathberry' has been changed to 'Printed at London by G: Lowe and are to be soulde at his howse in Loathberry'.

Several copies of this second state survive, among them two in the British Museum and one in the Bodleian [Arch. A. c. 11]. The Bodleian copy was acquired by the Library prior to 1620, probably under the copyright agreement which had been concluded in 1610.

1803–21 A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, 21 vols., Vienne, III.197.

1952–55 A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England*, 2 vols., Cambridge, II.335–338.

1959 O. E. Deutsch, 'Cecilia and Parthenia', *Musical Times*, C.591–592.

1961 T. Dart, intr., *Parthenia In-Violata*, facsimile edn., New York, pp. 32 ff.

I

TRADITION OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN TRAGEDY

TRAGEDY demanded less music than any other genre on the Elizabethan stage. The tradition of the theatre favoured an abundance of song in comedy but little or no lyric relief in tragedy. This custom pertained primarily to the companies of adult players such as the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the Lord Admiral's Men and, to a lesser extent, to the companies of juvenile players such as the Children of Paul's and the Children of the Chapel. The differences between a tragic drama performed by adults and one performed by boys will occupy us later. Shakespeare's plays were written exclusively for performance by the Chamberlain's Men (after 1603 the King's Men).

In endeavouring to explain the Elizabethan opposition to song in tragedy one might advance several reasons, among them the classical precedent of Senecan tragedy. But more vital to the tradition of the theatre was the very nature of the tragic experience. We are inclined to posit with Aristotle that one of the essential ingredients of the tragic genre is magnitude, provided it can still be grasped as a whole. To interrupt the drama by *divertissements* would destroy, or at least endanger, that magnitude. Only too often a song in spoken drama was nothing more than an ill-concealed diversion, rather than an element integrated into the dramatic structure. Perhaps there was some

method behind the restraint of Shakespeare's contemporaries and his own procedure in the earlier plays.

When Englishmen wrote their first formal five-act tragedies and comedies in the sixteenth century, ancient dramas were among the most prominent models. It was in the light of the classical precedent that writers like Sir Philip Sidney evaluated the works of their contemporaries. Mention of the 'practice of the ancients' occurs so frequently in discussions of drama in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the modern reader (whose knowledge of ancient tragedy is largely based on Sophocles and Euripides) finds himself confronted with some seeming contradictions. For one thing, the Elizabethans looked to the Romans rather than the Greeks for their classical models. Seneca was favoured for tragedy, Plautus and Terence for comedy. Moreover, the Greek notion of the use of song in tragedy was quite contrary to that of the Roman. Song was employed by the Greek tragic playwrights and approved by Aristotle, though he frowned on its use when it was not connected with the plot. Seneca's tragedies, on the other hand, are largely rhetorical; they abound in bloodshed, ghosts and moralizing, but certainly not in lyrics. The collection, *Seneca his ten tragedies translated into English*, was published in London in 1581, but individual translations had appeared earlier and, in any event, Seneca had provided material for study and performance in the schools.

Norton's and Sackville's *Gorboduc*, acted before Queen Elizabeth in 1562, was the first formal five-act tragedy in blank verse. It is heavily indebted to the Roman model, for there are no songs and the moralizing choruses at the end of the acts are verbal, not musical. Yet, there is a deviation in this early English tragedy from its classical model. A dumb-show precedes each one of the five acts, to the accompaniment of instrumental music. The stage directions designate specific instruments to provide music suitable to the action. (Marlowe, Shakespeare and Webster were not slow to profit from this example.) *Gorboduc* may be said to combine two traditions: the theory of the schoolmen that tragedy must be Senecan; and the practical custom of the theatre that drama must be enlivened by spectacle. The vitality of the Elizabethan playwright asserts itself here with the injection into the classical model of such elements as

dramatic exigence and the expectations of the audience might dictate. E. K. Chambers traces these spectacles, whether dumb-show or masque, to the Italian *intermedii* and observes that such inter-acts must have offered a welcome contrast to the body of Senecan tragedy with its over-riding rhetoric. In the few treatises dealing with the propriety of having music at the conclusion of an act we find the view that these entertainments were inserted 'to the intent the people might be refreshed and kept occupied' and to offer 'relief . . . if the discourses have been long'.[1]

