

THE ROLE OF THE MUSICIAN IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

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PREFACE

The subject of music for the Elizabethan stage has been, for the most part, a neglected area for literary scholars and musicologists. Such men as John P. Cutts in his studies of Elizabethan lyrics, and J. S. Manifold in his analyses of musical stage directions from Shakespeare to Purcell, have made notable contributions. However, problems of terminology and instrumentation have been a constant source of confusion in musico-dramatic scholarship of the Elizabethan era. I felt, therefore, that three major fields of investigation could help in solving some of the existing problems. These three divisions were (1) an investigation of instrumentation and terminology; (2) an investigation of the two principal musico-dramatic organizations of the sixteenth century; and (3) an investigation of musical performance within the masque and drama itself.

To a large extent, the drama of the Elizabethan-Jacobean period was an outgrowth of the activities of the children of the Chapel Royal and the boys of St. Paul's Cathedral. The children and masters of these institutions were highly skilled musicians and, at the same time, authors and actors of note. The present study includes an investigation of the music-dramatic accomplishments of the personnel of the Chapel Royal and Paul's from the time of their first

recorded history until they became professional actors in the London professional theatres.

In conclusion, I felt that a study of the instrumentation, terminology, personnel, and theatrical uses of music in the Elizabethan theatre would lead to a clearer understanding of musical performance, particularly, as it is illustrated in Marston's Sophonisba.

I should like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Charles E. Walton for his many kindnesses, his great patience, and invaluable assistance during the time this study was in progress. I should like, also, to express my thanks to Dr. June Morgan, whose encouragement, as well as whose labors as a second reader, were so very helpful. To Dr. Charles M. Hendricks, of the Department of Music, I owe especial thanks for his advice on the first chapter of this study. To Miss Gertrude Lemmon of the William Allen White Library, and Miss Janet Barnhart, whose patience and assistance have been deeply appreciated, I also express my thanks.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL FEATURES OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCE IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

Blame not my lute, for he must sound
Of this and that as liketh me,
For lack of wit the lute is bound
To give such tunes as pleaseth me.
Though my songs be somewhat strange,
And speaks such words as touch they change,
Blame not my lute.

Wyatt

The subject of music for the Elizabethan stage has often proved to be a matter of confusion to scholars, frustration to students, and indifference to the vast majority. In the past, scholars of literature, for the most part lacking in specialized musical knowledge, have attempted valiantly to decipher the cryptic references found in stage directions or in descriptions contemporary to the era. That they have made the effort is commendable. More remarkable, though, is the surprising amount of information they have accumulated, an achievement all the more remarkable when one considers that musicologists have been remiss in supplying a Rosetta Stone to aid the efforts. One should not criticize the musicologists too harshly, however. The vast field of Renaissance church music has been a challenge to many. To these same musicologists, the airs and madrigals have offered a dual object of relief and delight. To the music historians,

the study of instruments has comprised another interest; most of their investigation, however, they have justified by limiting it to a survey of instruments prototypic to those of the modern symphony.

Brass. Any study of Elizabethan music is beset by a large number of problems. The scholar soon finds himself in a maze of allusions to instruments which are obsolete; he is handicapped at every turn by a lack of extant musico-dramatic manuscripts and by terminology which is unfamiliar. What information is available has been gleaned largely from stage directions. When these are indicated by a playwright such as Marston, who is said to have supervised the printing of his plays,¹ the scholar is on fairly safe ground. Even here, though, investigation is hampered by the question of proper interpretation of stage directions. Music, far from being the universal language, suffers from the fact that so few of its practitioners are verbally literate. Traditions of style, which so largely determine the performance of music, are thus all too easily lost forever. For this reason, one is especially grateful to a musician such as Morley and to his discussion of the musical customs of his day.

¹J. S. Manifold, The Music in English Drama, p. 3.

Although musical instruments have undergone many changes since the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries, one discovers that the same basic division of families existed then as now. Elizabethans employed wind, string, brass, percussion, and keyboard instruments. String classes consisted of consorts of viols, violins, lutes, and related plucked instruments. Winds included recorders, hautboys (shawms), flutes, and, to a limited degree, cornets. (The Elizabethan cornet was a hybrid instrument belonging to winds and brasses.) Among the brasses were trumpets, horns, sackbuts (trombones), and, of course, cornets.

In order to clarify some of the problems of music for the Elizabethan stage, one finds necessary a review of the musical background of the period. It is often said that the Elizabethan era represented one of the greatest flowerings of music the world has ever known. Yet the study of English music of the Renaissance becomes highly complex. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, English musicians, particularly Dunstable, provided leadership for composers over much of Europe.² Around 1450, however, English musicians separated themselves from continental influences and slowly developed their own style, conservative in nature. About 1476, Johannes de Tinctoris described the state of European music:

²Gustave Reese, Music of the Renaissance, p. 763.

At this time, consequently, the possibilities of our music have been so marvelously increased that there appears to be a new art. . . whose fount and origin is held to be among the English, of whom Dunstable stood forth as chief. Contemporary with him in France were Dufay and Binchoys, to whom directly succeeded the moderns Ockeghem, Busnoys, Regis, and Caron, who are the most excellent of all the composers I have ever heard. Nor can the English, who are popularly said to shout while the French sing, stand comparison with them. For the English continue to use one and the same style of composition, which shows a wretched poverty of invention.³

During the early Tudor period, English music, influenced by popular music on the one hand and by French and Italian sources on the other, began to grow in a new direction. Much of this growth was the result of Henry VIII's great interest in music.⁴ In the years from the accession of Henry to the death of James I, English music followed patterns established by the Italians.⁵ The Italian influence was transmuted, however, by native composers, so that a distinctive national style emerged, a style which was one of the glories of the Elizabethan era.⁶

As one would expect, interest in music was particularly evident in the court. Reese has shown that the court of Henry VIII, in 1526, included the following instruments:

³Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, p. 195.
⁴Reese, op. cit., p. 769.
⁵Ibid., p. 815.
⁶Ibid., p. 820.

three lutes, fifteen trumpets, three rebecs, three taborets, a harp, two viols, four drums, a fife, and ten sackbuts.⁷ Musical activities in private homes provided a favorite pastime, especially the playing and singing of madrigals. One finds some evidence, also, of non-professional groups of those interested in music. Nicholas Yonge, editor of the madrigal collection Musica Transalpina (1588), was the head of a singing society composed of "Gentlemen and merchants."⁸ Less often mentioned, but, nevertheless, significant, was the tradition of English folk music and the expansion of this tradition. Ballads were popular among peasants and artisans. Village festivities made use of the music of fiddles and hautboys. Court, private homes, and villages each had their own role to play, and musical customs of each of these segments of society can offer much to a study of the over-all problem of music for the stage.

In spite of this great variety of music, one would yet be incorrect in assuming that such activity reflected a Golden Age that was free from any difficulties. The professional musician, certainly, faced many problems. For example, the change from Roman Catholic to Anglican ritual,

⁷Ibid., p. 867.

⁸Ibid., p. 821.

with the closing of choir schools,⁹ and the gradual elimination of music from the Quadrivium, caused unemployment among musicians. Elizabethan music was itself in a state of transition. Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) was perhaps the last composer to employ the old, essentially intellectual, polyphonic style.¹⁰ This polyphony, continental in origin, was slowly replaced by simpler homophonic or monodic composition. Reese points out that the Elizabethan madrigal displayed ". . . a tendency toward melodic writing that has some vague affinity with English folk song."¹¹ The transition called for different musical techniques, the adaptation of older musical instruments, and the inclusion of more modern instruments in compositions of the period. One finds, for example, that the English madrigal was composed to texts of a simpler nature than those employed by Italian composers. As a result, English madrigalists made infrequent use of "word-painting," instead, subordinating textual elements to the development of melodic lines which followed a musical, rather than a textual, logic.¹² Adaptation of an older instrument so that musicians could continue to use it

⁹Ibid., p. 781.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 813.

¹¹Ibid., p. 821.

¹²Ibid., p. 820.

effectively is particularly well illustrated in the viol. The older viols, as they were relatively small in size and the strings were close together, could be tuned in fifths. As the larger viol da gamba came into use, performers found that the strings were so far apart that, with traditional tuning, established fingering patterns were impracticable. Therefore, they began to tune the instrument "lyra-way," that is, in fourths, with a major third in the middle of the accordatura. They then increased the number of strings to six in order to keep a complete range of pitch.¹³ As the figured-bass replaced the older polyphonic style of composition, the violin gradually replaced the cornet.¹⁴ Another complicating factor in the development of music of this era was the acceptance or rejection of music which was middle- or lower-class in origin. There was now, for example, a sharp class differentiation to be made between violists and fiddlers. The fiddler, as one may see, was represented upon the stage as an illiterate fool or rogue.¹⁵ On the other hand, the violist was a highly respected member of court ensembles.

¹³Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, pp. 347-8.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 324.

¹⁵cf. Marston, What You Will (IV.i): "A fiddler, - a scraper, - a minikin-tickler, - a pum, a pum! - even now a perfumer, now a fiddler!"

The Elizabethan concept of musical performance demands a closer kind of study than has yet been given it. Of the forty-two instruments listed in the 1526 inventory of Henry VIII, only nine are stringed.¹⁶ The other instruments included are brasses, 25; woodwinds, 1; and percussion, 7. Here, the preponderance of brasses is in sharp contrast to the make-up of the modern symphony, which consists of a fairly large body of strings augmented by solo winds, brasses, and percussion. While the 1526 inventory lists those instruments available at Henry's court, it provides no explanation of how these instruments were employed; *i.e.*, whether they were used individually, in small groups, or in large ensembles. However, by means of peripheral information, one may gain some idea of the musical practices of the day. First, the basic grouping of instruments at this time was known as a consort. The consort, using the term in its strictest sense, was comprised of three or more members of the same instrumental family, e.g., recorders or viols, differing only in size or pitch.¹⁷ A German theoretical treatise of 1511 gives further information concerning the term.¹⁸ A consort of six recorders would include three pairs

¹⁶ Infra, p. 4.

¹⁷ Sachs, op. cit., p. 303.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 310

of instruments: two trebles, two alto-tenors, and two basses. The instruments of each pair would differ in pitch by one note, i.e., C or B.¹⁹ Which of the paired instruments the performer employed depended upon the tonality of the composition to be played. That consort was subject to a different interpretation is evident in various documents of the era. Manifold quotes Praetorius' definition:

What the English call a Consort, very aptly taken from the Latin word consortium, is when people come together in Company with all kinds of different instruments, such as Harpsichord, the large Lyra, double Harp, Lutes, Theorboes, Bandoras, Penorcon, Citterns, Viol da Gamba, a little descant Fiddle, a Flute or a Recorder, and sometimes even a softly-blown Sackbutt or Rackett, to make quiet, soft and lovely music, according together in sweet harmony.²⁰

Praetorius' observations are substantiated in Campion's Masque for Lord Hayes (1606-7),²¹ which provides for two consorts, the first consisting of lutes, bandora, sackbut, harpsichord, and violins, and the second composed of violins and lutes.²² Therefore, to lessen at least a part of the confusion, one may use consort to refer to instruments of a single family; broken consort to refer to music composed for

¹⁹These, of course, are relative pitches, as pitch did not become standardized until the middle of the nineteenth century.

²⁰Manifold, op. cit., p. 6.

²¹Thomas Campion, The Works, p. xvii.

²²Ibid., p. 151.

specified members of different families; and ensemble to refer to music intended for group performance for which instrumentation either is listed incompletely or not given at all.²³ Occasionally, one also finds the term chest used synonymously with consort.²⁴

An inherent problem in a study of Elizabethan ensemble music involves the methods of composition then available to musicians. A clarification of these methods is essential to an understanding of stage directions referring to music. Composers using the first method wrote their works in as many parts as desired, leaving the instrumentation to the discretion of the performers. Describing his Second Book of Ayres (c. 1613), Campion writes: "To be sung to the Lute and Viols, in two, three, and foure Parts: or by one Voyce to an Instrvment."²⁵ A typical Elizabethan air could be performed in one of two ways. It might be written in three parts,²⁶ all to be sung, or it might be performed with melody vocal, and with the text indicated along with the actual notes. The primary instrumental part, probably for lute, would be written separately and would include all the notes necessary

²³Of course, stage directions or other material quoted will be given in the author's exact terms.

²⁴Sachs, op. cit., p. 303.

²⁵Campion, Works, p. 41.

²⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 835.

for a performance of the composition. The secondary instrumental part, most often for viol, would duplicate the low range of the lute part. The result of such composition would be that the viol part was optional--it contained only notes to be found either in the voice or the lute part. Its purpose was two-fold: (1) to provide re-inforcement of the bass line, thus giving better acoustical balance for the vocal part; and (2) to provide a part so that the piece could be performed as ensemble music. A second method of composition was that of the figured-bass. Only rarely did composers provide a composite score showing all parts to be performed. As a result, a type of musical shorthand was developed for keyboard instruments. The figured-bass consisted of the bass line of a piece with numerals indicating the pitches of the other notes of the chord. From the figured-bass, which was complete enough to furnish some idea of the style of the piece, the harpsichordist or organist improvised the upper parts of the composition, introducing such ornamentation as he felt to be appropriate.²⁷ Although a product of the Elizabethan era, the figured-bass is more characteristic of Baroque music. One of the earliest English composers to employ this method was Peter Philips

²⁷Ibid., p. 729.

(c. 1560 - c. 1633).²⁸ By the close of the sixteenth century, composers began to use a third method of composition, that of ascribing parts to specific instruments. Reese cites Morley's First Booke of Consort Lessons made by divers exquisite Authors (1599), ". . . for treble and bass viols, cittern, pandore, flute (= recorders), and lute. . .," as well as collections by Dowland (1605), Hume (1607), Rosseter (1609), and Adson (1621).²⁹

The element of contrast, naturally, is essential in any art form. Early musical instruments, limited in range, tonal variety, and volume, imposed severe limits upon the composer. In the polyphony of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, composers found it necessary to employ "crossed voices,"³⁰ e.g., the tenor performing in the upper range so as actually to be higher in pitch than the treble at a given point in the composition. In order to distinguish between treble and tenor lines, then, the composer, whenever possible, would assign these parts to instruments which varied sharply in timbre, e.g., recorder and shawm. The improvement of musical instruments, especially the extension of range, enabled the composer to avoid many of the problems caused by

²⁸Ibid., p. 793.

²⁹Ibid., p. 873.

³⁰Ibid., p. 4.

crossing. Elimination of crossing, of course, did not mitigate the necessity of contrast, but it did open up new avenues of musical expression. Granted three or more instruments which had extensive enough range, the composer could write satisfactorily for particular consorts: differences in pitch were sufficient to allow each voice in polyphonic writing to remain easily distinguishable. As a result, the device of imitation of a preceding motif became a predominant musical technique.³¹ Another result, and a most important one for the stage, was the development of music for specific consorts. There is ample evidence to demonstrate that certain instruments were employed for certain types of music: the trumpets for military occasions, theatrical or actual; the fiddles for rural celebrations; the woodwinds for many purposes. Freed from an artificial means of contrast enforced by crossing, the composer began to take advantage of many possibilities which the instruments offered. It was now possible for the composer to write in a manner characteristic of the particular instrument; for example, rapid scale passages, most effective on the lute, could be employed extensively. With more sophisticated compositions available, instrumentalists devised more efficient techniques of performance. Differentiation of voices by means of timbre

³¹Loc. cit.

became a matter of choice rather than of necessity. The implications of this choice are enormous. Composers could exploit a particular tonal quality for its emotional significance. Thus, the use of recorders for funeral processions became traditional in Elizabethan drama.³² In achieving contrast, therefore, Elizabethan composers made use of the elements of tone, texture, volume, pitch, and timbre, exactly the same elements which are, today, employed by the symphonic composer. In addition, there is evidence to show that contrast was sometimes achieved by the spacing of instruments. The description of Campion's Lord Hayes Masque is quite helpful here:

The great hall (whersein the Masque was presented) received this division, and order. The upper part where the cloth and chair of state were placed, had scaffolds on either side continued to the screen; right before it was made a partition for the dancing-place; on the right hand whereof were consorted ten musicians, with bass and mean lutes, a bandora, a double sackbut, and an harpsichord with two treble violins; on the other side somewhat nearer the screen were placed nine violins and three lutes, and to answer both the consorts (as it were in a triangle) six cornets, and six chapel voices were seated almost right against them, in a place raised higher in respect of the piercing sound of those instruments. . . .³³

Clearly, Campion is describing an antiphonal arrangement of instruments. How much, if any, of this practice was carried

³²Manifold, op. cit., p. 70.

