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The Musical Sidneys

Gavin Alexander

That the Sidneys—Sir Philip (1554-86), his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1561-1621), his younger brother Sir Robert (1563-1626), and Robert's daughter Lady Mary Wroth (1587-1653?)—were a singularly literary family hardly needs to be said. But the importance of music and musicians to the story of this family has still to be fully appreciated. Poetry performed as song is a frequent feature of their prose romances, and the number of their poems set by contemporary composers is larger than a reader might suspect. It is my purpose to consider some evidence, both old and new, which may help us to hear this music better in the artistic and social contexts of song and lyric in the period from about 1590 to 1630. I will be dwelling primarily on Robert Sidney and Mary Wroth, and on the implications of a few new pieces of manuscript evidence from the Jacobean period. But I wish to suggest continuities—patterns that can be traced back to Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke as well.

The history of lyric poetry in this period is intertwined with the history of its song and music; the Sidneys figure prominently as practitioners and as patrons. The musical factor both in the production of Philip Sidney's poetry and in the development of his theory and technique cannot be overstated.[1] There is a musical reason for his

[1]See, e.g., John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1964) and *Elizabethan Taste* (London: Macmillan, 1963); Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1970) and "Sir Philip Sidney and Music," *Music and Letters* 15 (1934): 75-81; John Stevens, *The Old Sound and the New: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) and "Sir Philip Sidney and

quantitative experiments, his innovative use of trochaic meters and feminine endings, and his use of simpler iambic and mixed forms. Many poems were written as contrafacta to existing tunes, usually Italian or French, some of which still survive, and this activity often required rewriting the prosodic rule book. He was not only in the vanguard of proposed reform of English metrics, but also, like his counterparts in Italy and France, he emphasized the musical aspects of such reform. His influence on subsequent metrical theory and practice, as on the theoretical and practical art of setting words to music, was profound.[2] He told his friend Edward Denny in a letter of 1580 to "remember with your good voyce, to singe my songes for they will one well become an other,"[3] and two of his first poems to be printed appeared with musical

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'Versified Music': Melodies for Courtly Songs," in *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 153-69; and Frank J. Fabry, "Sidney's Verse Adaptations to Two Sixteenth-Century Italian Art Songs," *RQ* 23 (1970): 237-55 and "Sidney's Poetry and Italian Song-Form," *ELR* 3 (1973): 232-48. Musical settings of lyrics by Sidney are listed in *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962); see also important new evidence in Ringler's "The Text of *The Poems of Sidney* Twenty-Five Years After," in *Sir Philip Sidney's Achievements*, ed. M. J. B. Allen, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur F. Kinney (New York: AMS, 1990), pp. 129-44.

[2]For good general treatments of verse for music in the period see the works by Pattison and Stevens cited above, as well as Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986); Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Hall, 1986) and the introduction to his edition of *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); Elise Bickford Jorgens, *The Well-Tun'd Word: Musical Interpretations of English Poetry 1597-1651* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); and John Duffy, *The Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger* (Epping: Bowker, 1980). On the role of quantitative verse see particularly John Thompson, *The Founding of English Metre* (London: Routledge, 1961) and Derek Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

[3]See James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney (1572-1577)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 535-40.

accompaniment in the 1588 and 1589 songbooks of William Byrd.[4] His poems were a staple of the songbooks of the leading lutenists and madrigal composers of his generation and the next. And recent studies of manuscripts of his writings have drawn attention to the musical interests of those involved in their circulation.[5]

The Sidneys grew up surrounded by music. The future Countess of Pembroke learned the lute as a child; the household in which she and her brothers were brought up employed musicians, and its accounts during their childhood detail the purchase and maintenance of pairs of virginals, of lutes, of sets of viols and violins, of musicians' liveries, and of music books.[6] Their father Sir Henry Sidney (1529-86) interested himself in

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[4]Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs* (1588) contained a setting of Song 6 of *Astrophil and Stella*, and his *Songs of sundrie natures* (1589) one of Song 10. Byrd may not have been quite the first to print a Sidney poem if, as seems likely, the poems in the "Four Foster Children of Desire" entertainment, printed in 1581, are by him (see *Poems*, ed. Ringler, pp. 345-46, 518-19), or if Abraham Fraunce's *The Arcadian Rhetorike* beat Byrd's volume to the press (see *Poems*, ed. Ringler, pp. 561-62: Byrd's book was entered in the Stationers' Register seven months before Fraunce's). For discussion of Byrd's choice of poems and their texts, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, "'Melancholie Times': Musical Recollections of Sidney by William Byrd and Thomas Watson," in *The Well Enchanting Skill*, ed. Caldwell et al., pp. 171-80.