The courtly *intermedii*, popular jigs and other such additions were natural opportunities for music-making in a medium that was almost exclusively verbal. But in order that the spectacle should not overwhelm the drama, the early inter-act was gradually absorbed into the main fabric. The question remains, how closely or loosely these additions were tied to the main theme, and in this respect sensibilities vary a good deal. That one of Shakespeare's finely chiselled tragedies should be followed by a pantomime, a 'jig', with its admixture of clowning, dancing and improvisation, would seem to a fastidious critic quite out of order and more appropriate to comedy. Yet, Thomas Platter, a Swiss visitor to London, was not at all discomfited when, on 21 September 1599, at the Globe Playhouse, he attended 'the tragedy of the first emperor Julius . . . at the end they danced according to their custom with extreme elegance. Two in men's clothes and two in women's gave this performance, in wonderful combination with each other'. He continues: 'On another occasion, I also saw after dinner a comedy. . . . At the end they danced very elegantly both in English and in Irish fashion.' This suggests that the Elizabethan audience, like its Italian counterpart, expected music to be included in their dramatic diet. To satisfy this demand, some bit of comedy was inserted into the early tragedies or added at the end, and it seems a fair assumption that the musical accompaniment of these additions was an important part of the relief.

The custom which limited the use of song in tragedy did not

[1] Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, 1589 (G. G. Smith, ed., *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II.38); Dryden, *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, 1668 (*Works*, edd. W. Scott and G. Saintsbury, XV.332). Puttenham's discussion of ancient practice actually reveals the Elizabethan attitude.

apply to instrumental music. Wordless music has, through the ages, lent its assistance to the depiction of pathos, horror and mystery. In Elizabethan drama its use can be traced from the 1560s to the end of Shakespeare's career: from the dumb-shows with music in Thomas Norton's and Thomas Sackville's *Gorboduc* (acted 1562, printed 1565) and George Gascoigne's *Jocasta* (acted 1566, printed 1573) to the dead march in *Coriolanus* (1608). Dumb-shows, dead marches and masques account for the greater part of these instrumental passages apart from music which mysteriously accompanies scenes of divine prophecy (such as the oboes heard by the soldiers in *Antony and Cleopatra* before their leader's downfall).

In casting about for an explanation of the greater use of instrumental music as compared with vocal music in tragedy one can only surmise that its inclusion in the early tragedies at significant steps of the plot proved so successful that its presence was soon taken for granted. Because there is no text, instrumental music has a quick suggestiveness and poignancy that speaks eloquently to the emotions and the imagination. Modern manifestations of this phenomenon are found in the Grand Guignol and the horror films and 'tear-jerkers' of today's cinema. In the absence of modern lighting and staging, with its artful suggestiveness, Elizabethan productions could rely on instrumental music to be an auxiliary device of some importance. Particularly in passages where the declamation of blank verse came to a halt, for one reason or another, incidental instrumental passages were more likely than song to assist the action and less likely to be irrelevant. For the decisive issue, once again, lay in the size and wholeness of the tragedy. Aristotle speaks of the 'interlude' when he praises the lyrics of Sophocles over those of Agathon and Euripides. And, indeed, the concept of 'interlude' or *divertissement* is a legitimate touchstone for the propriety of instrumental music. If it be the business of tragedy, as Aristotle has it, to arouse pity and fear, or—as some Renaissance authors have varied the phrase—wonder and pity, what better means of assisting these emotions than in the sounding of miraculous and pathetic strains? Thus administered, these passages become integral parts of the drama. The 'sound' to which the ghost of Helen is conjured up in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1588–92), and the dead march in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1585–

1590), lead to the instrumental passages in Shakespeare's later plays: the strains to which the old Lear is cured; the protagonist buried in *Coriolanus*; and the statue brought to life in the *Winter's Tale*.