³³Campion, Works, pp. 150-1.

over into theatrical music, is speculative; however, the suggestion is an interesting one, particularly in view of Marston's stage direction for Antonio's Revenge (V.ii), in which ". . . ANDRUGIO'S ghost is placed betwixt the music houses."³⁴

In studying Elizabethan dramatic music, one must direct his attention to the court, where the greatest musical resources of the age were available. Chief among the instruments here were brasses, viols, recorders, and keyboard instruments. Fortunately, court records have preserved many details of musical performances, names of musicians, and listings of instruments. One gains some idea of the growth of interest in music during the reign of Henry VIII by comparing two inventories of instruments, the one of 1526, already cited, and the one of 1547. Sachs notes that the latter contained 381 instruments:

78 cross flutes	5 bagpipes
77 recorders	32 virginals
30 shawms	26 lutes
28 organs	25 viols
25 cromornes	21 guitars
21 horns	2 clavichords
5 cornets	

3 combinations of organ and virginal³⁵

This list is interesting for a number of reasons. Notably

³⁴John Marston, The Works, I, p. 185.

³⁵Sachs, op. cit., p. 303.

absent are the trumpets. By this time, it may be possible that the trumpet was considered purely as a signalling instrument rather than as one suited for musical performance. One notices, also, the presence of 21 guitars. In Italy, at the turn of the century, the lute was rapidly losing its important place in music, the violin being the instrument chosen for virtuoso performance, while, concurrently, the theorbo and Spanish guitar grew in popularity among musical dilettantes.³⁶ The lute, in England, continued to be used for a number of years following 1600, even throughout the Restoration. The inclusion of guitars, almost equal in number to that of lutes in the English court, then, seems to reflect an Italianate trend which was not generally followed outside court circles. (One notes, however, that guitar-like instruments, such as the bandora and cittern, gained in popularity during the second half of the 16th century.) The 1547 inventory certainly shows greater diversity of instrumentation: woodwinds, 215; brasses, 21; strings, 72; keyboard instruments, 63. One hesitates here to classify the bagpipe--not because of prejudice, but because it possibly may be considered as a signalling instrument.

There is every indication that the court of Henry VIII and the rulers who followed him made use of the musical

³⁶ Reese, op. cit., p. 528.

resources available. The custom of musical training for the nobility was an old one. Castiglione's The Courtier, which was to become a great influence in English letters, contains a number of statements concerning the training and aptitude which a nobleman should demonstrate in music. Typical of these statements is the following: "Gentlemen, you must know that I am not satisfied with our Courtier unless he be also a musician, and unless, besides understanding and being able to read music, he can play various instruments."³⁷ In the English court, musical ability was also considered important. One remembers the legends concerning Richard the Lion-Hearted, *trouvere* as well as king (and to whom is attributed at least one extant ballade).³⁸ In the Elizabethan era, Henry himself illustrates the status of music in court. For example, Reese states that Add. MS 31922, Royal Appendix 58, contains twenty-nine of Henry's compositions.³⁹ The king also employed a number of virtuosi at court. While these musicians, both of foreign and of English extraction, will be discussed in greater detail in a later section of this study, some mention here, however, may prove of interest. Among them were Philip van Wilder (lutenist); Ambrose Lupo

³⁷ Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. by Charles S. Singleton, p. 74.

³⁸ Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, p. 16

³⁹ Reese, op. cit., p. 768.

(violinist); Domynek and Andryan (trumpeters); Guillam Troche and Piero Guye (flutists); Hans Asenaste (violinist); Marc Antony, Gasper, and Batist ("musicians"); and Benedictus de Opitiis and Dionisio Memo (organists).⁴⁰ One notices that, in contrast to Castiglione's proviso that the nobleman play several instruments, the professional musicians at Henry's court were virtuosi who specialized in performing upon one instrument. This role of the musician within the court is extremely important, as it is in this role that he is often represented in Elizabethan drama.

One may divide secular musical activities of the court into the two major categories of signalling and entertaining. There seems little doubt that the primary function of the court trumpeters was to provide signals. The many progresses of Elizabeth were heralded by trumpets. Sir Robert Sidney describes such a visit, in 1600, to Sir John Harington:

Six drums and six trumpets waited in the court, and sounded at her approach and departure. . . . The day well nigh spent, the Queen went and tasted a small beverage that was set out in divers rooms where she might pass; and then in much order was attended to her palace, the cornets and trumpets sounding through the streets.⁴¹

One should notice that, here, cornets are equated with trumpets and drums as signalling instruments. Equally

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 771.

⁴¹ Quoted in Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, I, p. 121.

striking was the sounding of trumpets to announce the entrances at tilts. An Elizabethan observer describes the accession tilt of 1584: "During the whole time of the tournament all who wished to fight entered the lists by pairs, the trumpets being blown at the time and other musical instruments."⁴² Elizabethan drama is replete with stage directions for fanfares and sennets to be played upon the entrance or exit of important personages. It seems highly probable that, in this, the drama mirrored the actual practice of the court. The raison d'être of trumpets, however, was to provide signals for military engagements.

One sometimes has difficulty in deciding just when royalty was not being entertained. Descriptions of masques, interludes, and banquets, all equally sumptuous, make such activities as the governance of a kingdom seem almost commonplace. That these entertainments served as a means of diplomacy is a matter of concern for the historian; that descriptions of such amusements have been preserved is highly important to the scholar, for from these descriptions, one derives considerable knowledge of the musical and dramatic activities of the time.

Elaborate banquets were certainly no innovation of the Elizabethan court. Unfortunately, records of the era

⁴²Ibid., p. 143.

usually mention the fact that a banquet was given; they are disappointingly silent as to the details. From Italian sources, one gains some idea of the entertainment provided for guests. It should be kept in mind, however, that Italian musical style was definitely more sophisticated than that available to the English court. Reese describes a wedding banquet at Ferrara in 1529:

direct: . . . music was played on five trombones and a cornet. Two dolzaine, one storta, one cornetto grosso, and one trombone were heard at the seventh course; and for the eighth, the ensemble consisted of five viols, one strumento di penna . . . one flauto grosso, one lira, one trombone, and one flauto d'Alemana.⁴³

Although many of these instruments are unfamiliar, the general plan of musical entertainment is clear. The different courses were accompanied by broken consorts, planned so that musical as well as gustatory variety was presented to the guests. Again at Ferrara, in 1566, cornets and trumpets provided music, but these instruments were placed in a separate room from that in which the main festivities occurred.⁴⁴ In 1564, Sir Richard Sackville entertained Elizabeth with a masque. The banquet which followed ended at 2:00 a.m.⁴⁵ One wishes that the banquet had been described; nevertheless, it is most

⁴³Reese, op. cit., p. 546.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 547.

⁴⁵Chambers, op. cit., p. 161.

probable that music accompanied the festivities. Apparently, banquets and masques or mummings were sometimes part of a single entertainment. Welsford quotes a description of this type of entertainment, a masque given by Henry VIII at a banquet of Cardinal Wolsey's: "The banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold."⁴⁶ From stage directions of the era, one gathers that hautboys were frequently used in conjunction with banquets.⁴⁷

Among the most interesting aspects of Elizabethan music are those of the responsibilities of the court musician and his professional status. The importation of musicians to serve the court was an ancient custom, not limited to England. Indeed, the courts often became involved in a tug-of-war over certain well-known musicians, including the noted composer, John Bull.⁴⁸ Chambers summarizes the situation of foreign musicians at court:

. . . certain families, such as the Laniers, the Ferrabosci, the Bassani . . . formed little dynasties of their own . . . father, son, and grandson succeeding each other, in the royal service through the best part of a century.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Enid Welsford, The Court Masque, p. 136.

⁴⁷Manifold, op. cit., p. 121.

⁴⁸Reese, op. cit., p. 809.

⁴⁹Chambers, op. cit., p. 49.

A brief investigation of the Ferrabosci will serve as an example of the history of these foreign musicians. Alfonso Ferrabosco I, the founder of the English branch of the family, arrived in England some time before 1562. In 1567, he was accused of murdering another musician, but evidently was exonerated. In 1569 he went to Italy and returned to Elizabeth's service by 1572.⁵⁰ About 1575, he may have been a groom of the Chamber.⁵¹ In 1578, he again returned to Italy, leaving his children in the care of a fellow musician. Alfonso Ferrabosco II (d. 1628)⁵² was one of his sons. Reese remarks that this son had a long career at court, holding several posts, including that of music master to Prince Henry.⁵³ Alfonso II, in turn, had three sons who also were musicians: Alfonso III, Henry, and John.⁵⁴ As musicians, the Ferrabosci were responsible to the Lord Chamberlain.⁵⁵ The services which these men performed were many. The types of music with which they were connected, as performers or composers, give some indication of the range of musical interests at court. Alfonso I was primarily a composer of

⁵⁰Reese, op. cit., p. 791.

⁵¹Chambers, op. cit., p. 49.

⁵²Reese, op. cit., p. 792.

⁵³Loc. cit.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 791.

⁵⁵Chambers, op. cit., p. 48.

sacred music, particularly of Latin motets.⁵⁶ However, he was also a composer of madrigals, and did much to help establish Italian influence on English composition.⁵⁷

Alfonso II likewise composed sacred music.⁵⁸ As was mentioned earlier, he also served as music teacher; two of his sons became instrumentalists and the third, a composer.⁵⁹ This third generation extended far beyond the Elizabethan and on into the Caroline period.⁶⁰

The native musician had an important part not only in musical but also in dramatic activities at court. The most responsible musical position was that of Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. This post was always given to an Englishman. The Master of the Children seems to have been responsible for the children's performances at religious services. This duty is substantiated by the fact that religious compositions of some of these men are extant. In addition, the master also contributed to the masques by composing songs for them and by supervising the children's share of the entertainments. A third contribution was that

⁵⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 791.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 821.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 792.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

of dramatic authorship. These duties and contributions will be discussed in more detail in connection with William Newark.

With William Newark, Master of the Children from 1493 to 1509,⁶¹ the diversified responsibilities of the court musician become quite apparent. While Newark's only extant compositions are a few songs in the Fayrfax Boke,⁶² his contributions to the drama proved to be far-reaching ones. It was under his mastership that the Chapel Children first took part in pageantry, the occasion being the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katharine of Aragon (1501).⁶³ Newark was responsible for the teaching of the children and for their sleeping arrangements and clothing.⁶⁴ From the time of Newark on, the duties of the Masters of the Children extended far beyond those of providing music at the court. During the time Newark was engaged in activities of a masque-like nature, one of the most interesting of early dramatic presentations outside of court was given: Medwall's Fulgens and Lucrece. Boas calls this comedy the first English play " . . . within a framework that is neither Biblical nor allegorical but

⁶¹Ibid., p. 767.

⁶²H. N. Hillebrand, The Child Actors, P. 44.

⁶³Ibid., p. 45.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 41.

purely secular.⁶⁵ Probably given in 1497, at the home of Cardinal Morton,⁶⁶ Fulgens and Lucrece contains musical stage directions of a masque-like kind similar to, though far less elaborate than, those for which Newark was responsible at court. While there is no known, or even probable, connection between Newark and Medwall, the juxtaposition of events does indicate a growing interest both in music and drama.

In surveying Elizabethan music, one is forced by the existence of so much material to place a disproportionate amount of emphasis upon musical activities of the court. Private citizens, unfortunately for the scholar, were less likely to have kept detailed records than were the officials of a royal household. The rise of the madrigal was closely connected with the development of the English middle class.⁶⁷

The English madrigal was the product of two musical influences, the Italian madrigal⁶⁸ and the English folk-song.⁶⁹ Beginning approximately in 1560, many Italian madrigals were imported and circulated in England. (Here,

⁶⁵Five Pre-Shakespearean Comedies, ed. by F. S. Boas, p. viii.

⁶⁶Loc. cit.

⁶⁷Reese, op. cit., p. 820.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 819.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 821.

the activities of Alfonso Ferrabosco I should not be overlooked.) In 1593 was published Thomas Morley's Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces, which Reese classifies as a set of madrigals.⁷⁰ In the following year, Morley published Madrigalls to Foure Voyces.⁷¹ Although the title would indicate vocal performance, madrigals were often performed as instrumental pieces.⁷² Mef states that they were always published as separate part books (rather than having composite scores) and were usually printed without bar-lines.⁷³ The madrigal, extremely popular in its day, was destined to be a short-lived form. In 1627, John Hilton's Ayres, or, Fa Las for Three Voyces marked the end of an all-too-brief flowering.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the madrigal had a definite influence upon music for the stage. Along with the air (or ayre), it helped to encourage the development of instrumental ensemble music. And through its widespread popularity, it certainly must have contributed to the development of an audience which would have been most receptive to the use of music within the drama. Reese points

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 822.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 823.

⁷²Karl Mef, An Outline of the History of Music, p. 124.

⁷³Loc. cit.

⁷⁴Reese, op. cit., p. 832.

out that the publication of madrigals diminished sharply after 1613.⁷⁵ One remembers that it was in this decade that the children's theatres suffered utter collapse.⁷⁶

The music of peasants and artisans of Elizabethan England was generally of three types: street cries, catches, and ballads. Such music is at once the most ephemeral and the most lasting. Present information concerning English folk music is derived principally from three printed catch books, published by Ravenscroft: Pammelia (1609); Deuteromelia (1609); and Melismata (1611).⁷⁷ To Deuteromelia, one owes a debt of nostalgia, if not of gratitude: "Three Blind Mice" was first printed in this collection.⁷⁸ Catches (or rounds), of course, are referred to frequently by many Elizabethan dramatists. In addition to the Ravenscroft publications, such composers as Weelkes⁷⁹ (c. 1575-1623)⁸⁰ and Gibbons preserved over 150 cries of street vendors by incorporating these melodies in fantasies for voices and instruments.⁸¹

⁷⁵Loc. cit.

⁷⁶Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 275.

⁷⁷Reese, op. cit., p. 833.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 834.

⁷⁹Reese, op. cit., p. 832.

⁸⁰Davison and Apel, op. cit., p. 193.

⁸¹Reese, op. cit., p. 832.

Catches and street cries, of course, were designed primarily for voices, as were the ballads. Reese states that ballads were printed as broadsides and that they were designed to be sung to a well-known air such as "Greensleeves."⁸² It is highly probable that ballads were often accompanied by the music of itinerant fiddlers. Here, a problem of identification of instruments arises. The term fiddler is a familiar one in 16th century literature. The violin was just coming into popularity in Italy around 1600.⁸³ The viol may have been employed, but it was primarily a court rather than a popular instrument. On the Continent, folk music was often performed to the fydel, an instrument of Byzantine origin.⁸⁴ It is possible that the term fiddle was kept as generic nomenclature for bowed stringed instruments; most probably, the fiddle of the Elizabethan peasant was a deteriorated form of rebec, of the variety Sachs describes as ". . . a small narrow kit or pochette to be carried in the flap pockets of dancing masters."⁸⁵

From a survey of the Elizabethan background, one sees that music was found in all strata of social life, but that

⁸²Ibid., p. 833.

⁸³See page 15.

⁸⁴Sachs, op. cit., p. 275.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 278.

musical activities of the court were of primary importance. The court provided musical leadership through the importation of musicians and through the interest of the nobility themselves. In addition, the court provided opportunities for many varieties of performance in connection with royal entertainments. The madrigal, on the other hand, was the especial province of the middle class, who achieved a high degree of skill in its performance. The madrigal was to flourish for only a few years, but in its day, it was perhaps the single greatest accomplishment of English composers and performers. Music of the lower socio-economic group took the form of catches or of ballads. Essentially a folk-form, the ballad showed surprising longevity. English music of the Elizabethan period underwent a series of transitional steps from the polyphony inherited from Dunstable, through the withdrawal from continental influences, to a style which showed Italian influence in external form but which was essentially national in melodic and harmonic texture. One sees, also, the development of instrumental ensemble in consorts and broken consorts. From the death of Dunstable through the rise and decline of the madrigal, one tendency dominated all English music. This tendency was the simplification of harmonic structure so that the melody became of primary importance.

The following chapter will contain a study of two groups which helped to determine the course of English music, particularly as it was included in dramatic performance. These groups are the children of the Chapel Royal and the boys of St. Paul's Cathedral.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSICIAN AS CHOIRBOY-ACTOR

Harke how the minstrels gin to shrill aloud
Their merry musick that resounds from far,
The pipe, the tabor, and the trembling croud,
That well agree withouten breach or jar.