[5]The most important link between the Sidneys and Byrd and Morley was Edward Paston. On his network see H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), ch. 9, esp. pp. 249-60; David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 71-98, 156-77; Philip Brett, "The English Consort Song, 1570-1625," *PRMA* 88 (1961-62): 73-88 and "Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Music Collection," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964): 51-69. Cf. Woudhuysen, p. 159: "literary editors have not always paid sufficient attention to manuscripts which contain musical settings of poems."

[6]Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place*, 6 vols. (London, 1925-66), I (1925), 244, 256 (Mary's lute), 268, 359, and 381; excerpted in Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society, from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 272-73. For references not in *HMC De L'Isle and Dudley* which point to the establishing of a violin consort, see Peter

the details of church music at Ludlow in Shropshire, his base as Lord President of the Marches of Wales from 1559, and the choral services which the children attended there would have included plainsong, a polyphonic anthem, and hymns probably from the Sternhold-Hopkins metrical psalter, as well as organ music.[7] The Sidney house in London, St. Antony's, adjoined the church used by the French Protestant congregation, and French psalm tunes would have been heard through the walls.[8] It is not clear whether Philip had musical training, but he studied speculative music on his travels in Venice in 1573-74, as he tells his friend and mentor Hubert Languet in a letter, and may have organized concerts in Salisbury when at nearby Wilton House with his sister in the early 1580s.[9] Robert's training included singing lessons from Richard Lant, a chorister at Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1575.[10] In his travels abroad he was encouraged by a letter from Philip in 1580: "Now sweete brother take a delight to keepe and

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Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 125. See also Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, pp. 171-72.

[7]See Alan Smith, "Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow," *Music and Letters* 49 (1968): 108-21, esp. 112-14; Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 85-86; and Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, p. 63.

[8]See Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney, Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), pp. 25-26.

[9]On the likelihood that Sidney studied speculative music in Venice see Lynn Hulse, "The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, *c.* 1590-1640" (unpub. doctoral diss., University of London, 1992), pp. 166-68; see Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, pp. 120-22, for Sidney's letter of 19 Dec. 1573 to Languet, in which he says that "I am studying the sphere and certain musical subjects" ("Sphæram iam disco at aliqua in musicis"). For concerts at Salisbury (the surviving reference concerns 1584) see Pattison, *Music and Poetry*, p. 63; Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, p. 185; and Buxton, *Sidney and the English Renaissance*, p. 114.

[10]*HMC De L'Isle*, I, 269; discussed in *The Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. P. J. Croft (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), in the section "Robert and Music," pp. 48-54; and in Woudhuysen, *Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 216. Hulse adds further speculations on Robert's and Philip's musical education at home and abroad and on Philip's role in determining Robert's curriculum at Christ Church ("Musical Patronage," pp. 159-60).

increase your musick, yow will not beleive what a want I find of it in my melancholie times."[11] Among music books in the mid-seventeenth-century Penshurst library catalogue which may have been acquired during Robert's time as owner (between 1586 and 1626) are an Italian collection of "Canti delle villenelle," a copy of Luca Marenzio's *Il 8° libro de Madrigali a 5 voci* (1598 or 1605 edition), and a copy of Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).[12] As Robert was the most musical of the three siblings, it is not surprising that his daughter Mary received an extensive musical education, learning the lute and virginals as a child and studying singing and dancing.[13]

Strong evidence suggests relationships between the Sidneys and most of the important composers and instrumentalists of their time, including Byrd, Morley, Anthony Holborne, John Dowland and his son Robert, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Daniel Bacheler, John Danyel, and John Coprario. Families to which the Sidneys were connected by marriage or politics shared a high degree of musical interest; these included the Manners family, the Talbots, and various members of the Herbert families—William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and George Herbert and his brother Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Music was a cohesive force in the circle around Queen Anne, whose Lord Chamberlain Robert Sidney was from 1603. The Sidneys could bring musical and poetic skill to any relationship with a musician, and arguably the restrictions on friendship developing between patrons and composers were fewer than those on relationships between patrons and writers. Professional musicians enjoyed a more flexible status than writers; either a musician

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[11]Letter of 18 Oct. 1580, in *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), III, 132-33.