The total absence of any musical relief, whether instrumental or vocal, was a marked characteristic of Seneca's closet dramas, that is to say, of plays to be read, not performed. Their non-musical austerity was counterbalanced, however, by the lusty comedies of Plautus, which abound in song, and the tragedies of the Elizabethan theatre were to profit from the leavening effect of music in comedy. Terence, whom the schoolmasters favoured, was too refined for the robust atmosphere of the Elizabethan playhouses. True, the Terentian five-act dramas were of importance for their formal structure, but it was Plautine comedy that furnished a Shakespeare and a Molière with prototypes and dramatic technique.

The first regular English comedy to be modelled after the ancients was Nicholas Udall's *Roister Doister* (*ca.* 1553). The ribaldry of Plautus, his stock types such as the braggard soldier, and his abundant lyrics (*cantica*) were among the main elements of Udall's comedy. Indeed, the first printed copy of *Roister Doister* (undated, *ca.* 1567) resembles the sixteenth-century printings of Plautus, for a rapid glance shows that Udall's songs are set off typographically in the same manner as the *cantica* of Plautus, and occur with comparable frequency. In some other instances the printed text of *Roister Doister* merely gives a stage remark, as 'cantet' or 'Here they sing' without printing the lyric. (At the end of the book four lyrics are given to fill in the gaps.)

Between such early prototypes as *Roister Doister* and the comedies of Shakespeare there intervenes a variety of models, among them the court dramas of John Lyly whose plots were often punctuated by song at points of dramatic propriety and plausibility. Clearly, an Elizabethan tradition of several decades lies behind the profusion of songs in *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*. But in the hands of lesser playwrights the songs were apt to be irrelevant diversions, alien to the plot, and their broad humour was likely, at times, to descend to mere smut. (The fourth stanza of Feste's 'For the rain it raineth every day' has been criticized as dramatically pointless, in poor taste, and, for

those reasons, not by Shakespeare.) Elizabethan writers on the drama put tragedy on the higher plane: 'The stately tragedy scorneth the trifling comedy'; and the question of stylistic propriety was always in the foreground, hence, mixing Seneca and Plautus was considered improper. Thomas More insisted that 'such a tragical comedy or galli-maufry must be avoided'.[1] About seventy years later Philip Sidney, in condemning Shakespeare's predecessors, felt moved to write:

> I know the ancients have one or two examples of tragi-comedies as Plautus hath Amphitrio. But if we mark them well, we shall find that they never, or *very daintily*, match horn-pipes and funerals. [italics added]

Sidney's qualification absolves him from the pedantry of those moralists who attacked comedy and song simultaneously. He was convinced, nevertheless, that 'plays be neither right tragedies nor right comedies; mingling kings and clowns'. Who would 'make a clown companion with a king' and 'in their grave counsels . . . allow the advice of fools' also came in for the ready censure of George Whetstone, in the dedication of his play *Promos and Cassandra* (1578). Certainly, the difficulties of stylistic integration were great when song was introduced in tragedy. The mature Shakespeare could and did weld together an assortment of elements which lesser authors were incapable of doing. But as long as the ideal tragedy, in the minds of educated and serious Elizabethans, concerned itself with affairs of state and presented these affairs through the actions of royalty or nobility, it was logical that the inclusion of the clown would be considered incongruous.

Nor were the neo-classic authors of the seventeenth century less severely opposed to such a mixture of styles. In a poem addressed to John Fletcher and printed in 1647 the playwright William Cartwright reasons:

> Shakespeare to thee was dull whose best jest lies
> I' the ladies' questions, and the fool's replies;
> Old-fashioned wit, which walk'd from town to town,
> In turn'd hose, which our fathers call'd the clown,
> Whose wit our nice times would obsceneness call . . .

[1] *Utopia: written in Latin by Sir Thomas More . . . and translated into English by Raphe Robinson . . . London . . . 1551*, ed. J. H. Lupton, Oxford, 1895, p. 99.