Spenser

Occasionally it happens that scholars pursue an investigation with courage and persistence, and yet are unaware of material which would be of much value to them. The relationship of music and drama in the Elizabethan-Jacobean period has been largely neglected. In their anxiety to study the drama per se, scholars have tended to overlook an important aspect of the matrix from which it arose--the musical activities of the court and the cathedrals. Evidence from these sources clarifies certain dramatic conventions which otherwise might seem but eccentricities of a particular theatrical group. Evidence from musicological sources may also serve to clarify some of the historical problems connected with the drama. Entertainments of the Tudor-Stewart era, as is well known, were often elaborate functions; their success depended upon authors and performers who were versatile and ingenious. Thus, a number of men who were important to the development of Elizabethan drama were equally important as musicians. In 1926, Hillebrand made

the following statement:

I have found five lists of names of the vicars choral and choir boys at St. Paul's, extending from 1554 to 1598. None of the names is familiar, unfortunately, but I submit the lists none the less, for they may be of possible future use.¹

From Hillebrand's conscientious presentation, this chapter has evolved. It seems strange that so erudite and thorough a scholar as he should have failed to recognize the name of one particular choirboy--Thomas Morley, madrigalist and theorist.² One assumes that the inconspicuous placement of Morley's name, mid-way in the list of 1574, may have led to the oversight. Thus, Hillebrand's comment was a challenge impossible to ignore. The oversight itself pointed to the need for a collection of evidence concerning musical activities of the men and children who were so largely responsible for the growth of drama during the English Renaissance.

An examination of Elizabethan musico-dramatic relationships involves two major groups--the Chapel Royal and the Cathedral of St. Paul's. Each contributed generously to the development of a type of drama which has never been surpassed. Although this drama was derived from many sources, chief among its contributors were the companies

¹H. N. Hillebrand, The Child Actors, p. 110.

²Ibid., p. 111.

of child-actors. Dramatic activities of these children have been discussed by Hillebrand, of course, and by C. W. Wallace.³ Too often, though, it is forgotten that these same children began as musicians, not as actors. What was true of the children was also true of the men who trained them. Dramatists like Cornish and Udall were musicians as well. Thus, a study of musical activities of the men who wrote and the children who performed in dramatic entertainments from the mid-fifteenth century into the first quarter of the seventeenth century reveals much which hitherto has been overlooked in the Elizabethan theater. A comprehensive and systematic study of the Chapel Royal, particularly in its relationship to the rest of the royal household, has yet to be done. Actually, there is no single account of the Gentlemen and Masters of the Chapel which lists their names and duties. One especially regrets the lack of an inclusive listing of the children who were trained under the aegis of these men.

The establishment of the Chapel Royal dates to the twelfth century.⁴ By 1478, the government of this institution consisted of the Dean, Chaplains, Clerks, and Yeomen or

³C. W. Wallace, Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603.

⁴Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 24.

Epistolers. The education of the children was the particular responsibility of two officers, the Master of Song and the Master of Grammar.⁵ For the history of drama, the major official was the Master of Grammar, or, as he came to be known, the Master of the Children.⁶ As set forth in the Liber Niger, this man had need of a sound education in poetry. In addition, he was not only required to instruct the children, but to supervise the education of men and boys of the court who evinced a desire to learn.⁷ In actual practice, the master was a musician, rather than a grammarian, as it will become evident in the ensuing biographical studies. The children themselves were recruited by impressment.⁸

The identity of the first official Master of the Children has been the subject of some confusion. Fortunately, musicological evidence may help to throw some light upon the problem. John Plummer is said to have served as master from 1444 to 1455.⁹ Chambers suggests that Plummer is the same person as one John Pyamour, who, in 1420, was commissioned

⁵Loc. cit.

⁶Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 41.

⁷Loc. cit.

⁸Ibid., p. 42.

⁹Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, p. 100.

to impress children for the royal service.¹⁰ Pyamour, however, has several motets extant (Modena, Bibl. Estense, a. X. I. ii.).¹¹ Alternately, Reese suggests that Plummer and a composer called Polumier are identical. Polumier's hand is represented in the same MS as Pyamour's.¹² Of these two theories, that of Plummer-Polumier seems the more likely on grounds of similarity of name and dissimilarity of musical style. Whatever the case, one may safely assume that the first official master was well educated in music. Plummer, one should remember, was roughly contemporary to John Dunstable. Reese indicates that, at the mid-fifteenth century, England was a leading musical nation because of Dunstable's abilities as a composer and his influence on composers of other countries.¹³ While little information is available concerning early dramatic activities of the Chapel Royal, it is quite probable that their musical activities brought to religious services a remarkable standard of excellence.

Of Plummer's successor, Henry Abyngdon (Abingdon), musical sources offer but little information which is new.

¹⁰Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 41.

¹¹Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 767.

¹²Loc. cit.

¹³Ibid., p. 763.

Abyngdon was born c. 1418 and died in 1497.¹⁴ In 1463, he received the degree of Bachelor of Music, the first to be awarded by Cambridge.¹⁵ He served in the chapel of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (c. 1445) and was appointed succentor of Wells Cathedral on November 24, 1447.¹⁶ He is associated with the mastership of the Chapel Royal in 1455, a position which he held until 1478.¹⁷ Hillebrand dismisses Abyngdon by claiming that no interest of a dramatic kind is attached to the man.¹⁸ As a musician, however, Abyngdon met with a kinder fate, he was celebrated in his own lifetime as a singer and organist. In the performance of his duties as musician, he became acquainted with Sir Thomas More. Indeed, More, who was then about twenty years old, composed an epitaph at Abyngdon's death, eulogizing him as "optimus orgaquenista."¹⁹

With Gilbert Banaster (Banastre, Baniaster), one begins to observe the history of the musician-author as Master of

¹⁴Ibid., p. 767.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 850.

¹⁶Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. by Eric Blom, I, p. 19.

¹⁷Reese, op. cit., p. 767.

¹⁸Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁹Reese, op. cit., p. 850.

the Chapel Royal. Appointed to office in 1478, Banaster served probably until 1484.²⁰ Upon occasion, criticism of his literary efforts has been less than kind. Hillebrand remarks that he ". . . was indeed something of a literary man, having written the exceedingly dull Miracle of St.

Thomas."²¹ However, Banaster is credited with an unusual part-song carol. Dealing with the crucifixion, it has the subject occurring in a dream and contains speeches by Mary and John.²² While this carol is slight evidence, it does point to an early amalgamation of interests in music and drama. Banaster also has a number of motets extant (Eton MS, c. 1600; Cambridge MS Pepys 1236.)²³

Very little is known of the next two Chapel masters, John Melyonek and Lawrence Squier.²⁴ In a document of 1484, Melyonek is described as a Gentleman of the Chapel with ". . . expert habilitie and connyng in ye science of musique." This document empowers him to impress children for Chapel service.²⁵ Squier, a canon of St. Mary's, Warwick, succeeded Banaster in 1486.²⁶

²⁰Chambers, English Literature, p. 100.

²¹Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 43.

²²Chambers, op. cit., p. 107.

²³Reese, op. cit., p. 773.

²⁴Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 44.

²⁵Loc. cit.

²⁶Loc. cit.

During the tenure of the early masters of the Chapel, one may only conjecture about the probability of the children's participation in events of a dramatic nature. With the appointment of William Newark, who was master from 1493 to 1509, the history of musico-dramatic entertainments of the Chapel Royal officially begins.²⁷ The general outline of Newark's career at court is presented in considerable detail in the works of Hillebrand and Wallace. One may, therefore, conveniently summarize the well-known facts. Newark had been a Gentleman of the Chapel as early as 1480 and, in that year, was granted a corrody of Thetford Priory. In 1485, he received a life annuity from Richard III. Two years later, in 1487, he was granted the corrody which Banaster had resigned.²⁸ It is with Newark that one first finds records of the employment of children in secular entertainment of the court. Four children, presumably from the Chapel, took part in the first of the 1501 pageants in honor of the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon; eight seem to have appeared in the concluding pageant of the series.²⁹ (These entertainments will be discussed more fully in relation to their position in the

²⁷Reese, op. cit., pp. 767-8.

²⁸Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 44.

²⁹Ibid., p. 45.

development of the masque.) The Gentlemen of the Chapel were themselves pressed into dramatic service, for from 1506 until 1512, they appeared in one or two plays a year.³⁰ Whether or not the children appeared in these performances is not known. Newark, furthermore, in his position as master, was responsible for some of the Christmas festivities of the royal establishment. Chambers quotes from a most interesting description:

Item, the chappell to stand on the one side of the hall, and when the steward cometh in at the hall doore with the wassell, he must crie three tymes Wassell wassell wassell; and then the chappell to answeare with a good songe.³¹

Although no record is extant of the particular song on this occasion, one may assume that it was either a part-song or a carol. Reese explains that during the period from Abyngdon to Newark, the part-song was characterized by long melismatic cadences and the absence of imitation. He adds, further, that this type of music was characteristic of the early Renaissance.³² The importance of the "good song" should not be underestimated. By an analysis of musical style, one may discover a useful cross-reference to dramatic style. Reese's classification of part-songs of this era as

³⁰Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 28.

³¹Loc. cit.

³²Reese, op. cit., pp. 766-9.

early Renaissance, as will be demonstrated in connection with the masque, helps to illuminate the nature of court entertainments and may help in solving the always delicate question of continental influence versus native stylistic developments.

Toward the end of Newark's tenure and the beginning of that of Cornish, one begins to discover information concerning individual children of the Chapel. For example, the following are listed as having received livery at the funeral of Henry VII: William Colman, William Maxe, William Alderson, Henry Meryell, John Williams, John Graunger, Arthur Lovekyn, Henry Andrewe, Nicholas Ivy, Edwarde Cooke, and James Curteys.³³ As set forth in the Liber Niger, Chapel children were to be trained for positions at court.³⁴ Provision for their further education was made in the form of scholarships to Cambridge or Oxford. There was often a gap, however, between the children's dismissal from Chapel service and the start of their university study. During this interim, the children were allocated, as it were, to the care of various persons. For example, from the above list, one finds that Robert Fairfax supervised William Alderson and Arthur Lovekyn from 1510 until 1513, receiving

³³Chambers, op. cit., p. 27.

³⁴Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 42.

separate monies for their food and instruction.³⁵ Fairfax himself was an excellent musician and, in 1496, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.³⁶ Other children cared for in this manner were Robert Philip (1514), William Saunders (1517), Robert Pery (1529-30), and William Pery (1530).³⁷

The appointment of William Cornish (Cornysh), Master of the Children from 1509 until 1523, brought to the position a dramatist of some stature. Cornish had the benefit of previous similar experience, having served as Master of the Singing-Boys at Westminster Abbey from 1480 until 1491.³⁸ His literary efforts have been discussed quite fully by Hillebrand and Wallace. Among Cornish's productions are The Garden of Esperance (1517),³⁹ in which two of the Chapel children performed; a pageant for Cardinal Wolsey (1522),⁴⁰ which apparently involved eight children; and the comedy, Troilus and Pandor (1515).⁴¹ The extant musical compositions of Cornish (Fairfax Collection, B. M. Add.

³⁵Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 27.

³⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 774.

³⁷Chambers, op. cit., p. 27.

³⁸Groves, op. cit., II, p. 452.

³⁹Hillebrand, op. cit., pp. 52-3.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 56.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 54.

MSS 5465) are few, but of such interest. Of three songs included, the second is supposedly a satire on ". . . the drunken Flemings who came to England with Anne of Cleves. . . ." ⁴² Whatever the political significance, this song is a rare example of early Renaissance secular music. In addition, Cornish has left six sacred compositions. ⁴³ Of particular interest to students of drama is his "Hey Robyn, Joly Robyn" (Add. MS 31922). ⁴⁴ Reese thinks part of this song is quoted in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night (IV.ii). ⁴⁵ The words are by Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the text is set with different stanza-melodies between a refrain melody. Reese contends that Shakespeare wished the clown to sing one of Cornish's stanza-melodies. ⁴⁶ Quite naturally, so gifted a Master of the Children was employed in many different types of activities at court. Hillebrand and Wallace stress his abilities as a dramatist; Reese and Groves discuss his musical accomplishments. A third view of Cornish is presented by Reed: ". . . his place in history lies in . . .

⁴²Groves, op. cit., pp. 452-3.

⁴³Ibid., p. 453.

⁴⁴Reese, op. cit., p. 769.

⁴⁵Loc. cit.

⁴⁶Loc. cit.

that extravagant medley of music, pageantry, and dance, the court masque.⁴⁷ Among his contributions to the court was the planning of ceremonies for the Field of the Cloth of Gold.⁴⁸ He not only devised the pageants of 1511, but he also acted two parts in the performances. Of considerable significance is the fact that Chapel children also took part in these entertainments.⁴⁹

The brilliance of Cornish's career tends to overshadow that of his successor, William Crane, who, in 1509, was already a Gentleman of the Chapel. Crane's many financial interests have been described in Hillebrand;⁵⁰ of considerably more importance to scholars, however, is the fact that Crane wrote the music for Henry Medwall's morality play, The Finding of Truth.⁵¹ So far as one can determine, this is the first recorded instance in which the names of the author, play, and composer have been preserved. Medwall's play was produced on January 6, 1541, after a

⁴⁷A. W. Reed, The Beginnings of English Secular and Romantic Drama, p. 4.

⁴⁸Groves, op. cit., II, p. 452.

⁴⁹Hillebrand, op. cit., pp. 52-3.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁵¹Groves, op. cit., II, p. 514.

"Cornish mask."⁵² Although Crane did not assume the mastership officially until 1526, it is believed that he fulfilled the duties of that office from the time of Cornish's death, in 1523, until 1546.⁵³

A little over a century after the appointment of the first known Master of the Children, Richard Bower was appointed to the royal service. A brief review of musical trends during those 102 years is revealing. After Dunstable, English music suffered a period of decline approximately from 1460 to 1480. During this period, for example, Reese points out that the Trent Codices of c. 1420-1440 contain a number of English compositions; fewer works by English composers appear in the manuscripts of the middle decades of the century; and no English compositions at all exist in the manuscripts of the period c. 1460-1480.⁵⁴ It should be remembered, though, that music of the second half of the fifteenth century in England was characterized by the development of a conservative style independent of influences from the continent.⁵⁵ The growth of instrumental music is particularly interesting during this period. Medwall's

⁵²Loc. cit.

⁵³Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 59.

⁵⁴Reese, op. cit., pp. 763-4.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 764.

Fulgens and Lucrece (1497), cited earlier, calls for a base dance, or bassa danza, (II).⁵⁶ The bassa danza, as it was notated in contemporary manuscripts, consisted on one staff with uniform breves.⁵⁷ Such notation gives little indication of the manner in which the dance was actually performed. Sachs believes that an ensemble of three instruments, probably two shawms and a sackbut, played for the dancers.⁵⁸ The sackbut played the music as it has come down to us; the two shawms improvised: " . . . two higher parallels--in English discant or otherwise--or else two counterpoints alla mente, that is, without written-out parts."⁵⁹ Despite the excellence of religious music in England during these years, including two polyphonic settings of Passions, the chief trend was the emergence of secular music based on dance forms.⁶⁰

Crane's successor, Richard Bower (Bowyer) apparently assumed responsibilities of the mastership in 1545, a year before Crane's death. Despite the facts that Bower was highly regarded by Mary and that he served as master through

⁵⁶Five Pre-Shakespearean Comedies, ed. by F. S. Boas, p. 56.

⁵⁷Curt Sachs, Our Musical Heritage, p. 117.

⁵⁸Loc. cit.

⁵⁹Loc. cit.

⁶⁰Reese, op. cit., p. 764.

four successive reigns, extremely little information is available concerning his own activities.⁶¹ Bower's daughter Annis (Agnes) married Richard Farrant.⁶² During Bower's tenure in office, two dramatists of some reputation were associated with the Chapel; these were John Heywood and Nicholas Udall. From 1519 until 1521, Heywood was employed as a singer; however, from 1529 until 1549, he appears in court records as a virginalist.⁶³ In 1538, he directed the children of Paul's in an interlude before Princess Mary and, in the following year, received payment from Wolsey for a masque of Arthur's Knights.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, only one of Heywood's songs is extant. Among his plays are Love, The Four P. P., and Wit and Wisdom. It seems probable that Paul's boys, rather than the Chapel children, presented these dramas.⁶⁵ Nicholas Udall, author of Ralph Roister Doister, is known to have had some association with Bower and the court.⁶⁶ Ralph Roister Doister was probably written around 1553.⁶⁷ Boas thinks that the boys in the Bishop's

⁶¹Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 59.

⁶²Ibid., p. 64.

⁶³Groves, op. cit., IV, p. 272.

⁶⁴Loc. cit.