[12]Hulse, "Musical Patronage," pp. 337-38. See also Germaine Warkentin, "Sidney's Authors," in *Sir Philip Sidney's Achievements*, pp. 68-89, for "no fewer than eighteen pre-seventeenth-century volumes of lyric poetry, anthologies of *rime*, and *canzonieri*" among the Italian books in the Penshurst catalogue (p. 75). Warkentin is currently preparing an annotated edition of the catalogue.

[13]*HMC De L'Isle*, II, 176 (23 Oct. 1595) and 437 (9 Feb. 1599/1600); see also Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, p. 273, and *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts, 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p. 8. See Hulse, "Musical Patronage," pp. 155-57, on how women often had a more rigorous practical music training than men to increase their stock in the marriage market.

had a degree or, because court employment was the rule for composers and instrumentalists, a musician without a degree could in any case style himself a gentleman.[14]

Further examples underline the musical connection. Robert Sidney was asked to stand godfather to Robert, the son of John Dowland, the greatest of the lutenist songwriters.[15] Robert Sidney and John Dowland were exact contemporaries, both born in 1563, and it is surely no coincidence that the first boost to John Dowland's professional status was his admission in 1588 to the degree of Bachelor of Music from Christ Church, Oxford, which had been Robert Sidney's college. In 1593 the Countess of Pembroke was the dedicatee of the first publication of Morley's secular music, the Italianate *Canzonets or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces*. And the first secular song publication of Byrd (Morley's teacher and predecessor as the holder of the patent for music printing), *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie* (1588), was in one sense a memorial volume for Philip Sidney, containing not only songs on his death set to anonymous texts ("Come to me, grief, for ever" and "O that most rare breast") but also a setting of the debate between music and beauty in his *Astrophil and Stella*, "O you that hear this voice" (Song 6). In this volume Byrd attempts, in "Come to me, grief, for ever" and "Constant Penelope," the first strictly measured settings of quantitative verses in English, engaging directly with Sidney's musical poetics. It is solely through the agency of Byrd's music and the recently discovered testimony of its scribe, Robert Dow (who had been Robert Sidney's handwriting teacher at Christ Church), that we now have a late lyric by Sidney which Ringler, lacking this evidence, had been obliged to exclude from the canon.[16] Byrd, Morley, and Dowland: the three most important later Elizabethan composers.

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[14]Cf. Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, p. 142; on the social liminality of the musician, see Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, p. 190. For a full treatment see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, ch. 2, "Place and Patronage at Court."

[15]See Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber, 1982), pp. 28, 42-43.

[16]Woudhuysen, *Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, pp. 44, 255-57. The date of Dow's death (1588) is often misreported as 1585, for instance by Ringler; Dow's elegy for Sidney appeared in the Oxford University anthology,

Michael Brennan has drawn attention to Ben Jonson's increased interest in the Sidneys and Herberts between 1610 and 1612, witnessed by numerous poems and dedications directed at Mary Wroth, her cousin William Herbert, and other members of the two families.[17] Further dedications and epigrams appeared from other writers, including Sylvester and Wither.[18] In 1610 Mary (who had married Sir Robert Wroth in 1604) was in her early twenties and ready to take on the mantle of enlightened Sidney patronage. She had in 1609 received her first dedication, a sonnet by Chapman printed in a copy of his *Homer prince of poets*.[19] But the year 1610 saw the first dedication to her of an entire work, the fifth book of lute songs by Robert Jones, *The Muses Gardin for Delights*. This volume, like so many others, included a setting of a lyric by Wroth's uncle Philip, in this case "Al my sense thy sweetnesse gained" (*Certain Sonnets* 27; *Poems*, ed. Ringler, p. 156), which Sidney had

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Exequiae (1587), D1v-D2v, reprinted in *Elegies for Philip Sidney (1587)*, ed. A. J. Colaianne and W. J. Godshalk (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1980). For the acceptance into the Sidney canon of "O Lord how vain are all our frail delights," see Ringler, "Twenty-Five Years After," pp. 137, 141.