After the Restoration Dryden defended this interfusion of the tragic and comic in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* of 1668:

A scene of mirth, mixed with tragedy, has the same effect upon us which our music has betwixt the acts; and that we find a relief to us from the best plots and language of the stage, if the discourses have been long. I must therefore have stronger arguments, ere I am convinced that compassion and mirth in the same subject destroy each other; and in the meantime, cannot but conclude, to the honour of our nation, that we have invented, increased, and perfected a more pleasant way of writing for the stage, than was ever known to the ancients or moderns of any nation, which is tragi-comedy.

But this liberal view of the stage was disallowed by Thomas Rymer who published two books, in 1678 and 1693, in which he contrasted the 'Practice of the Ancients'[1] with the tragi-comedies of Shakespeare and of Beaumont and Fletcher, the better to extol the virtues of the neo-classic Jonson, 'honest Ben'. In Rymer's view Shakespeare's stylistic incongruities show a lack of distinction between high and low art. In a phrase reminiscent of Bottom's preference for the 'tongs and bones' Rymer objects to comic scenes in tragedy and their musical concomitants. He feels that comic characters in the tragedies of Shakespeare and of Beaumont and Fletcher are

thrust into the principal places, when we should give our full attention to what is tragedy. When we would listen to a lute, our ears are rapt with the tintamarre [i.e. hubbub] and twangs of the tongs . . .

In the main, the opposition to the clown was, of course, based on his function as the purveyor of humour. But he was also the chief musician of the adult companies, the one actor who could be relied upon to sing as well as speak. The Senecan tradition was slow to give way, however, and for a century to come after *Gorboduc* the clown and his music were still considered vulgar and out of place, which makes the more remarkable the song of the grave-digger in *Hamlet*.

The star performers of the adult companies did not sing. 'Dick' Burbage and 'Ned' Alleyn illuminated the pathos of

[1] *Tragedies of the Last Age, Considered and Examined by the Practice of the Ancients*, London, 1678, pp. 140 ff.; *Short View of Tragedy . . . with Some Reflections on Shakespeare*, 1693, p. 9.

Hamlet or Faustus through the poet's verse. On the distaff side, Ophelia and Desdemona are notable exceptions even in the Shakespeare canon, for no other of Shakespeare's great heroines sings: Juliet, Calpurnia, Cordelia, Lady Macbeth, Cleopatra. In the rare instances where song does occur in a tragedy, the part is most often given to a boy attendant or to a clown or court-fool. In *Julius Caesar* the boy Lucius sings to Brutus, and an anonymous boy-servant sings for the three world rulers in *Antony and Cleopatra*. King Lear's fool is 'full of songs' and the grave-digger-clown in *Hamlet* performs his task to the rhythm of 'In youth when I did love'; whilst Peter, the serving-man-clown in *Romeo and Juliet* sings the first stanza of 'When griping grief the heart doth wound'. Pandarus in *Troilus and Cressida* (*ca.* 1602), like his counterpart Balurdo in John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1599), has a unique role in that he is nominally a member of the nobility. But these characters debase their ranks when they solicit laughter and applause rather than admiration and pity.

Shakespeare dared to mingle the banter of clowns with the cares and anxieties of kings and in so doing exposed himself to the intense disapproval of fastidious critics, in particular his contemporary Ben Jonson. Jonson is a prominent link in a tradition that extends from the humanists of the sixteenth century to the time of the Restoration, from Thomas More and Philip Sidney to John Dryden and Thomas Rymer. Indeed, Voltaire and Dr. Johnson in the eighteenth century still conceived of tragedy in terms of the Latin classical heritage, that is to say, they disavowed the comical and lyrical relief which the clown's songs could provide.