⁶⁵Hillebrand, op. cit., pp. 67-8.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 72.

⁶⁷Loc. cit.

school at Southwark may have presented it.⁶⁸ Whatever the details of its performance, the stage directions make the play of sufficient interest so that a brief examination is warranted. Udall (I.iii) requests songs on four occasions.⁶⁹ Judging from the context of the play, one concludes that four verses of a particular song, rather than four separate songs, would best have served the author's requirements. Another song is called for in the following scene (I.iv) and, here, the words are given.⁷⁰ The lines immediately preceding the song seem to indicate some use of instrumental music: "Pipe up a merry note. Let me hear it played, I will foot it, for a great."⁷¹ As the term "pipe" is mentioned, one might conjecture that the song was accompanied by a shawm or a recorder, both instruments being popular during this period and both included in the court collection of instruments listed in 1547.⁷²

Following Bower, Richard Edwardes served as Master of the Children from 1551 until 1556. Edwardes was gifted in both musical and dramatic ability. His Damon and Pithias

⁶⁸ Five Pre-Shakespearean Comedies, p. xiii.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 129-30.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 139.

⁷¹ Loc. cit.

⁷² Infra, p. 15.

may have been produced at court in 1564-5.⁷³ This work contained some of Edwardes' own music, including "Loth am I to depart," accompanied on regals.⁷⁴ Edwardes is known, of course, as the editor of A Paradise of Dainty Devices, published posthumously in 1576.⁷⁵ His "In goinge to my naked bedde" (c. 1550-1560) suggests Italian influence prior to the development of the English madrigal.⁷⁶ He also contributed to the Mulliner Book (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 30513), compiled from c. 1545 to c. 1585.⁷⁷

In 1567, William Hunnis was appointed Master of the Chapel, a post which he held until his death in 1597.⁷⁸ With the advent of Hunnis, the history of the Chapel children becomes quite involved. As far as this study is concerned, however, any re-telling of the subterfuges and litigations by which the Chapel children became the Children of the Queen's Revels would be irrelevant. Between 1570 and 1572, the children appeared at court in three plays, none of which are extant. Narcissus (1572) is known to have included

⁷³Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 34.

⁷⁴Groves, op. cit., II, p. 887.

⁷⁵Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 75.

⁷⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 816.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 851.

⁷⁸Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 85.

scenic effects (lightning) and off-stage sound effects (hunters and hounds).⁷⁹ The children continued to take part in other court entertainments, including a masque in 1576-7.⁸⁰ Hunnis' abilities as an impresario, however, seem to have outweighed his talents as a composer. A few compositions, of little merit, are in the possession of the Music School, Oxford.⁸¹

Although Hunnis ostensibly retained the mastership, in 1576 Richard Farrant was called "m^r" of the Children of the Chappell.⁸² It was Farrant, one recalls, who married Annis, daughter of Richard Bower.⁸³ He had been a Gentleman of the Chapel in 1553 and had become Master of the Children of Windsor in 1564. From 1576, he seems to have been employed simultaneously by both chapels.⁸⁴ Later, the children of both groups are believed to have joined forces for a play called Mutius Scaevola, given at court on January 6, 1577.⁸⁵ Farrant also seems to have been responsible for plays in

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 87.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 88-9.

⁸¹Groves, op. cit., IV, p. 413.

⁸²Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 89.

⁸³Infra, p. 46.

⁸⁴Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 36.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 35.

1577, 1578, and for Loyalty and Beauty and Alucius in 1579.⁸⁶

With so much of his time devoted to theatrical productions, one is surprised that Farrant was also a composer. A "Morning, Communion, and Evening Service," in A minor, and two short anthems are extant. According to Reese, these anthems ". . . help to give Farrant a place in the musical history of the period out of proportion to his small output."⁸⁷ Farrant apparently composed some tragic songs, also, for use in plays.⁸⁸

After Farrant's death in 1580, Hunnis again assumed duties of the mastership of the children, this time with John Newman as partner.⁸⁹ During the next two years, the children appeared at court on four occasions; Chambers suggests that Peele's Arraignement of Paris and a play called A Game of Cards were among these.⁹⁰ Peele's drama will be considered in some detail in a later section of this study. The coming of Newman and, in 1583, of Henry Evans, a London scrivener, marked a new departure in the Chapel history, because neither

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 35-6.

⁸⁷Reese, op. cit., p. 802.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 817.

⁸⁹Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 37.

⁹⁰Loc. cit.

man was a musician.⁹¹ Despite this fact, Peele's drama contains a great deal of music, both in the matter of textual references and in stage directions. At least from musical evidence, one might conjecture that Newman and Evans were primarily concerned with financial aspects of the organization and that Hunnis continued to fulfill traditional responsibilities of the mastership.

In 1597, Nathaniel Giles (Gyles) was appointed as Master of the Children, succeeding to the position upon the death of Hunnis.⁹² Despite Wallace's statement to the contrary,⁹³ it is generally believed that Giles was the son of Thomas Giles, Master of the Children of Paul's.⁹⁴

Nathaniel Giles was organist at Worcester Cathedral from 1581 until 1585, and in the latter year he received the Bachelor of Music degree from Oxford.⁹⁵ Also in 1585, he was appointed as clerk, organist, and master of the choristers at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The document of his nomination is particularly interesting for the information that it provides on dramatic customs of the day:

⁹¹Loc. cit.

⁹²Ibid., p. 23.

⁹³Wallace, op. cit., p. 67.

⁹⁴Groves, op. cit., III, p. 641.

⁹⁵Loc. cit.

The stipend to be paid monthly by the treasurer, over and besides all other gifts, rewards, or benevolence that may be given to the choristers for singing of ballads, plays, or the like. . .⁹⁶

Giles was appointed Clerk of the Chapel Royal in 1596 and Master in the following year; he continued in the latter position until the year of his death, 1633.⁹⁷ Although he retained the title of Master, the organization itself had ceased to exist as a dramatic company. The Children of the Chapel Royal had come full circle.

The history of the boys of Paul's is no less intricate than that of the Chapel Royal, but it offers more room for discovery. Originally, the Cathedral of St. Paul's had three divisions for the education of children. The grammar school was established by the twelfth century. In 1512, the school building was rebuilt and the school itself reorganized on principles established by Dean Colet.⁹⁸ The choir school was supervised by the precentor, who appointed the master of the choristers.⁹⁹ At the end of the twelfth century, the almonry, or hospital, was begun for the education of

⁹⁶Wallace, op. cit., p. 68.

⁹⁷Groves, op. cit., III, p. 641.

⁹⁸Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 9.

⁹⁹Loc. cit.

one of these songs is preceded by the direction, "Here cometh in four with viols and sing. . . ."106

The name of Thomas Mulliner is included tentatively in Chamber's listing of the masters of Paul's.¹⁰⁷ Whatever the official status of its editor, the Mulliner Book (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 30513), compiled from c. 1545 to c. 1585, is justly famous.¹⁰⁸ It contains pieces for organ, for cittern, and for gittern; its range of compositions includes dances, secular songs and anthems, psalm tunes, and chant melodies; composers represented in it are Tallis, Elitheman, Shepherd, Alwood, Edwards, Johnson, Tavener, Tye, and William Mundy.¹⁰⁹ The majority of these composers was connected with the Chapel Royal rather than with Paul's. While such evidence is in no way conclusive, it does seem to lessen the probability of Mulliner's association with the Song School of Paul's.

In 1554, the records of a suit in the Court of Exchequer contained the first list of names of vicars choral and choirboys, which Hillebrand reproduces. With this list begins the unfolding of a series of relationships and

¹⁰⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷Chambers, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁰⁸Reese, op. cit., p. 851.

¹⁰⁹Loc. cit.

identifications of significance to musical and literary scholarship of the Elizabethan era. As these relationships are complex, they will be presented, insofar as possible, in chronological order. The listing of 1554 includes the names of the following vicars choral: Sebastian Westcote, Philip Apryce, Robert Seye, Thomas Martyn, John More, and Robert Bale.¹¹⁰ Westcote (Westcott), of course, is known to have been a master of the Song School, and will be discussed in that capacity. Of the other names, that of Apryce is of some importance. He seems to be the same man as one Philip Ap Rhys, Welsh composer of ". . . the sole surviving reasonably complete organ-Mass in England. . ." ¹¹¹ The 1554 listing also contains the names of a number of choirboys: John and Simon Burde, Richard Hewse, George More, John Alkok, Gilbert Maxsey, Roger Stakhouse, Richard Prynce, John Farmer, and Robert Chofe. Richard Hewse (Huse) is mentioned in Westcote's will.¹¹² John Farmer, alone of this group, achieved considerable reputation as a musician.

For many years, Farmer was known only as a sixteenth-century composer who was living in London in 1599 when his

¹¹⁰Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 110.

¹¹¹Reese, op. cit., p. 855. This work is preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 29796 (fol. 158-178b).

¹¹²Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 329.

madrival collection was published. Groves remarks that recent evidence connects Farmer with Christ Church, Dublin, where he seems to have served as organist and Master of the Children, being appointed in 1595.¹¹³ Farmer's madrigal collection was printed by William Barley (Bartley), an associate of Morley, and is dedicated to the Earl of Oxford.¹¹⁴ As Farmer was a choirboy in 1554, probably between nine and thirteen years of age at that time, one may suggest that he was born between 1541 and 1545.¹¹⁵

In 1574, Bishop Edwin Sandes included the following names of vicars choral in his Visitation Book: Thomas Sterrie, Thomas Woodson, Giles (Egidius) Hawkes, Henry Mudde, John Ramsay, and John Meares.¹¹⁶ It seems probable that Woodson is the same as one Thomas Woodson, composer, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1581, a position which he held until at least 1603, when he was granted livery at the death of Elizabeth. Woodson wrote an organ composition entitled Forty Wayes of 2 parts in one on the "Miserere".¹¹⁷

¹¹³Groves, op. cit., III, p. 30.

¹¹⁴Loc. cit.

¹¹⁵Wallace, op. cit., p. 76.

¹¹⁶Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 111.

¹¹⁷Groves, op. cit., IX, p. 361.

At least for the present, there seems to be no information available on the other vicars choral of this list. The bishop also listed the following names of the choirboys upon the occasion of his visit: George Bowring, Thomas Morley, Peter Phillip, Henry Nation, Robert Knight, Thomas Brande, Edward Pattmie (?), Robert Baker, and Thomas Johnson.¹¹⁸ No information seems to be available on Baker, Brande, Johnson, Nation, or Pattmie, unless the "[Nation" in Westcote's will refers to Henry Nation.¹¹⁹ Bowring (called Gregory Bowringe) is also mentioned in Westcote's will.¹²⁰ The other names are of much interest.

Thomas Morley, of course, is considered to be one of the greatest Elizabethan composers. He was born in 1557 and died c. 1604.¹²¹ Other than the inclusion of his name in the 1574 list, the next recorded date is that of his receiving the degree of Bachelor of Music from Oxford in 1588.¹²² Other details of Morley's history are well known, but his significance to the later history of Paul's is so

¹¹⁸Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 111.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 329.

¹²⁰Loc. cit.

¹²¹Sir Leslie Stephens and Sir Sidney Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, p. 981.

¹²²Loc. cit.

great as to warrant an examination of some of the major events of his life. In the same year that he received his degree, Morley is believed to have become organist of St. Giles', Cripplegate.¹²³ Approximately three years later, he became organist at St. Paul's, where he remained until 1592.¹²⁴ While at St. Paul's, Morley allegedly became involved in religious plots.¹²⁵ In 1592, he left Paul's to become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and from 1596 until 1601, he lived at St. Helen's, Bishopgate, in the same parish as Shakespeare. Morley's fame rests primarily upon two accomplishments: his madrigals, and his treatise on theory, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597), which presents a vivid picture of musical life in Elizabethan England, besides giving a clear and comprehensive treatment of musical theory of the time.¹²⁶ Morley's description of dance forms is also of considerable value to the study of the musical elements of the masque. His madrigals, of course, are sufficient justification for his fame. One facet of Morley's career which has often been overlooked, however, is his connection with printing.

¹²³Groves, op. cit., V, p. 895.

¹²⁴Loc. cit.

¹²⁵Loc. cit.

¹²⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 532.

Beginning in 1598 and extending for the next twenty-one years, Morley was granted a license for the printing of music books and manuscript paper. As his "assignes," William Barley (Bartley), Thomas Este (East), Peter Short, John Windet, and others did a considerable amount of printing of musical works.¹²⁷ Thomas Este was editor of East's Psalter (1592)¹²⁸ and printed several collections of madrigals.¹²⁹ John Windet, one recalls, printed Marston's Sophonisba (although after Morley's death), which contains numerous musical stage directions.¹³⁰ Morley's own duties as editor included the publication of Ganconets or Little Short Songs to Four Voyses (1597); Madrigalls to Five Voyses (1598); The First Booke of Consort Lessons (1598);¹³¹ and The Triumphes of Oriana (1601).¹³²

Of Peter Phillip (Phillips), choirboy along with Morley, Groves states:

¹²⁷Stephens and Lee, op. cit., VIII, p. 981.

¹²⁸Reese, op. cit., p. 806.

¹²⁹As the "assigne" of Byrd, East seems to have printed his own Psalter (1592; second edition, 1594). As Morley's assigne, he printed Weelkes' Balletts and Madrigals (1598) and a First Set of English Madrigals (1598).

¹³⁰Chambers, op. cit., III, p. 433.

¹³¹Infra, p. 12.

¹³²Thomas Morley, A Plaine and Basie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, p. vii.

He was born somewhere in England between 1560 and 1570, but lived in the Netherlands at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. . . He may have been brought up in London as a choir-boy at St. Paul's Cathedral.¹³³

Philip's role as a composer has been discussed in the first chapter of this study.¹³⁴ The fact that his name appears in the listing of 1574, at least, helps to narrow the possible dates suggested for Philip's birth. If one assumes that the usual age for entry to the choir school was nine years, it seems unlikely that Philips was born later than 1564.

Only one extant work, a five-part motet, "Propterea maestum," has been definitely ascribed to Robert Knight.¹³⁵ A mass and three other motets may be either by Robert or by Thomas Knight (who flourished between 1535 and 1545). Since Robert Knight is described as an "English 16th century composer," and one about whom it is said that "Nothing is known of his life. . .,"¹³⁶ it is with both gratification and humility that one adds that: he was also a choirboy at St. Paul's in 1574.

Westcote's will, dated April 3, 1582, mentions seven persons as "sometymes children of the saide Almenry

¹³³Groves, op. cit., VI, p. 712.

¹³⁴Infra, pp. 11-12.

¹³⁵Groves, op. cit., VI, P. 712.

¹³⁶Loc. cit.

howse. . .¹³⁷ These are Bromham, Richard Huse,¹³⁸ Robert Knight, Nicholas Carleton, (Thomas?) Baylye,¹³⁹ Nasion,¹⁴⁰ and Gregory Bowringe.¹⁴¹ Of the names not already discussed, only Nicholas Carleton seems to have established a reputation for himself. His best known works are arrangements for organ or virginal of his own vocal compositions and a duet for four hands, also for organ or virginal.¹⁴² The dates of Carleton's birth and death are not known.

Hillebrand takes his next list (that of 1594) from the Register of Archbishop Whitgift.¹⁴³ The vicars choral include John Ramsay (also listed in 1574), John Sharpe, Thomas Harrolde, Thomas Gyles (Giles), Michael Amner, Nicholas Younge, and Robert Brown (the Episteler). The choirboys are Edward Buckeredge, William Thayer, John Taylor, Germaine (Germanus) Wilson, Richard Badlowe, Thomas Weste,

¹³⁷Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 329.

¹³⁸Infra, p. 55

¹³⁹This might perhaps be the Thomas Baylye whom Chambers (II, pp. 301-2) lists as an actor at Shrewsbury in 1501.

¹⁴⁰Infra, p. 57

¹⁴¹Loc. cit.

¹⁴²Reese, op. cit., p. 855. This duet is one of the earliest specimens of such a composition for a keyboard instrument.

¹⁴³Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 111.

Giles Jennynge, Humphrey Weste, and William Maycocke. Of these boys, it is possible that John Taylor is the same as the John Tailor listed by Chambers as a member of the Admiral's men in 1601-2.¹⁴⁴ None seems to have become a musician. The vicars choral, however, proved to be a more successful group. Nicholas Younge (Yonge) was the editor of Musica Transalpina.¹⁴⁵

Bishop Bancroft, in 1598, reported yet another list of names. The vicars choral had added only one new member, Robert Gunsley, and had lost none from the listing of 1594. The choirboys included John Taylor (mentioned in 1594), William Thaire (Thayer of 1594?), Richard Brackenbury, John Horwood, Robert Coles, John Thomkins, Samuel Marcupp, Thomas Rainescrofte, Russell Gyrdler, Carolus Pytcher, and Charles Pendry.¹⁴⁶ Hillebrand notes that Coles and Horwood acted in Marston's Antonio and Mellida (1599?).¹⁴⁷ To John Thomkins and Thomas Rainescroft belong histories which are so involved as to merit special attention.