[17]Michael G. Brennan, "'A SYDNEY, though un-named': Ben Jonson's Influence in the Manuscript and Print Circulation of Lady Mary Wroth's Writings," *Sidney Journal* 17.1 (1999): 31-52. Jonson's literary addresses to the Sidneys and Herberts in these years include the dedication of *The Alchemist* (1612) to Wroth; the dedication of *Epigrammes* (1616, but entered 1612) to the Earl of Pembroke, and within that collection nos. 79, 102-06, 114; and in *The Forrest* (also first printed 1616), "To Penshurst" and "To Sir William Sidney," nos. 2, 14, both written *c.* 1611-12 (see also nos. 3, 12).

[18]See, e.g., Joshua Sylvester, *Lachrimae lachrimarum*, 3rd ed. (1613), including an extensive elegy for William Sidney, Robert Sidney's eldest son; George Wither, *Abuses stript, and whipt* (1613), fol. V1v; John Davies of Hereford, *The scourge of folly* (1611), fols. S1-S1v; and William Gamage, *Linsi-woolsie. Or two centuries of epigrammes* (1613), fols. D3v, F6.

[19]*Homer prince of poets* [1609?]. The two singletons containing dedicatory poems to Queen Anne (i), to Wroth (ii), and (verso) to the Countess of Montgomery are found only in the Folger and Cambridge University Library copies, but Wroth's and Montgomery's are both reprinted in Chapman's *The Iliads of Homer* [1611?] and *The whole works of Homer* [1616?]. The sonnet to Wroth is on π1 of the Cambridge copy of the 1609 volume (Keynes H.4.16), between the A and B gatherings; this may therefore have been Wroth's presentation copy.

originally written to be sung "To the tune of a Neapolitan Villanell." Jones's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* had been dedicated in 1600 to Mary's father Robert Sidney, as Jones remembers in his dedication of 1610: "my eldest and first issue, having thriv'd so well under the protection of your Right Honourable Father, blame not this my yongest and last Babe, if it desirously seeke Sanctuarie with your selfe, as being a most worthy branch from so Noble and renowmed a stocke" (A2).

If the young Mary Wroth was becoming a kind of musical godmother by 1610, it was to his actual godfather, Robert Sidney, that John Dowland's son Robert in the same year dedicated his edited collection *A Musicall Banquet.* Robert Dowland gives two reasons for his gratitude:

> the one in regard (your Lordship undertaking for mee) I was made a member of the Church of Christ, and withall received from you my name: the other the love that you beare to all excellency and good learning, (which seemeth haereditarie above others to the Noble Familie of the *Sydneys*,) and especially to this excellent Science of Musicke. (A2)

The *Banquet* is in many ways a revolutionary volume, with a mode of presentation and a suggestion of prior context not found in other printed songbooks. It seems immediately well-traveled and polyglot, like its dedicatee, combining ten English songs with ten French, Italian, and Spanish songs. This Continental flavor is quietly confirmed by the first piece in the collection—the elder Dowland's "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard," a beautiful meditation for solo lute on the celebrated French song set by Lassus and others,"Susanne un jour," complete with divisions (the repetition of each section with sub-division of note values for variation). Robert Sidney's interest in French song is documented: we have one reference to a shipment of music books from Paris sent to him in Flushing in 1598,[20] and it was probably at about this time that he heard the popular French song "Puis que le ciel" with its refrain "ou êtes

[20]Letter of 15 July 1598 from Thomas Edmondes, an English diplomat in France: "I send your Lordship a Lettre and certain Songes, which were delyvered me by my Lord of *Southampton*, to convey to your Lordship from Cavelas," in *Letters and Memorials of State*, ed. Arthur Collins, 2 vols. (London, 1746), II, 102. See *Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. Croft, p. 52, identifying the Parisian music-seller, Léon Cavellat.