Shakespeare employed two different techniques by means of which he wove songs into his tragedies: tragic song was employed to supplement tragic speech; and comic song was made to participate in the tragic whole. The Willow Song in *Othello* (discussed in Chapter II) is a supreme example of the tragic lyric, an exceptional device of Shakespeare's own creation. Comic song as a strand in the tragic fabric is less rare in Elizabethan drama. In its use Shakespeare's distinction lies both in the numerical incidence of his songs and in the degree of their integration into the tragedy as a whole. Both the grave-digger's song in *Hamlet* and Pandarus's song in *Troilus and Cressida* are

treated in a manner which deprives them of their wholly comic character and makes them part of the general artistic design. This compounding of the tragic and comic genres is one aspect which critics of Shakespeare's tragedies have found most difficult to accept. The role of the serving-man Peter with his song in *Romeo and Juliet* was offensive even to Goethe, just as the porter-scene in *Macbeth* exceeded Coleridge's tolerance.

Adult Companies

In a garrulous, but useful and much-quoted book, the *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury*, 1598, Francis Meres deals, among many topics, with drama:

> As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latins: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds . . .

He goes on to enumerate those whom he considers the most eminent tragic playwrights, including in his list Sackville, Marlowe, Peele, Kyd, Shakespeare, Chapman and Jonson, whose works come under our consideration. (Chapman will be discussed in the section devoted to the juvenile companies.)

Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* was one of the most popular plays of the age. First performed *ca.* 1585–90, it had ten printings between 1592 and 1633, and it is even possible that there were additional printings of which no extant copies are known. This popularity cannot be accounted for by its Senecan flavour and structure, its ghost and revenge plot. True, it shares with the Elizabethan translations of Seneca the lack of songs. But it adds to Senecan rhetoric a stageworthiness that is alien to the Latin model. Among these additions we may single out two devices, both of which re-appear in *Hamlet*: the play within the play, and the burial at the end. The 'show' which Hieronymo presents to re-enact the murder of Horatio undoubtedly had its musical trappings, though unfortunately no stage direction calling for music survives in the printed copies. (Shakespeare's corresponding stage direction in the third act of *Hamlet* calls for trumpets in the good Quarto of 1604 and for oboes in the Folio of 1623. Kyd, too, must have intended some musical 'noise' to set off the inserted playlet from the drama proper.) The burial

scene at the end of the *Spanish Tragedy* again introduces instrumental music. The stage direction reads:

> The trumpets sound a dead march; the King of Spain mourning after his brother's body, and the King of Portugal bearing the body of his son.

It is worth noting that at the conclusion of *Hamlet*, after Fortinbras has called for 'the soldiers' music', there is a corresponding stage direction, upon which the drama ends. In Kyd, however, there follow nearly fifty lines of verse spoken by the figures of 'Ghost' and 'Revenge', the effect of which tends to be an anti-climax. Still, the effectiveness of the *Spanish Tragedy* as a model for *Hamlet* in musical as well as other matters cannot be denied.

Music as a means to enhance and underline a tragic plot—this lesson Shakespeare learned from Marlowe. Marlowe's blank verse rises above the pioneering attempts of Sackville and the impressive ranting of Kyd to such poetic beauty that it has justly been called musical. Songs as such do not cut across these sonorous lines, but the dumb-shows which punctuate Marlowe's dramas depend on instrumental music to gain their full effect. When

> Music sounds and Helen passeth over the stage

the instrumental strains assist in creating the dream of the beautiful image that appears before Faustus. The authorship of this scene, and of other blank verse passages dealing with music, has never been in doubt. But there remains the enigma of the comic prose scenes which contain several musical cues. *Doctor Faustus* was first performed 1588–92, but the earliest extant printed edition dates from 1604, eleven years after Marlowe's death. It is generally agreed that the comic interludes were not written by Marlowe. Even so, the author, whoever he may have been, was obviously aware of the wishes of the audiences and gave them 'what you will' within the stately frame-work of tragedy. These interspersed scenes of devils chasing a clown or friars chanting a dirge provide lyric relief in allowing an opportunity for music in addition to the clowning. Furthermore, they support the charges of irrelevancy and inappropriate clowning so often aired in discussions of mixing Plautus and Seneca. (An evaluation of the musical effects in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is to be found in Chapter VIII.)