In all likelihood, John Thomkins was a member of the Tomkins family, which is said to have produced more musicians

¹⁴⁴Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 341.

¹⁴⁵Infra, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 111.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 289.

than any other family in England. At least one family member named John lived from 1586 to 1638, becoming organist at King's College, Cambridge, in 1606, and receiving the degree of Bachelor of Music in 1608.¹⁴⁸ The 1598 choirboy listing, then, seems to fit in well with these dates. About 1619, Tomkins became organist at Paul's, and, in 1626, became a member of the Chapel Royal.¹⁴⁹ He assisted, also, in the preparation of Ravenscroft's Psalter (1621).¹⁵⁰

Of Thomas Ravenscroft, Groves remarks: "He was a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral in London under Edward Pearce, and from 1618 to 1622 he was music master at Christ's Hospital."¹⁵¹ While Ravenscroft is not mentioned in the 1607 list¹⁵² (which includes the name of Pearce or Peers), a Thomas Rainescroft does appear in the list of 1598. Ravenscroft's age has been a matter of speculation for scholars. In 1614, one of the prefaces to his Brief Discourae gave his age as twenty-two.¹⁵³ According to this statement, then, he would have been fifteen when he received the Bachelor

¹⁴⁸Smith and Lee, op. cit., XIX, pp. 936-7

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 937-8.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 938.

¹⁵¹Groves, op. cit., VII, p. 63.

¹⁵²Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁵³Groves, op. cit., VII, p. 63.

of Music degree at Cambridge in 1607.¹⁵⁴ However, if one assumes that he entered the choir school at the normal age of nine, rather than six, Ravenscroft's birthdate could be set back to 1589. Thus, he would have been eighteen at the time of his graduation from Cambridge--still quite a respectable accomplishment. Ravenscroft's Pammelia, Deuteromelia, and Melismata have already been discussed to some extent. The success of these books, however, during the beginning of the decline of the madrigal, is of interest. Reese questions the appeal of the catch books and suggests that the ex-chorister may have attempted to reach a new public.¹⁵⁵ That form of music which gradually won the public from the madrigal was the air, rather than a folk-type music. The air was generally of a simpler nature than the madrigal. In this connection, then, it is also interesting to note the widespread popularity of the psalter, containing religious music of a simpler nature than the earlier polyphonic compositions. One of the best known psalters was that of Ravenscroft, published in 1621, with a second edition in 1633.¹⁵⁶ Of the more than twenty-one composers whose works were included, three ex-choristers of Paul's are to be found:

¹⁵⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁵Reese, op. cit., p. 835.

¹⁵⁶Loc. cit.

John Tomkins, Thomas Morley, and John Farmer (to say nothing of Ravenscroft himself).¹⁵⁷ Two other names are of some interest--John Milton (father of the poet) and William Harrison, an actor.¹⁵⁸

Bishop Travis originally was responsible for the examination of the last list (1607) of Paul's personnel. Vicars choral included John Sharpe (1594, 1598), Nicholas Young (1594, 1598), Thomas Harrolde (1598), Peter Hopkins, Edward Peers (replacing Thomas Giles as master), and George Browne. The children included Henry Burnett, Richard Kenede, John Mansell, Thomas Peers, Richard Patrick, Nicholas Cross, Thomas Waters, John Dawson, Thomas Codbolt, and Lightfoot Codbolt.¹⁵⁹ Of the vicars choral, only Nicholas Young (who had, by then, been with the Cathedral for at least thirteen years), was noted as a musician. There is apparently no information about the musical ability of Peers (Pierce, Pearce). Again, one finds that none of the children on this list seems to have engaged in a further career as musician, nor did any of them apparently succeed as an actor. As a company of actor-musicians, Paul's had ceased to be.

¹⁵⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁸Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 320. Harrison seems to have been with Worcester's company in 1583.

¹⁵⁹Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 112.

Three major persons remain to be discussed in connection with music and drama for the children of Paul's: Sebastian Westcote, John Heywood, and Thomas Gyles. In considering musical contributions to the drama, one is almost reluctant to admit that Westcote, the most noted of all masters of Paul's, has apparently left no extant compositions, nor even the reputation of being an outstanding performer. In fact, the only direct information concerning Westcote as a musician is contained in his will:

Item I gave and bequeathe to the vse of the Almenrye howse of the said Cathedrall Church of St Pawle where I nowe dwell to be and remayne vnto the same Almenrye howse to the vse of the Almener there for the tyme beinge forever towards the furnishings of the same howse, my cheste of vyalyns and vialles to exercise and learne the children and Choristers there.¹⁶⁰

Westcote is believed to have assumed the duties of master about 1551, for a document of that year records payment to him ". . . towards the charge of the children."¹⁶¹ Heywood is cited in the same record. (The relationship of Heywood to Westcote and Paul's is almost as ambiguous as Heywood's relationship to the Chapel Royal.¹⁶² Westcote was listed as

¹⁶⁰Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 327.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁶²Infra, p. 46.

a Yeoman of the King's Chambers in 1545.¹⁶³ It has been suggested that this connection with court entertainments may have encouraged him to establish a similar program of activities with the boys of Paul's.¹⁶⁴ From 1551 until his death in 1582, Westcote directed these boys in an impressive series of plays.¹⁶⁵ In 1559, the children played before Elizabeth at the home of Lord Arundel; the name of the play performed on this occasion is not known.¹⁶⁶ The boys, under Westcote's supervision, appeared at court from 1560 until 1566 in a total of twelve performances.¹⁶⁷ Hillebrand believes that a play entitled Prodigality was presented by them at Christmas of 1567-8; although the extant version of this play shows evidence of considerable later alteration, it is thought that Westcote was the author.¹⁶⁸ Between 1569 and 1571, Westcote's charges appeared at court in four performances, the last of these probably being in Effigina (which Chambers suggests may be Lady Lumley's translation of

¹⁶³Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 118.

¹⁶⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 125-6.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 127.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 131.

Euripides from the Greek).¹⁶⁹ In 1573, they appeared in Alkneon.¹⁷⁰ Hillebrand suggests that Prodigality was repeated in 1575, that The historie of Error was given in 1576, and that The historie of Titus and Gisippus was performed in 1577.¹⁷¹ Three other plays may be assigned with more assurance: A Morrall of the marryage of Mynde and Measure (1579); The history of Cipio Africanus (1580); and A Storie of Pompey (1581).¹⁷²

During the early years of Westcote's tenure, John Heywood appears to have been an associate. The extent of Heywood's relations with Westcote and the boys of Paul's is a matter of conjecture, not certainty. His accomplishments as a musician have been discussed earlier.¹⁷³ A writer of popular farces, Heywood is known to have been the author of the following interludes: A Play of Loue (printed 1533); The Play of the wether (printed 1533); The pardoner and the frere (printed 1533); The foure P. P. (printed c. 1545); and John the husband, Tyb his wyfe, and Sir John the preest

¹⁶⁹Chambers, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁷¹Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁷²Loc. cit.

¹⁷³Infra, p. 46.

(printed 1533).¹⁷⁴ All of these plays, obviously, were written before Westcote's mastership and during the time Heywood was a virginalist at court. Hillebrand believes that the boys of Paul's may have presented some of these enterludes; he also suggests that Heywood may have written for adults as well as for children.¹⁷⁵ Another associate of Westcote's was a scrivener, Henry Evans, who was to be of much importance to the children of the Chapel. Evans is one of the legatees mentioned in Westcote's will.¹⁷⁶

Thomas Giles, next to the last master of Paul's, was noted as an organist. Just following the Dissolution of 1540, he became head chorister at Westminster Abbey; he was succeeded in 1543 by William Mundy.¹⁷⁷ From 1543 until 1582, little is known of his life, except that in the latter year, he succeeded Westcote in the mastership of the children at Paul's.¹⁷⁸ Because of Giles' long life, and the fact that one of his sons also bore the given name of Thomas, this man's career has given scholars many moments of confusion. Chambers, for example, states that Giles became instructor in

¹⁷⁴Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 279.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 329.

¹⁷⁷Groves, op. cit., III, p. 622.

¹⁷⁸Loc. cit.

music to Henry in 1606 and to Charles in 1613.¹⁷⁹ Starting with his first post in 1540, one concludes that his was a career of seventy-three years. It seems more probable, therefore, to assume that it was his son and namesake, Thomas, who served at court along with Nathaniel, Giles' other son. It may also well be that the younger Thomas was one of the composers who wrote for Campion's Masque of Lord Hayes.¹⁸⁰ During his tenure at Paul's, one notes that the children appeared at court on nine occasions from 1587 until 1590. A number of Lyly's plays were given in this period.¹⁸¹ The disappearance of the boys from public performance during the years 1590 until 1600 has been discussed at length by Hillebrand and Wallace. Hillebrand ascribes the following plays to the Paul's boys from 1600 until 1602: Maid's Metamorphosis, anonymous (printed 1600); Jack Drum, Marston (printed 1601); Dr. Bodypol, anonymous (printed 1600); Antonio and Mellida, Marston (printed 1602); and Antonio's Revenge, Marston (printed 1602).¹⁸² Harbage, listing Paul's

¹⁷⁹Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 319.

¹⁸⁰Reese, op. cit., p. 883.

¹⁸¹Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 138.

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 208.

plays from 1599 until 1603, adds Blurt-Master Constable (anonymous), Histrionastix (Marston), What You Will (Marston), and The Family of Love (Middleton and Dekker?).¹⁸³

The main concern of this chapter has been to trace the relationship of musical and dramatic activities as evidenced among the children of the Chapel Royal and of St. Paul's. From the evidence presented, one discovers a number of points of interest. Among these is the use of music in early dramas. The inclusion of instrumental music in Medwall's Fulgens and Lucrece and Udall's Ralph Roister Doister is particularly interesting. The supposition that neither of these plays was performed at court is beside the point. It was the court which provided the stimulus for the artistic life of the nation. It seems most probable, then, that music--both vocal and instrumental--was an important aspect of the drama long before the advent of such playwrights as Lyly and Peele.

One frequently finds statements to the effect that the choirboy-actors were well trained in instrumental music. The chief evidence of a documentary nature is that of Westcote's will, in which he leaves viols and violins to the boys and choristers of Paul's for their further training.

¹⁸³ Alfred Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, p. 347.

Other evidence is indirect, being contained in state directions and descriptions of pageantry. In the latter, instrumentation is sometimes listed, but one is left in doubt as to whether the performers were adults or children. The best evidence is that provided by the later careers of the Paul's choir-boys themselves. Hillebrand has listed a total of 49 boys. Of the ten found in the list of 1554, John Farmer is known to have pursued a successful career as musician. Of the nine to be found in the 1574 list, Morley and Philips had outstanding careers; that of Robert Knight seems to have been quite satisfactory. The nine boys listed in 1594, on the other hand, have left no evidence of careers in music, although John Tailor may have become an actor. Thomas Ravenscroft and John Tomkins, of the 1598 list, had notable careers as musicians, while Robert Coles and John Nerwood continued, at least for a time, as actors. Not included in a formal listing as such, but mentioned in Westcote's will, was another well-known musician, Nicholas Carleton. In the course of this study, each of the names of choirboys and vicars choral has been checked with all known lists of actors, the Dictionary of National Biography, and various musical references. It seems significant, therefore, that, of the children known to have been choirboys some time during the period from 1554 until 1598, a total of seven were later considered to be distinguished musicians; two

(both from the 1598 list) definitely followed a career in acting, and one (from the 1594 list) may possibly have become an actor. Thus, it seems doubly significant that no information, at least at present, is available concerning the choirboys of Paul's in 1607.

Until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the children of the Chapel Royal were generously provided with opportunities to further their education. Seven of the Paul's children listed from 1554 until 1598 became noted musicians. From 1607 onwards, the question of what happened to the child actor when he became an adult remains unanswered.

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CHAPTER III

THE MUSICIAN AND THE MASQUE

The whiles a most deliticious harmony
In full straunge notes was sweetly heard to sound,
That the rare sweetnesse of the melody
The feeble sences wholly did confound,
And the frayle soule in deepe delight night drownd:
And when it ceast, shrill trompets lowd did bray,
That their report did far away rebound,
And when they ceast, it gan againe to play,
The whiles the maskers marched forth in trim aray.

Spenser.

Although documents of the Tudor-Stewart era described elaborate scenes of entertainment, and although leading poets, artists, and musicians devoted their talents to its creation, the English masque proved to be the most evanescent of all art forms. To the spectator, the masque made primarily a visual appeal--and small wonder, when one considers that a Holbein or an Inigo Jones might perhaps have been the designer. As a result of this visual aspect, though, extant information about the masque is sometimes both tantalizing and disappointing. Eye-witness accounts contain descriptions of colorful costumes and ambitious scenic effects, but little else. Thus, for the scholar, too often the masque remains a silent and lifeless spectacle. The history of the masque, its origin, and its eventual destiny have been admirably discussed by such scholars as

Chambers,¹ Brotanek,² Reyher,³ and Welsford,⁴ To attempt any duplication of their efforts would be both impertinent and pointless. A brief summary of their findings, however, is necessary for subsequent discussion in this study.

In England, as elsewhere, mumming was often associated with religious holidays, particularly those of the Carnival and the Twelve Days of Christmas.⁵ Originally, mumming seems to have consisted of a group of visitors who played a game of dice with the host,⁶ perhaps brought a gift,⁷ and then departed. Linked with the custom of dicing was that of dancing: in particular, the morris dance (morisco). The morris dance was closely connected with Mayday festivities and the legends of Robinhood.⁸ Henry VIII attended such an entertainment in 1515.⁹ It was during the Tudor period that pageantry was added to the mumming and dancing.¹⁰ One of the problems involved in a study of the masque is that of

¹Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage; The Medieval Stage.

²Rudolf Brotanek, Die Englischen Maskenspiele.

³Paul Reyher, Les Masques anglais.

⁴Enid Welsford, The Court Masque.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁶Ibid., p. 30.

⁷Ibid., p. 10.

⁸Ibid., p. 129.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 122.

definition. The masque itself, as a genre, was the culmination of a number of types of entertainment. In the Elizabethan era, it contained the following basic elements: introductory song and dialogue; entry of the masquers; the masque dances; the revels; the final song and dialogue; and the unifying of these elements by ". . . a slight story and dramatic action."¹¹ Thus, a study of the masque involves a tracing of at least some of the evolutionary steps leading to this stylized form.

Although the masque has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, certain of its aspects, such as the use of music, have not yet been investigated with the care they deserve. The masque, as is well known, contributed a great deal to the drama from c. 1580 until the closing of the theaters. It was an extremely important influence on the dramatists who wrote for the child actors. Thus, one finds that a study of music in the masque clarifies certain musico-dramatic conventions of the Elizabethan era. But the role which music played in the masque itself is worthy of analysis. The notational system of music, even today, is far from perfect. In the absence of devices for the recording of sound, one is left with only a partial understanding of the manner of musical performance. Masque descriptions contain a surprising amount of information on performance practices

¹¹Ibid., p. 164.

of the Tudor-Stewart era. A study of music also has a second result. By analyzing musical aspects of the masque, one may arrive at a fuller understanding of this form of entertainment, and, in so doing, help in its rescue from the silence which has surrounded it since the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The subject of music for the masque is intricate and, at times, perplexing. Musicians served in a number of capacities; both amateur and professional musicians were participants; both instrumental and vocal music were included. As a starting point, one may suggest that music was used in the following ways: (1) as signalling; (2) as processional; (3) as background for dancing; (4) as background for singing; (5) as "interact" entertainment; and (6) as an essential part of the action of the masque itself. This chapter will contain, therefore, analyses of masques which best serve to illustrate these five functions. From such an analysis, one should be able to determine the varieties of music which the masque contained and the types of instruments which were used.

Although it occurred long before the advent of the Elizabethan era, the mumming of 1377 is most important in establishing the basic form from which the masque itself was later developed. Mumming and dancing were the essential components of a visit paid to Richard II by the Commons of

London. The description of instrumentation is unusually complete and revealing:

. . . upon ye monday next before ye purification of our lady at night and in ye night were 130 men disguisedly aparailed and well mounted on horsebacke to goe mumming to ye said prince, riding from Newgate through Cheape whear many people saw them with great noyse¹² of minstralsye, trumpets, cornets and shawmes. . .