vous allées mes belles amourettes," to which he wrote a brilliant contrafactum, his Song 12, "Ah whither will you lead me flattering delights."[21] Many of Robert's poems have their origin in some activity of translation or parody. This includes some of his shortest lyrics—translations from two passages of Seneca and one of Montemayor—and also two of the longest: Song 3, an acute parody of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, and Song 6, his longest poem, which offers 136 lines (34 stanzas) of contrafactum to "Walsingham." This latter effort offers an important analogue to John Dowland's solo lute piece "Walsingham," the well-known ballad tune similarly producing an extensive set of variations; the humanist paradigm of *imitatio* encouraged the use of both musical and verbal models in this way. It is fitting, therefore, that "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard" bases itself in familiar material, and that it shapes this material skillfully.[22]

This galliard is one of the relatively few of John Dowland's solo lute pieces to have been printed. It also survives in two other versions, one manuscript, one printed. The former, probably the earliest, is named for its origin (and possibly by the scribe who recognized this feature) "Suzanna galliard"; unlike the 1610 galliard, it lacks divisions. The second version is included in John Dowland's *Lachrimae* (1604) as a consort piece, "M. Buctons galliard," also without divisions.[23] If Dowland

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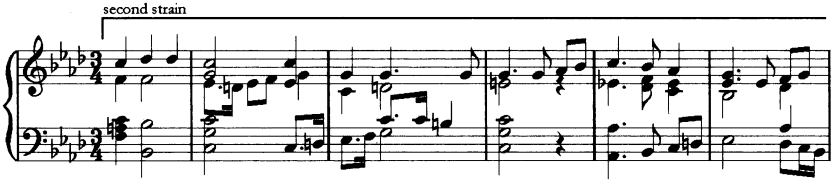
[21]"Song 12 | To a french Tune | Ou estes vous allez mes belles amourettes." The best versions of both tune and text, from which part- and solo-song versions of Sidney's song, respectively, can be reconstructed, are found in Jehan Planson, *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties* (Paris, 1587), reprinted most recently in the *Oxford Book of French Chansons*, ed. Frank Dobbins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), and in Gabriel Bataille, *Airs de différents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth par Gabriel Bataille. Troisième livre* (Paris, 1611). Croft has wrongly identified Sidney's source (*Poems of Robert Sidney*, pp. 52-53, 322-23); see further my "The Elizabethan Lyric as Contrafactum: Robert Sidney's 'French Tune' Identified," *Music and Letters*, 84 (2003): 378-402.

[22]The piece is no. 38 in *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, ed. Diana Poulton and Basil Lam, 3rd ed. (London: Faber, 1981); the excerpt given here follows the editors' transcription. "Walsingham" is no. 67, and "Suzanna galliard" (see below) no. 91.

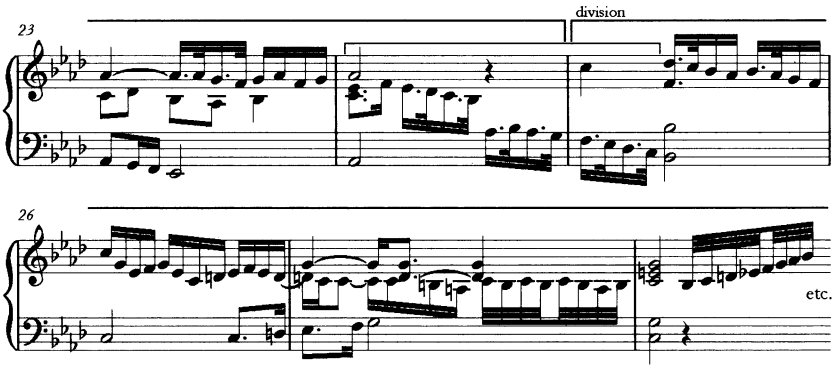
[23]For discussion see Poulton, *Dowland*, pp. 150-51, 366-68, and Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 71-72.

in 1610 was recycling himself as well as Lassus, we can at least be certain that the differences in harmonization—tentative, haunting, and irresolute in the opening strain of "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard," where "Suzanna galliard" is predictable and unchallenging—are part of the matching of this material to the piece's title. And we can be sure too that the divisions printed in 1610 are added by Dowland to make this piece properly "Sir Robert Sidney's." I say this because those divisions include an effect not found in any other lute galliard by John Dowland.