Whereas the majority of Elizabethan tragedies deal with royalty and nobility, whether of ancient or of later European history, there are a few exceptions to this custom. Among them we may note the anonymous *Arden of Feversham* (printed 1592), a domestic tragedy with no music. There is also George Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (1594 or earlier), a biblical tragedy which, in addition to its singular subject, contains a song. The lyric of the lovely Bethsabe is remarkable in the annals of Elizabethan drama for several reasons: for the fact that singing does occur in this early play and that it is performed by a main character rather than an attendant.[1] Finally, the surrounding dialogue makes specific reference to the lyric. At the play's opening Bethsabe sings, unaware that she is being observed by King David,

> Hot sun, cool fire, temper'd with sweet air,
> Black shade, fair nurse, shadow my white hair . . .
> Let not my beauty's fire
> Inflame unstaid desire . . .

Her lyric prompts the king to comment

> What tunes, what words, what looks, what wonders pierce
> My soul, incensed with a sudden fire?

Ashley Thorndyke has said of Peele's play that

> It does not give us reality or wisdom or truth; it carries us into a world of verbal felicity, of music and fancy—a world that the Elizabethans loved, where the author of *Romeo and Juliet* was king.

This is an apt gloss, in general as well as in particular regard to the scene. Peele's poetry is pleasing, and he has a knack of echoing words, such as sun, fire, air and black shade, that explain his fame as a verbal craftsman, a *primus verborum artifex*. Yet, dramatically, the lyric is inapposite and untrue. In the context it would make sense for the king, not Bethsabe, to sing of the flame of unstaid desire which her beauty has kindled; or the scene might have received comment from the traditional chorus of tragedy. But Peele's heroine reveals nothing of herself

[1] Peele's allocation of song to a principal character may be connected with his experience as the writer of the Lord Mayor's pageants, 1585–95, I owe this suggestion to Jean Robertson-Bromley, co-editor of *Dramatic Records . . . of the Livery Companies of London* (Malone Society Collections III), London, 1954. Cf. pp. xxxi, xxxiv & 54.

except, perhaps, her vanity. By contrast, Shakespeare's heroines articulate their innermost thoughts through their lyrics, and what they sing about is not a projection of the feelings of other characters.

Ben Jonson's tragedy of *Sejanus* was acted at the Globe Playhouse in 1603 with Shakespeare in the cast. Comparisons between the two playwrights continue to this day. They were provoked by the learned and proud Ben himself, who charged Shakespeare with 'small Latin and less Greek'. His barbed thrusts at those who 'beget tales, tempests and such drolleries...' did not spare Shakespeare's apt use of the clown. In his comedies Jonson used song with telling effect, as one would expect from a poet and playwright of his stature, though even here he is more economical and less fantastic than Shakespeare. But in the tragedies Jonson rigorously and carefully avoided song, and preferred to make his effects solely by verbal means. This is true both of *Sejanus* and of the later *Catiline* (1611). Jonson's concern with the practice of the ancients is exemplified in the address 'To the Readers' of *Sejanus*. He apologizes for the want of a proper chorus, for the lack of the old splendour, and refers to his commentary of Horace's *Ars poetica*. But he hopes that

> in truth of argument, dignity of persons, gravity and height of elocution, fulness and frequency of sentence, I have discharged the other offices of a tragic writer.

Jonson's taut construction is clearly much closer to Seneca than to *Hamlet*; and it is easy to see why—three-quarters of a century later—the neo-classical Rymer would prefer the art of 'honest Ben' to that of Shakespeare or Beaumont and Fletcher. Yet, success on the stage rested with the latter, and music played an increasing part in the tragedies written after *Hamlet* and *Sejanus*. Of such works, written for the adult companies, we may consider the following tragedies by Shakespeare's contemporaries as both successful and representative:

? Tourneur	*Revenger's Tragedy*	King's Men, 1607
Beaumont & Fletcher	*Maid's Tragedy*	King's Men, 1610
John Webster	*White Devil*	Queen's Men, 1612
John Webster	*Duchess of Malfi*	King's Men, 1613

The Revenger's Tragedy depends for its music on instrumental

was to be an anticipation of the tragic events to come, the intervention of three acts before the realization of the tragedy seems too great a lapse of time.