Thus, the description specifies three types of instruments and mentions "minstralsye" as well. From the above passage, it is apparent that the musicians served two purposes: they provided a festive element to the occasion, and they gave some amount of advance warning that such a procession was on its way. An analysis of the instrumentation listed is most interesting. The observer seems to have indicated three separate groups of musicians. Chambers includes all musicians of the medieval period under the heading of minstrels.¹³ Within this general classification, however, it seems clear that musicians were grouped on the basis of their duties. Therefore, it is especially interesting to note that the 1377 mumming implies the presence of three distinct groups. The first of these is that of the trumpeters. The role of trumpeters at court was discussed in the first chapter of this study.¹⁴ However, the 1377

¹²Chambers, The Medieval Stage, I, p. 394.

¹³Ibid., ch. et passim.

¹⁴Infra, p. 18.

mumming is particularly helpful in the light that it throws upon the subject. Sachs states that the right of maintaining trumpeters was the prerogative of the high nobility and that, in turn, the trumpeters were granted a number of social privileges.¹⁵ From the evidence presented, it seems possible that the right of maintenance of these musicians was extended to various branches of the government. One recalls that trumpets were used mainly as signalling instruments. On this occasion, they were certainly employed in a heralding capacity. The second group of musicians to take part in the mumming was that of the cornetists and shawmists.

Before discussing their role in this festivity, one might find helpful a brief explanation of the instruments. The cornet of medieval (and Elizabethan) times was a curious instrument: it was a wooden pipe, with fingering identical to that of the recorder, but with a cup-shaped mouthpiece like that of the trumpet.¹⁶ The cornet was used in ensembles and as a signalling instrument. One frequently finds it employed along with trumpets or in place of them.¹⁷ The

¹⁵Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, p. 281.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 324.

¹⁷Marston, for example, consistently employs cornets for flourishes, sennets, and fanfares where one would normally expect trumpets to be used.

shawm (hautboy, oboe) was a double-reeded instrument, conical in shape, and capable of much volume.¹⁸ One may conjecture that the cornetists and shawmists of 1377 served in the official capacity of waits. The fact that they travelled with the men from the Commons would seem to indicate that they were employed by that group rather than by the court. The history of waits, however, properly begins at court, where, during the reign of Edward IV, they were to play at certain fixed hours of the night.¹⁹ By the fifteenth century, waits were employed by the municipalities, receiving fees, wearing the town livery, and playing at local celebrations.²⁰ The fact that shawms were traditionally associated with the organization strengthens the supposition that waits were employed upon this occasion.²¹

The third group of minstrels represented in the 1377 mumming was that of the minstrels, whose history is in itself a complex subject. For purposes of this study, however, the principal question is that of the instruments which they played. One recalls that the original quotation includes the phrase, ". . . with great noyse of ministralsye."

¹⁸Sachs, op. cit., p. 314.

¹⁹Chambers, op. cit., I, p. 51.

²⁰Loc. cit.

²¹Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 772.

Early in the history of such entertainments, the word noise was used to refer to any group of musical performers.

Perhaps the most familiar example of this usage is to be found in the King James Version of Psalm 66, beginning, "Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands. . ." Obviously, the term, as it is used upon the occasion of the 1377 mumming, refers to a group of musicians. Unfortunately, the description does not mention any specific instruments which these musicians played. Nef, however, indicates that the vielle was the favored instrument of the minstrel, although the harp, tambourine, and lute were also used.²² Thus, any or all of these instruments may have been included in the festivities.

The 1377 mumming also included the customary dicing and presentation of gifts. After this part of the festivity, the description continues:

And then ye prince caused to bring ye wyne and they dronk with great joye, commanding ye minstrels to play and ye trumpets to sound and other instruments to pipe &c. And ye prince and ye lordes danned on ye one syde, and ye mummers on ye other a great while and then they drank and tooke their leaue and so departed toward London.²³

The use of the word sound, in connection with trumpets, seems to refer only to signalling. At least one finds the word

²²Karl Nef, An Outline of the History of Music, p. 28.

²³Chambers, op. cit., P. 395.

used in stage directions to refer to military and court signals (as well, of course, as for the signals announcing the commencement of the play itself).²⁴ The significance of the dancing in this mumming has been discussed by Welsford.²⁵ What is evident, naturally, is that the dancing was performed to music. The term pipe would refer to woodwinds (probably the cornets and shawms described earlier). It is quite possible, also, that the minstrels played for the dancing. From the contents of this record, then, one concludes that music was a quite important part of the mumming of 1377, serving the celebration in the following ways:

1. Signalling--trumpets.
2. Background for dancing:
 - (a) Cornets and shawms (waits).
 - (b) Vielle, lute, tambourine, harp (?), (minstrels).

The 1501 festivities in honor of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon are highly significant to the history of the masque, not only for a use of pageantry, but also for elaborate musical arrangements. These pageants were prepared under the direction of William Newark, master of the Chapel, and recorded the first known participation of

²⁴cf. Dekker, The Comedie of Olde Fortunatus, (III.i): "Trumpets sound. Enter King Athelstane. . ."

²⁵Welsford, op. cit., p. 38.

the children of the Chapel Royal in secular court entertainments.²⁶ The description of the children's share in the activities is as follows:

On Friday evening when all the court was assembled entered a 'most goodly and pleasant disguising, conveyed and shewed in pageantes proper and subtile.' A wonderfully devised castle was drawn into the hall by four great artificial animals. Eight disguised ladies were looking out of the windows of the castle...²⁷

This record is continued in Reyher:

and in every square of the Castle one sett and appearing above the height of it in the which of every one of these Turrettes was a little Childe apparelled like a maiden And so all the fowre Children singing most sweetly and hermoniously in all the Comming of the length of the hall till they came before the Kinges majestie where when it had come conveyed and set himselfe somewhat out of the way towardses the one side of the hall.²⁸

From this account, one cannot determine whether the children sang with or without accompaniment, nor does one know the specific song performed. It seems probable, however, that they sang a secular carol, which, Reese states, was closely related to the social life of the court during the Renaissance.²⁹ Originally, the carol was a song divided into stanzas and refrains,³⁰ differing from the ballad in that it did not

²⁶Infra, p. 24.

²⁷Quoted in Welsford, op. cit., p. 120.

²⁸Quoted in Reyher, op. cit., p. 501.

²⁹Reese, op. cit., p. 766.

³⁰Ibid., p. 765.

depend upon oral transmission, although both forms derived from dances.³¹ By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the carol had become a simple polyphonic form, and, after 1480, a polyphonic song written in duple measure and with pairing of voices.³² One is amazed at the poise of the children who sang upon this occasion--dressed in unfamiliar and probably uncomfortable costumes, perched on a pageant wagon which may not have been too securely fashioned. Even if the "castle" itself were quite small, the problems of ensemble would have been difficult ones. Adults, as well as children, were also performers in this first pageant. A brief account of the dancing is provided:

During the dancing the three pageants were removed, and after a while, the disguisers, half of whom were dressed in English costume and half in Spanish, themselves departed, and the Duke of York and a few other very distinguished members of the audience descended into the hall and danced basse dances.³³

The bass dance has already been discussed in connection with Fulgens and Lucrece.³⁴ One will recall that the usual instrumentation consisted of two shawms and a sackbut. The dance itself was dignified and slow, and was performed with gliding steps.³⁵

³¹Ibid., p. 766.

³²Ibid., p. 767.

³³Quoted in Welsford, op. cit., p. 121.

³⁴Infra, p. 45.

³⁵Sachs, Rhythm and Tempo, p. 204.

Another event of the 1501 series was that of an enterlude and a disguising, the latter involving two pageants. Shaped like an arbor, the first pageant contained twelve knights. After their dancing, trumpets blew, announcing the entrance of a lantern-shaped pageant.³⁶ Here, again, one sees the trumpet in its customary role of signalling. The lantern-pageant contained ladies who came out and danced, first alone and then with the knights.³⁷

The Thursday night entertainment of the 1501 series was equally elaborate. Musical details are especially interesting, as, indeed, is the entire description:

. . . These both mountaines were fastned and Chained together with a goodly Chaine of gould throughout both their midst and thus were subtelly Convayed and drawne vppon wheelles prively and vnperceaved vnto the tyme they came iontly so tyed together vnto the Kinges presence being in the higher part of the said hall. There were sitting vppon certaine steppes and benches on the sides of the first mountaine of Colour grene xij fresh Lordes Knightes and men of honor most seemely and straunge disguised making great and sweet melody with instrumentes musicall and of much hermony as with Tabors and Taborens lutes harpes and Recorders. And in the small hilles vppon the sides of the Redder mount or Rocke were xij disguised Ladyes and one in the Toppe arrayed after the manner of the Princes of Spaine all theise fresh apparelled Ladyes and women of honor having like instrumentes of musicke as Claricordes, dusymers, Claricimballs and such other euery each of them aswell Lordes disguised in their

³⁶Welsford, op. cit., p. 121.

³⁷Loc. cit.

mountaine as Ladyes in theirs vsed and occupied and played vppon the Instrumentes all the way Comming from the lower end of westminster hall till they came before the King and the Queenes Highnes and Majestie so sweetly and with such noyse that in my mynde it was the first such pleasant myrth and property that ever was heard in England of longe season.³⁸

This account is worth careful study. One observes that the participants played during the procession of the pageants--the instruments were not used merely as stage properties. Furthermore, these musicians were courtiers. The instrumentation offers some problems of interpretation. The "xij fresh Lordes Knightes" were provided with "Tabors and Taborens lutes harpes and Recorders." The tabor was a small drum.³⁹ The taboren, however, could refer either to a drum or to a longitudinal zither.⁴⁰ With the Renaissance lute, however, one is dealing with a more familiar instrument. The lute, a pear-shaped instrument, with frets, had, by 1450, eleven strings, ten forming double-strings with the eleventh for the purpose of easing the production of grace notes. The usual accordatura was A/a, d/d', g/g', b/b, e'/e', a'.⁴¹ On the other hand, almost no information is available on the harp in England in the sixteenth century.

³⁸Quoted in Reyher, op. cit., pp. 503-4.

³⁹Sachs, History, p. 312.

⁴⁰Loc. cit.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 344.

However, Sachs distinguishes between two medieval forms of the instrument, the romanesque and the gothic. Of the two, the gothic was the more slender and also the later instrument.⁴² (Apparently, in the sixteenth century, interest in plucked stringed instruments was centered around those resembling the harpsichord, in which the strings, although plucked, were sounded by means of a keyboard.) Finally, the recorder was basically a simple instrument, a slender pipe with a mouthpiece very much like that of a toy whistle. Its sound was quiet and melodious. Next, the "xij disguised Ladyes" of this episode were provided with "Claricordes, dusymers, Claricimbals," and other musical instruments. The "claricorde" was probably a clavichord, a small stringed keyboard instrument,⁴³ as were the dusymer" (dulcimer)⁴⁴ and "Claricimball" (clavicembalo or virginal).⁴⁵

In attempting to determine the kind of music performed upon this occasion, one is impressed by the fact that, with the exception of the tabor, all of the instruments were soft in volume. When one considers the crowd of spectators and the very sound of the pageant wagons themselves, he finds it

⁴²Ibid., p. 264.

⁴³Ibid., p. 330.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 343.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 335.

difficult to imagine how these instruments could have been heard from more than a few feet away. Another interesting point in this record is the preponderance of stringed keyboard instruments, since there seems to be little or no extant English music for keyboard instruments from the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Indeed, such music is quite rare until the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The Mulliner Book, already cited, is one of the earliest collections of keyboard music. Therefore, one suggests that the music performed for this portion of the 1501 entertainment consisted of such dances as the pavan and galliard.⁴⁸

The final section of the 1501 pageant is also worthy of study:

As soon as the pageants came to a standstill the lords danced 'deliberate, and pleasantly,' and then the ladies descended and coupled with the lords 'and daunced there a long season many and divers rounds and newe daunces full curiously and with most wonderful Counteynance. In the meane season the two mountaines departed and evanished out of presence and sight.'⁴⁹

Thus, when these noblemen and noblewomen descended from the pageants, they danced, and apparently with great skill. The

⁴⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 849.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 851.

⁴⁸Reese, op. cit., p. 852.

⁴⁹Quoted in Welsford, op. cit., p. 121.

fact that the erstwhile musicians now danced presupposes the attendance of other musicians, probably those regularly employed by the royal household. Therefore, one concludes that at least two groups of musicians, one amateur and the other professional, took part in this celebration. One may assume that a third group, represented in the trumpeters, announced the entry of the pageantry, as they had done in a preceding entertainment of the series.⁵⁰

Considering the series of festivities of 1501 as a whole, one finds the following uses of music:

1. Signalling--trumpets.
2. Processional:
 - (a) Vocal ensemble (children of the Chapel).
 - (b) Instrumental ensemble--tabor, taboren, lute, harp, recorder, clavichord, dulcimer, clavicembalo (courtiers).
3. Background for dancing--royal musicians, instruments not specified.

Any discussion of the dance always leads to a problem of classification. The music of dances obviously belongs within the province of the musician; ordinarily, the dancer himself is not considered a musician. For this reason, the dance in the masque should be considered as a separate activity within the genre. Beyond any doubt, dancing was an integral part of the masque. The morris dance (morisco) is often mentioned in connection with the origin of masque-

⁵⁰Infra, p. 85.

like activities. Curiously enough, the morisco was a folk-dance and a favorite dance of the court alike. Apparently, it was never used as a "purely social dance."⁵¹ It was probably of Moorish importation,⁵² but it was evidently incorporated into early religious drama. Reese indicates that a morisco was included in a rappresentazioni of the late fifteenth century⁵³ as well as in a performance of a comedy at Urbino in 1513.⁵⁴ The morisco, however, was by no means the only dance employed in the masque. One remembers the bass dance in the 1501 pageant series.⁵⁵ In an entertainment given by Henry VIII for the French ambassadors, "eight Lordes. . . descended from the mounte and toke ladyes, and daunced divers daunces."⁵⁶ Furthermore, in 1594, the gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented an entertainment which included dancing:

After their departure, entred the six Knights in a very stately mask, and danced a new devised measure; and after that, they took to them Ladies and Gentlewomen, and danced with them their galliards, and so departed with musick.⁵⁷

⁵¹Welsford, op. cit., p. 25.

⁵²Ibid., p. 29.

⁵³Reese, op. cit., p. 172.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 567.

⁵⁵Infra, p. 45.

⁵⁶Quoted in Welsford, op. cit., p. 143.

⁵⁷Quoted in Welsford, op. cit., p. 161.

The "measure" refers to a pavan, which Morley, in 1597, described as ". . . a kind of staide musick, ordained for graue dauncing, and most commonlie made of three straines, whereof euerie straine is plaid or sung twice."⁵⁸ Morley's definition touched upon the number of semibreves to be employed in a strain. His comment on the dancing itself contained a tribute to those who took part in such performances:

. . . you must cast your musicke by foure. . . for it will fall out well enough in the ende, the arte of dauncing being come to that perfection that euerie reasonable dauncer wil make measure of no measure, so that it is no great matter of what number you make your strayne.⁵⁹

Morley comments that the galliard, ". . . a lighter and more stirring kinds of dauncing," follows the pavan.⁶⁰ Other dances employed in the masque included the branle, the volte, and the courante.⁶¹

With the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, the presentation of masques at court was sharply curtailed.⁶² The queen encouraged elaborate festivities during her progresses, but, seemingly, she appreciated them more when

⁵⁸Thomas Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, p. 181.

⁵⁹Loc. cit.

⁶⁰Loc. cit.

⁶¹Loc. cit.

⁶²Welsford, op. cit., p. 149.

they were not charged to the royal exchequer. As a result of her economy, one discovers that the Revels Accounts are not very helpful in providing information on the masque.⁶³

Elizabeth's reign was certainly not without its pageantry, but much of the extravagant entertainment of this nature lies outside the bounds of the present investigation.

Consequently, the following section will consist of two excerpts of entertainments which may be of help in understanding the role of the musician in the court masque.

One finds evidence that music became increasingly important to the masque of the Elizabethan era. For example, A Maske of Amazons (1579) contains some interesting information:

. . . one with A speach to the Quenes maiestie delivering A table with writings vnto her highnes comyng in with musitions playing on Cornettes apparrelled in longe white taffeta sarcentt garmentes. . .⁶⁴

Whether the cornets, on this occasion, were used as signalling or as ensemble instruments is not clear; however, it is evident that musicians were an essential part of the action of the masque. An entertainment by the versatile gentlemen of Gray's Inn (1594) mentions nymphs who ". . .made

⁶³Ibid., p. 150.