The *White Devil* contains several Shakespearean echoes beside 'the sad willow' (Act IV). Cornelia's mad scene in Act V and her references to the symbolic nature of rosemary and rue have an antecedent in Ophelia's lines, the more so as it is the first and only time that Webster introduces song in this play. The details are not too clear in the printed text: at Cornelia's entrance a stage direction calls for 'A song', and twenty-nine lines later Cornelia has a lyric beginning

Call for the robin red-breast and the wren.

There is a difference of opinion whether the lyric is to be spoken or sung. The lines do not have the ballad-like simplicity of Ophelia's ditty and if we assume that Cornelia, a minor character, actually sings, her song does not advance the action or intensify the emotion in any significant manner.

Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* was acted by the King's Men about 1613/14, at a time when Shakespeare was no longer active as a playwright. The tragedy contains three songs, the first of which, in Act III, is rather poor. Webster disclaims its authorship in the quarto of 1623—'as well he might', to quote F. L. Lucas, his editor. Two songs, both dramatically apposite and effective, occur in the Masque of Madmen in Act IV. But they are not sung by a major character.

Boys' Companies

The popularity of musical interludes played its part in the relationship between the Chamberlain's/King's Men (and other adult companies) and the rival children's companies of St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal. In the Induction to Marston's *Malcontent* (1604) Burbage explains that additions to the original Blackfriars play were necessary at the Globe Playhouse '. . . to abridge the not received custom of music in our theatre'.[1] This much-discussed passage is usually interpreted to mean that the children's companies offered more music before and after

[1] Marston I.xxiii, 143, 238; Webster III.303, 307; Chambers ES II.542.

I. INDEX OF LYRICS

THIS INDEX endeavours to list all of Shakespeare's lyrics, whether they occur in tragedies, comedies or histories. Some spoken poems have been included when they are likely to have been set to music before 1650, and mere allusions to lyrics and ballad tunes have also been recorded. The pages containing the music of the song are indicated in bold type. First lines are quoted as they occur in Shakespeare ('Then they for sudden joy . . .', 'When griping grief . . .') with appropriate cross references to other versions ('Some men for sudden joy . . .', 'Where griping grief . . .'). The main entry is usually by first line but when the title is better known main entry is given under the title, e.g., 'Walsingham'; or a cross-reference has been made, e.g., 'Willow Song'. In some instances, a reference to a ballad tune is unmistakeable, in others merely likely, but an attempt has been made to cover both of these categories.

The list of references, enclosed in square brackets, includes, in the case of Shakespeare's lyrics:

(a) Location in the plays by act, scene and line (the numbering follows that of the Globe edition).

(b) Location in the F text. Since the Folio has separate paging for Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, page references are preceded by the abbreviations C, H, or T. For instance, 'In youth when I did love' [Ham., V.i.67; F, T, 277] indicates Folio, Tragedies, p. 277. Since *Troilus and Cressida* follows *Henry VIII* (Histories, pp. 205–232) in the Folio, without page numbers, numbers have been supplied editorially, e.g., 'Love, love, nothing but love' [Troil., III.i.125; F, H, 246]. When a play is not printed in the Folio (*Pericles*, *Two Noble Kinsmen*) or when a lyric does not occur in the F text but only in Q, this is so indicated, e.g., 'Come o'er the burn, Bessy' [Lr., III.vi.27; Q].

(c) Discussion in such works as Chappell, Wooldridge, Naylor, etc. Most of these are tabulated in the List of Abbreviations. In the few cases where other authorities are cited they can be identified with the help of the Bibliography or the Addenda, e.g., Chappell, *Roxburghe*; or Addenda, Ringler, *Sidney*. Usually, the authorities listed in the index supplement those given on previous pages of this work but for the sake of convenience page numbers in Chappell and Wooldridge are always given.

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