⁶⁴Welsford, op. cit., p. 151.

very pleasant melody with viols and voices, and sang hymns to the Goddess of Amity . . .⁶⁵ Seemingly, the description refers to a consort of viols. On this occasion, the violists provided a background for the singing. This combination of viols and voices became a favorite practice of later dramatists.

With the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James, the masque became an exceedingly elaborate and intricate entertainment. Ben Jonson, of course, was chief among the writers of masques. He, together with Inigo Jones, helped to revolutionize techniques of staging. Less well known than Jonson, but still a major figure in the history of the masque, was Thomas Campion (1567-1620). Because Campion was a musician as well as a poet, a study of his uses of music in the masque contributes much to an understanding of the genre. In 1586, he was admitted as a member of Gray's Inn,⁶⁶ and it is believed that he contributed to the Gray's Inn Masque of 1594.⁶⁷ Apparently, the law was not to his liking, for he eventually took the degree of Doctor of Medicine and became a practicing physician.⁶⁸ In 1601, he

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 161.

⁶⁶Thomas Campion, Works, p. vii.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. viii.

⁶⁸Loc. cit.

and Philip Rosseter published a collection entitled A First Book of Aires.⁶⁹ During his life, Campion wrote four volumes of airs, two of which were published c. 1613 and two, c. 1617.⁷⁰ Reese comments that Campion's light songs are dancelike and concise, although the more serious ones are ". . . among the dullest of the ayres."⁷¹ A theoretical treatise, New Ways in Making Foure Parts in Counterpoint (1617?) was one of the most successful of its kind during the period. This work is particularly interesting in that Campion evinces more concern with chordal structure than with older contrapuntal techniques.⁷²

While the Masque of Lord Hayes (1607) was discussed briefly in the first chapter of this study,⁷³ Campion's detailed listing of instrumentation for this entertainment is of such great value that further analysis of this masque is more than justified. The Lord Hayes Masque was printed by John Windet, a former assigne of Morley and the printer of two of Marston's plays.⁷⁴ It is most fortunate that

⁶⁹Ibid., p. xiv.

⁷⁰Reese, op. cit., p. 839.

⁷¹Loc. cit.

⁷²Loc. cit.

⁷³Infra, p. 14.

⁷⁴Infra, p. 59.

Campion's love of music led him to give detailed descriptions of the musical effects he wished to achieve. Indeed, these descriptions serve as a running commentary on the masque itself, which otherwise consists of the usual mythological framework. One must admit that the commentary is far more interesting to read than is the masque proper. Although the placement of the broken consorts was also discussed in the first chapter of this study, one finds it necessary to re-establish the ground plan, as it were, in order that subsequent information from Campion may be correctly evaluated. One will recall that Campion employed two broken consorts. The first of these was placed on the right side of the screen. This group was comprised of ten musicians, who played the following instruments: bass and mean lutes, bandora, double sackbut, harpsichord, and two violins,⁷⁵ three of which call for some explanation. The bandora (pandora) was a guitar-like instrument.⁷⁶ The double sackbut was simply the bass, or lowest-pitched, of the sackbut family.⁷⁷ The "treble" violin was the equivalent in size and pitch of the

⁷⁵Campion, op. cit., p. 151.

⁷⁶Sachs, History, pp. 373-4. Sachs notes that the first recorded use of the bandora occurs in Gascoigne's Jocasta (1566).

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 326.

present-day violin, although one should remember that the violin of that time had not received the classic form in which we know it.⁷⁸ The second broken consort was placed to the left of the screen and was comprised on nine violins and three lutes.⁷⁹ A third group, which consisted of six cornets and "six chapel voices," was placed so as to form a triangle with the two broken consorts.⁸⁰ The triangle of musical groups seems to have been placed so that each faced the dancing-area.⁸¹

Campion's first mention of the actual use of instrumentation is unusual; he describes a ". . . spreading hill . . . with many trees on the height of it, whereby those that played on the hautboys at the King's entrance into the hall were shadowed."⁸² Thus, it is possible that hautboys might have usurped the signalling function of the cornets and trumpets. This musical treason seems unlikely, however, for Campion states:

As soon as the King was entered the great Hall, the Hautboys entertained the time till his Majesty and his train were placed, and then after a little

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 358.

⁷⁹Campion, op. cit., p. 151.

⁸⁰Loc. cit.

⁸¹Loc. cit.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 151-2.

expectation the consort of ten began to play an air.⁸³

It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the hautboys served as background music abridging the time between the (probable) signalling of the King's entrance by the cornets and the beginning of the overture to the masque itself.

Campion, then, introduces six musicians: four instrumentalists (one bass lute, two mean lutes, and one deep bandora) and two singers. These performers are costumed as sylvans and take active roles within the masque.⁸⁴ The instrumentalists perform as a group and also provide background music for the two costumed singers and for Zephyrus.⁸⁵ Campion's next description of music is quite interesting in showing how musical performance was coordinated with staging technique:

. . . the four Sylvans played on their instruments the first strain of this song following: and at the repetition thereof the voices fell in with the instruments which were thus divided: a treble and a bass were placed near his Majesty, and another treble and bass near the grove, that the words of the song might be heard of all, because the trees of gold instantly at the first sound of their voices began to move and dance according to the measure of the time which the musicians kept in singing, and the nature of the words which they delivered.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid., p. 154.

⁸⁴ Loc. cit.

⁸⁵ Loc. cit.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 161.

Clearly, one sees that Campion is concerned with acoustical as well as with what may be called choreographic problems. It is also interesting to note that, thus far, the consort of twelve (nine violins and three lutes) has not yet been employed. Campion, then, moves on in his description to what might be called the place de resistance of the masque: an elaborate antiphonal section. His own description follows:

This chorus was in manner of an Echo, seconded by the cornets, then by the consort of ten, then by the consort of twelve, and by a double chorus of voices standing on either side, the one against the other, bearing five voices apiece, and sometime every chorus was heard severally, sometime mixed, but in the end all together: which kind of harmony so distinguished by the place, and by the several nature of instruments, and changeable conveyance of the song, and performed by so many excellent masters as were actors in that music, (their number in all amounting to forty two voices and instruments) could not but yield great satisfaction to the hearers.⁸⁷

Of particular interest in this passage is the first definite use of cornets with ". . . a double chorus of voices." Campion does not state that the chorus was composed of children, but the fact that the cornets were treble instruments, used in an echo effect, would indicate the employment of treble voices as well. Another major point of interest in this masque is one of musical form. In essence, in 1607,

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 164.

Campion has described a *concerto grosso*, a baroque rather than a Renaissance form. Although the use of voices was not a part of the *concerto grosso* tradition, the use of instruments which Campion has specified would certainly lead to such a classification. Campion's excursion into the baroque was of brief duration in the masque, however, for he next describes a procession of the six cornets and six chapel voices in a "solemn motet of six parts."⁸⁸ Ordinarily, the term motet was used to refer to liturgical music. However, secular motets were not unknown.⁸⁹ After the motet, Campion indicates the commencement of dances, accompanied by the "consort of twelve" (the nine violins and three lutes).⁹⁰ Among the dances mentioned are corantos, levaltas, and galliards.⁹¹ Campion mentions a "dialogue of 2 voices, a bass and tenor."⁹² He describes the finale as follows:

This chorus was performed with several Echoes of music, and voices, in manner as the great chorus before. At the end whereof the Masquers, putting off their vizards and helmets, made a low honour to the King, and attended his Majesty to the banqueting place.⁹³

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 166.

⁸⁹Reese, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

⁹⁰Campion, op. cit., p. 167.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 169.

⁹²Lec. cit.

⁹³Ibid., p. 170.

Campion's masque was presented before the king on January 6, 1607.⁹⁴ Presumably, the musical resources of the court were made available. Thus, the instruments employed, and the musicians who performed, upon this occasion are of great interest not only from the standpoint of Campion's masque but also for the light which these factors throw upon the music of the royal household during the Jacobean period. One notices, first of all, the absence of trumpets. This absence may have two possible explanations: (1) trumpets, by this time, may have been reserved for out-of-door performance--an excellent plan, when one considers the amount of reverberation which they would cause in a hall not especially designed for musical performance; (2) the cornets, because of their greater versatility, could very well have replaced the trumpets. The cornets not only could duplicate the customary signals which comprised the trumpet repertory, they could also serve admirably as ensemble instruments.

The various groups of musicians alluded to in Campion's description of Lord Hayes' Masque present several points of interest. The "consort of ten" and the "consort of twelve" serve mainly to provide background music. One will remember that the "consort of ten" played what might be called the overture to the masque, while the "consort of twelve" played

⁹⁴Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, p. 122.

for the dances. Both groups joined in the "great chorus," which one might term a concerto grosso in instrumentation, if not in form. As this masque was presented at court, it seems possible that the chapel voices were those of the children of the Chapel Royal, who, at this time, probably were better known as the Children of the Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars theatre.⁹⁵ This supposition is strengthened by the fact that Thomas Giles (the son?), along with Thomas Lupo, a court musician, contributed songs for the Lord Hayes Masque.⁹⁶ The broken consorts, the cornetists, and the chapel voices were all professional musicians of the Jacobean court. The "Sylvans," who performed and sang in costume, were courtiers.

A tabulation of musical activities in the Lord Hayes Masque is most revealing:

1. Signalling (?)--cornets (?); professional musicians.
2. Background music:
 - (a) bridge between signalling and overture--hautboys; professional musicians.
 - (b) overture--consort of ten; professional musicians.
 - (c) background for singing--Sylvans; courtiers.
3. Concerto grosso (echo chorus)--cornets, voices, consorts, Sylvans; courtiers and professional musicians.
4. Motet--cornets and voices; professional musicians.
5. Finale (echo chorus)--cornets, voices, consorts, Sylvans; courtiers and professional musicians.

⁹⁵H. W. Hillebrand, The Child Actors, pp. 197-8.

⁹⁶Reese, op. cit., p. 883.

Although Campion indicates that a total of forty-two musicians were employed, it seems clear that they were divided into small groups; even in the echo choruses, group answered group. Thus, the largest group of musicians was comprised of only twelve performers. One could reasonably conjecture, therefore, that twelve musicians was the maximum number of performers used in dramatic presentations other than those of masques.

In estimating the personnel needed to present a masque such as the Lord Hayes, a document of a slightly later date is of considerable interest. The following persons were paid for their contributions to a masque of 1612/13: Campion (who received the largest sum), Inigo Jones, Jerome Herne,¹]Bochan, Thomas Giles, John Coperary,⁹⁷ Roberte Johnson (a lutenist of the court), Mr. Confesse, Thomas Lupo, and Stephen Thomas. In addition, one finds other contributors not listed by name: "He that played to ye boyes;" "42 Musitians" (the total number employed by Campion in the Lord Hayes Masque); "2 that played to ye Antick Maske;" "12 mad folkes;" "5 speakers;" "10 of ye Kinges violins;" and "3 groomes of ye Chamber." A consideration of this listing is most revealing. Composers (Giles, Coperarius), lutenist (Johnson), and dancing master

⁹⁷John Coperarius, English composer and theorist.

(Confesse), as well as the author and scenic designer, are specifically named. On the other hand, "10 of ye Kings violins," along with the "42 Musitians," would seem to refer to groups of musicians of lesser status within the court hierarchy.

An investigation of music for the masque reveals that musicians were employed for the six major purposes of signalling, processional, background for dancing, background for singing, interact entertainment, and essential participation in the action of the masque itself. The maximum number of personnel of the consort groups would seem to have been limited to twelve. It is probable that these uses of music and the number of musicians employed would duplicate, at least to some extent, the conditions of musical performance at the private theatres during the years 1599-1607. With these facts in mind, one should concern himself next with the music of the Blackfriars theatre and, in particular, with Marston's Sophonisba.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSICIAN AT THE BLACKFRIARS:

MARSTON'S SOPHONISBA

Poet. What! Cavaliero Crochett, Monsr: De Mynim,
Segnior Sembrief, what brought you hether?

Musitian. A Poet, and a Paynter, idoll makers for
Idlenes: the one casting fancyes in a mould,
the other faces. What doe you heere, you are
excluded from the number of artes. I am one
of the seven liberall sciences. --Lyly.

The 109 years that elapsed between the performance of Medwall's Fulgens and Lucrece and Marston's Sophonisba (1606) were perhaps the most important in the history of English drama. Within this period, the professional theatres of adult actors were founded. Within these years, the children of the Chapel Royal and the boys of St. Paul's Cathedral contributed to music and drama in the formation of companies of child actor-musicians. The masque developed from the pageantry of 1501 to a unified, stylized, and highly elaborate genre. The child-actors and the masque, together, contributed to the growth of those institutions which Harbage designates as the "coterie theatres."¹

Of the coterie theatres, the Blackfriars was the most important and had the longest stage history. Harbage describes a possible arrangement of the interior of the

¹Alfred Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, p. xii.

first Blackfriars. He suggests that a platform was built in the southern chamber with an arras hung across its interior "great round portal," thus providing a stage and tiring house. He feels that the first auditorium may have been approximately twenty-two feet by seventy-five feet. The auditorium may have had a central aisle two feet wide, thus allowing space for approximately four hundred spectators.² The second Blackfriars, with which this study is concerned, was altered by James Burbage, for the Chamberlain's men, so that it had a tiring-house, stage, and sufficient height for galleries. Harbage estimates the seating capacity to be between 700 and 900.³ Both the first and second Blackfriars, then, should have provided suitable acoustical conditions for extensive and varied use of music. There are a number of indications that the theatrical companies took advantage of these opportunities for musical performance. Several more-or-less documented statements concerning musical activities at this theatre have been made. Wallace cites an entry of 1602 from the diary of Frederic Gerschow:

For a whole hour preceding the play one listens to a delightful musical entertainment on organs, lutes, pandorins, mandolins, violins and flutes, as on the present occasion, indeed, when a boy cum voce tremula sang so charmingly to the accompaniment of a

²Ibid., p. 43.

³Loc. cit.

bass-viol that unless possibly the nuns at Milan may have excelled him, we had not heard his equal on our journey.⁴

Such documents are all too rare; however, substantiating evidence of the extensive use of music is found in abundance in plays written for performance at the Blackfriars. This study will be concerned particularly with Marston's Sophonisba, which has been called the nearest approach to opera in the Elizabethan theatre.⁵

A comparison of Sophonisba and the opera is not without merit. One will recall that the first opera (unfortunately, non-extant), Jacopo Peri's Dafne, was produced in Italy in 1594; the first extant opera, Rinuccini's and Peri's Eurydice, was performed in 1600.⁶ One must look elsewhere than Italy to find the sources of Marston's drama, however. Sophonisba represents a culmination of musico-dramatic trends native to England. It includes such elements as masque-like scenes, which might almost have come from the pen of Campion, together with musical traditions dating as far back as Gorboduc (1561-2).⁷ The plot itself reads like a formula-

⁴C. W. Wallace, The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603, p. 107.

⁵J. S. Manifold, The Music in English Drama, p. 15.

⁶Karl Nef, An Outline of the History of Music, p. 147.

⁷Five Elizabethan Tragedies, pp. x-xi.

production incorporating such diverse dramatic conventions as those popularized by Thomas Kyd and John Lyly. In giving the stage history of Sophonisba, Chambers states that the title page reference to the Blackfriars--which does not name a company--indicates that the play was performed late in 1605 or early in 1606, after Queen Anne had withdrawn her patronage from the Revels boys.⁸ Chambers also suggests that the play was taken over from Paul's.⁹ Sophonisba was entered in the Stationers Register on March 17, 1606, by Eleazar Edgar, and the play was transferred from Edgar to John Hodgettes in 1616.¹⁰ Marston's printer was John Windet, former assigne of Thomas Morley, a man who was thoroughly familiar with the use of musical terms. The significance of Sophonisba, or The Wonder of Women is due less to its literary qualities than to the relationships of musical and dramatic elements which it displays. Marston's play might almost be described as an Elizabethan manual of practical instrumentation. Those instruments specified in its stage directions include cornets, organs, lutes, viols, and recorders. Although some of these instruments were discussed

⁸Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 433.

⁹Loc. cit.

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⁸Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 433.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰Loc. cit.

earlier in this study, in view of their importance in Sophonisba, further information on them may prove helpful.

The cornet, one remembers, was employed both as a signalling and as an ensemble instrument. Sachs points out that the lack of brassy brilliancy gave it ". . . a distinctness and precision which enabled it to support the human voice or to supplant it better than any other instrument."¹¹ Thus, Campion uses cornets as one of the antiphonal groups in the echo choruses of the Lord Hayes Masque (performed only one year after Sophonisba). The cornet was capable of producing the diatonic scale, an advantage not possessed by the Elizabethan trumpet. Although the manner of tone production differed from that of the recorder, the fingering was identical to that of the latter instrument, thus enabling the performer to double on either instrument as the occasion might demand.¹² One advantage of the cornet, and a seldom mentioned one, is that a child should be able to perform adequately on it in less time than he would need to achieve a similar level of skill on the trumpet. Apparently, good cornetists could sustain a tone for eighty measures on one breath.¹³ While,

¹¹Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, p. 324.

¹²Manifold, op. cit., p. 43.

¹³Sachs, op. cit., p. 324.

as on the modern oboe, this is not an unmixed blessing, the advantage of training cornetists would seem to be enhanced by the fact that a relatively young child should be able to sustain a phrase without much difficulty.

Marston employs cornets so frequently that one is surprised to find enough time remaining for any dramatic action whatsoever. The cornets sound a march, for example, at the beginning and at the end of the prologue. In I.i, Marston gives the following directions: "Enter four Boys, anticly attired, with bows and quivers, dancing to the cornets a fantastic measure. . . ." This is a particularly interesting direction; one sees here that cornets are used as consort instruments accompanying a "measure," or (probably) pavan. In the same scene, the following stage directions are indicated: "Chorus, with cornets, organ and voices. Io to Hymen!" Thus, Marston has the cornets take part in a broken consort similar in instrumentation to that of Campion's echo choruses in the Lord Hayes Masque. Still in the same scene (I.ii), the cornets again sound a march. In the first act, then, the cornets serve to give signals, as a consort accompanying a masque-like dance, as a part of a broken consort, and again as signalling instruments. But the play has only just begun. Marston gives some most interesting directions for the act music, which includes background music for a dumbshow (II.1):

Whilst the music for the first act sounds, HANNO, CARTHALON, BYTHEAS, GELOSSO, enter: they place themselves to counsel, GISCO, the impoisoner, waiting on them; HANNO, CARTHALON, and BYTHEAS setting their hands to a writing, which being offered to GELOSSO, he denies his hand, and, as much offended, impatiently starts up and speaks.

The use of cornets for this dumbshow involving a poisoner is curiously reminiscent of Sackville and Norton's Corboduc:

First the music of cornets began to play, during which came in upon the stage a king accompanied with a number of his nobility and gentlemen. And after he had placed himself in a chair of estate prepared for him, there came and kneeled before him a grave and aged gentleman, and offer'd up a cup unto him of wine in a glass, which the king refused. After him comes a brave and lusty young gentleman, and presents the king with a cup of gold filled with poison, which the king accepted, and drinking the same, immediately fell down dead upon the stage, and so was carried thence away by his lords and gentlemen, and then the music ceased.¹⁴

Following the dumbshow, however, Marston uses the cornets only for signals in the remainder of the second act. They play for an entrance (II.1); departure (II.1); and sound a charge (II.11) and flourish (II.111). In the following act (III.1) Marston gives another curious direction for cornets:

Cornets and organs playing full music, enter under the conduct of ZANTHIA and VANGUE, the solemnity of a sacrifice; which being entered, whilst the attendants furnish the altar, SOPHONISBA sings a song which done, she speaks.

The occasion seems to be a grave one, but whether or not Marston intended the cornets to accompany Sophonisba's song

¹⁴Five Elizabethan Tragedies, p. 87.

is unclear. The possibility of the suggestion seems slight. It may well be that Marston intended the cornets and organs to play for the processional, but that the song was accompanied either by the organs or by one or more stringed instruments. Only two stage directions for cornets are given in III.ii: at the beginning of the scene one finds the direction, "Cornets sound marches." In view of the antiphonal effects utilized by Campion, one might conjecture that the opposing generals are each represented by a march and that the resultant cacophony is intentional. The scene concludes "With a full flourish of cornets. . ." Act IV of Sophonisba is remarkable for many of its features, not the least of these being the absence of any stage directions for cornets. The concluding act, however, calls for cornets on many occasions. In V.i, cornets (apparently) sound a march: the only musical direction given is "A march far off is heard." In V.ii, cornets sound a flourish, a march "far off," "marches," a charge, another march and flourish, and a flourish at the conclusion of the scene. In V.iii, Cornets sound a charge and a march, while in V.iv, they sound a march. The entire play ends with cornets sounding "a short flourish." Sophonisba, therefore, includes the following stage directions for cornets:

1. March - 9 S. D.
2. Marches - 2 S. D.
3. Flourish - 6 S. D.

4. Charge - 3 S. D.
5. Dance accompaniment (consort) - 1 S. D.
6. Broken consort with organs and voices - 1 S. D.
7. Broken consort with organs (dumbshow) - 1 S. D.

One notices that four of the categories are primarily for signalling; the remaining three involve ensemble performance.

Together with cornets and other instruments, Sophonisba includes stage directions for organs. While it is barely possible that an organ might have remained in the Blackfriars theatre after two successive remodelings, the fact that Marston refers to "organs" makes the suggestion an improbable one. It is possible that Marston refers to regals. Sachs describes these instruments as small reed organs.¹⁵ Some confusion exists about the term regals. A "pair" of regals actually referred to a single instrument, not to two.¹⁶ The word regal might also refer to a portable organ.¹⁷ In any case, the principle remained the same. The instrument (or instruments) had pipes and a keyboard, and most probably could be carried around without much difficulty.

Marston seems to have employed "organs" only in ensemble. He specified these instruments on six occasions, but each is of interest. In I.ii, organs, together with

¹⁵Sachs, op. cit., p. 328.

¹⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁷Loc. cit.

cornets and voices, play for the masque-like nuptial scene of Sophonisba and Massinissa. At the conclusion of the same scene, organs and cornets play "loud full music for the Act." Because this same instrumentation continues into the dumb-show which begins the second act, one might conjecture that the direction is in the nature of an advance cue. Bullen notes that in old editions of the play, one finds the direction, "organs mixt with recorders for this Act" (III.i). In the same scene is found the direction, "Cornets and organs playing full music. . . ." The instrumentation listed, here, is that of the processional to the altar, before which Sophonisba sings. For the fourth act, by far the most curious of the entire play, the old editions contain the direction, "Organs, Viols, and Voices play for this Act." Since it is in this section that Marston uses music most extensively, the employment of organs, or regals, may be of particular significance. One should keep in mind that any or all of the instruments (or none of them) could be meant by the term "infernal music," which will be discussed shortly.

The lute, of course, is familiar to all students of the Renaissance. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the lute became a favorite instrument of the English. Among composers for this instrument were Philip Rosseter (later to be associated with the Whitefriars

venture) and John Dowland. Most music for lute was based on dance forms. Although extensive solo music for lute was produced in the Elizabethan era, its theatrical use seems to have been limited to performance in ensembles to accompany songs. The use of the lute in accompanying the airs was discussed in the first chapter of this study. In IV.1, which includes Marston's most elaborate use of music, the following direction occurs: "A treble viol, a base lute, &c., play softly within the canopy." One notes that this direction is contained within the Erichtho scene. The combination of treble viol and bass lute is a particularly mysterious one, well suited to the eerie atmosphere. The irony of Syphax's discovery of Erichtho is well emphasized by this reversal of treble and bass instrumentation. In V.1 (old editions), Marston calls for the same instruments, this time for the Act music.

In the sixteenth century, viols were of two principal kinds, the viol da gamba (leg viol) and the viol da braccia (arm viol). The adaptation of this instrument to Renaissance musical techniques was discussed in the first chapter of this study. From the viola da braccio are derived the present-day violin, viola, cello, and double bass.¹⁸ The viols were highly favored instruments of the court, preferred,

¹⁸Ibid., p. 347.

in most instances to the violin because of their softer tone. In Sophonisba, specific directions for the treble viol occur in IV.i., where the directions state "Organs, viols, and voices play for this Act;" in connection with the "bass lute, &c.," within the canopy (IV.i); and in V.i, wherein the directions call for bass lute and treble viol for the Act. Thus, the treble viol, in Sophonisba, is used only in ensemble music, as part of a broken consort.

The remaining instrument specified by Marston in Sophonisba is the recorder. Such a familiar instrument needs little explanation except for the fact that many different sizes of recorders were employed in Elizabethan music. The sizes ranged from the exilent to the double bass.¹⁹ Related to the recorder were the pipe (often used in conjunction with the tabor) and the flageolet.²⁰ The recorder was one of the simplest of instruments employed during the Elizabethan era. The tone was pleasing and the fingering could be learned in a very short time. For these reasons, it seems surprising that Marston, in Sophonisba, includes only one direction for these instruments (III.i): "Organs mixt with recorders for the Act." Evidently, he referred to a broken consort.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 310.

²⁰Loc. cit.

Marston uses singers as well as instrumentalists in Sophonisba.

In I.i, the chorus is used on three occasions. Here, the stage directions are somewhat confusing. Immediately preceding Sophonisba's song, the directions given are "Chorus with cornets, organ, and voices. Io to Hymen!" Just after the song, and again after Jugurth's brief speech, the phrase, "Io to Hymen," is repeated by the chorus. Purely as conjecture, one might assume the first use of the chorus to be of greater length and perhaps greater musical complexity than the repetitions. In addition to the chorus, Marston employs songs. The first of these (I.i) is given to Sophonisba: "A modest silence though't be thought". In III.i, Sophonisba again sings, although no indication of words is to be found. Accompanying instruments would seem to be either the cornets and organs which play immediately before the song, or else the lute. In IV.i., occurs the direction, "A short song to soft music above." This is the first indication by Marston in this play that the musicians may have been situated in a music room of some sort. From the context of the play, it seems unlikely that either Syphax or Erichtho is the singer. Two possibilities remain: the chorus, perhaps hidden from view of the audience, or a soloist not appearing on stage might well perform this song. Again, just before Erichtho's entrance in the same scene (IV.i) comes the direction, "Cantant," which could refer

to an additional song or to the actual performance of the song to "soft" music.

At least three problems of Elizabethan music for the stage remain to be discussed in Sophonisba. These are "infernal," "loud," and "soft" music. Manifold offers interesting suggestions for these terms. He feels that, to Elizabethan audiences, a change in timbre, rather than dynamics, was indicated by the terms "loud" and "soft;"²¹ therefore, he suggests that winds and strings are the usual instruments associated with these terms. In particular, he suggests that hautboys and cornets were usually employed for "loud" music.²² There are some indications, however, that "loud" and "soft" referred to pitch rather than to dynamics. For example, in II, vi of The Faerie Queene, Spenser writes:

And therein sate a lady fresh and fayre,
Making sweete solace to herselfe alone;
Sometimes she song, as lowd as larke in ayre,
Sometimes she laught, that nigh her breth was gone. . .²³

In this verse, devoid of any instrumental context, Spenser has described the singing to be "as lowd as larke." There cannot be, in this canto, any establishment of dynamics through musical contrast. Nor does the phrase seem to refer to timbre. The treble pitch of the song seems to

²¹Manifold, op. cit., p. 87. ²²Loc. cit.

²³Edmund Spenser, The Complete Poetical Works, p. 264.

be Spenser's reason for employing the word "loud" at this point. Associated with treble pitch is another quality. In stanza XIII of the same canto Spenser describes the "shrill notes."²⁴ It may well be that, to the Elizabethan, the words "loud" and "shrill" had a similar connotation-- that of high pitch. Other evidence comes from a source of an entirely different nature. Sachs indicates that the word hautbois is generally translated to mean "high wood."²⁵ Although Sachs goes on to make the usual distinction of instruments--haut en bas as "loud and soft"--, the original meaning may have more significance than it is usually considered to possess.²⁶ If Manifold is correct in assuming that cornets and hautboys are most often employed for "loud" music, then the qualities of shrillness and treble pitch are certainly present. One may suggest that the element of timbre is a result, rather than a cause, of the desire for "loud" music. Marston's use of organs and cornets in consort for "loud full music" would seem to substantiate this viewpoint. Certainly, the small reed organ has a shrill tone, and the fact that it is small makes it inevitable that the pitch is high. Three times in Sophonisba Marston describes

²⁴Ibid., p. 265.

²⁵Sachs, op. cit., p. 382.

²⁶Loc. cit.

music as being soft. Each of these instances occurs in IV.1. The first of these comes in the direction, "Infernal music, softly." Again, Marston refers to a treble violin, bass lute, "&c," which "play softly within the canopy." The third direction is as follows: "A short song to soft music above." By way of elimination, Marston, who has used cornets on numerous occasions, does not call for those instruments in the fourth act. The Act music itself (IV.1) calls for organs, viols, and voices. Two possibilities seem to remain. As was mentioned earlier, it was possible for a cornetist to double on recorder, an instrument noted for its soft and melodious tonal quality. It is, perhaps, more likely that soft music referred to that played on stringed instruments--in Sophonisba, the viols. Closely related to the problem of "soft" is that of "infernal music." If, as is frequently suggested, infernal music were played beneath the stage, one must consider at least three possibilities: (1) If the stage had a solid partition surrounding it, so that the trap was the only area permitting sound from beneath the stage to reach the audience, then instruments of a fair amount of volume would be indicated. Thus, one would consider cornets, trumpets, or hautboys. In Sophonisba, only the first of these instruments is employed. (2) If the area beneath the stage were only curtained off from the audience, then any but the softest of instruments would be audible. To refer the

problem, to Marston, however, in Sophonisba one finds directions for infernal music only in the fourth act. Of particular significance may be the fact that cornets are absent in this act. Apparently on this basis, though perhaps for acoustical reasons as well, Manifold conjectures that cornets may have played the infernal music.²⁷ Such a conjecture would mean the destruction of the effect Marston seems to be trying to achieve. Throughout the play, cornets are called upon for two major purposes, the conveying of military signals and information and the accompaniment of a masque-like nuptial scene. It may be that Marston wished to echo the latter circumstance through using cornets for the ghostly representation. Since Marston has specified cornets, however, on many occasions throughout the play, the absence of such specifications in the fourth act seems significant. Another indication of this possibility lies in the fact that recorders are mentioned only in one other place, with organs for the music between II and III. Thus, it is interesting to note that in III.i, Sophonisba discovers the cave ". . . with hideous darkness, and much length." One may surmise, with considerable reason, that "infernal" music was connected with ghostly representations. Such representations would inevitably connote death. Under these circumstances, then, it is most

²⁷Manifold, op. cit., p. 95.

interesting to note that recorders were frequently used in scenes representing funeral processions. Again, one turns to Gorboduc, in the dumbshow preceding the third act:

First the music of flutes began to play, during which came in upon the stage a company of mourners all clad in black, betokening death and sorrow to ensue upon the ill-advised misgovernment and dissension of brethren, as befel upon the murder of Ferrex by his younger brother.²⁸

The musical directions in Sophonisba are far more elaborate than those in other of Marston's plays, as well as plays by most other Elizabethan dramatists. It is entirely possible that Sophonisba represents the most ambitious use of music for dramatic purposes. However, it is common knowledge that in the printing of plays, many stage directions were omitted on the grounds that such directions might distract from a reading of the plays. One recalls that music was used in Fulgens and Lucrece (1497), Gorboduc (1561-2), and in other early examples of drama leading to the apex of the Elizabethan theatrical productions. One is also aware that the children of the Blackfriars, Paul's, and other theatres were well equipped for musical performance. The curious fact remains that, for the most part, the nature of musical directions within plays changed after the decade 1600-10. In an earlier portion of this study, it has been suggested that the decline of interest

²⁸Five Elizabethan Tragedies, p. 97.

in the madrigal indicated a corresponding decline of the type of audience which would most enjoy complex musical entertainment. The use of the jig, in such theatres as the Red Bull, may perhaps indicate what one might almost term a class revolution in types of theatrical music. Whether the collapse of the child-actor companies was the result or the cause of this revolution is a problem beyond the bounds of this study. A consideration of Marston's Sophonisba indicates that instrumentalists at the Blackfriars theatre were employed in the following capacities: (1) signalling; (2) Act music; (3) background for dancing; and (4) background for singing. One may suggest that signalling was an inheritance from court and military traditions; Act music may well have been a development from the dumbshow. Background music for singing and dancing seems to have been a development stemming from the masque and similar entertainments. In addition, vocal music, both solo and chorus, may have come from traditions in the masque. From Fulgens and Lucrece and Gorboduc to Sophonisba, one notes a steadily increasing use of music. From this evidence, one may suggest that the musician was indispensable to the development of English drama from 1497 until 1610.

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