Just as the whole of "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard" enters into dialogue with its model, "Susanne un jour," so each of Dowland's divisions replies to each strain in a kind of ongoing conversation. In this musical conversation, Dowland's simple statement of each strain of his galliard becomes in effect the French origin and his division the inventive English reply, the statement the created past, the division the creative present. We may take this piece as an emblem of the response of English lyric and music to French song, and within that emblem Dowland achieves a unique fluidity. Where his normal practice is to mark the boundaries between each of the six sections of a galliard fairly firmly, in a sort of end-stopping, here several of the sections flow into the material that follows. This is quietly managed between the division that follows the second strain and the start of the third strain, and again between that third strain and its following division. But at the piece's midpoint, where the second strain yields to its division, a rapid, dotted rhythm (first encountered in the division on the first strain) appears toward the end of the strain and then crosses dramatically in a descending phrase into the division, which begins at measure 25 (Ex. 1):



Example 1. "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard."



Example 1 (continued). "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard."

Two discrete sections are joined by this one thread. The effect is as odd as the enjambment which crosses the eighth and ninth stanzas of Jonson's Cary-Morison ode. The simple back and forth dialogue between past and present is here brilliantly merged in a liminal voice. The piece becomes, whether by coincidence or by design, a fitting embodiment of the ongoing creative dialogue with past and Continental forms carried on by Robert Sidney the musical poet.

Is it possible that John Dowland knew that Robert Sidney was a poet? Might he have seen some of his verses, or at least known that Sidney was one of a class of courtier poets who resisted circulation in print but whose lyrics might be found in musical settings in manuscript and in some cases in print? The elder Dowland had set lyrics by other courtier poets without revealing their identities, and as we shall see, Robert Sidney's verses could be found set to music in at least two contemporary manuscript miscellanies, though unattributed. The question of authorial identification in songs is in fact interestingly addressed in Robert Dowland's *Banquet.* This volume is remarkable, and unique, in offering the names not only of the musical composers but of the writers of the English lyrics those composers set.[24] The rule in printed songbooks was

[24]It is worth at this point scotching an odd myth. A number of works of reference, biography, and criticism state that Robert Sidney is thought to have contributed the lyrics to *A Musicall Banquet.* This notion has no contemporary

to suppress textual attributions, with perhaps some tactful mention in the composer's preface of the anonymous gentlemen whose texts were used.[25] If there was such a thing as the "stigma of print," the evidence of the printed songbooks, and to some extent the printed verse miscellanies with which they often shared texts, suggests that it was all right for a courtier poet's verse to appear in print as long as it was in a miscellany and unattributed. Things were neither so consistent nor so clear-cut in manuscript songbooks and verse miscellanies, which were often less guarded in pursuing or venturing attributions. The multiple miscellaneity of the *Banquet*, mixing named authors, composers, and national traditions, declares its affinity not with other printed volumes of lute songs, or even with printed or manuscript verse miscellanies, but with manuscript songbooks of the period.

Manuscripts like Tenbury 1018 (from St. Michael's College, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), discussed in more detail below, mix Italian song with English and include English settings of Italian words. And almost all manuscript songbooks (with the exception of the autograph collections of composers such as George Handford or later John Wilson and the Laweses) are shaped not by a composer but by an editor or scribe, or a series of editors or scribes. They represent the genesis of the book not as an act of authorship but as a reification of a set of social circumstances—a matrix of times, places, purposes, and coteries. One such manuscript songbook, exactly contemporary with Robert Dowland's *Banquet*, deserves our attention, since it includes a hitherto unobserved setting of a lyric by Robert Sidney. Christ Church, Oxford, MS Mus. 439 contains a number of songs, some in ornamented versions and one with a superior text, which were printed in Ferrabosco's *Ayres*

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basis, and must have derived from a misunderstanding of the functions of Philip and Robert Sidney in the volume. As far as I can tell, the myth originates in the DNB. It has proved very persistent, even resurfacing in a recent biography by Millicent V. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)* (London: Associated University Presses, 1984), pp. 37, 205.

[25]For examples see the authors' prefaces to John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597) and Robert Jones, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1600), in Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 67, 114-15. Exceptions to the rule are always significant; they include the collaboration *Songs of Mourning* (1613), with words by Campion and music by Coprario.

(1609).[26] It also includes a host of other versions of songs that were printed in the period, some with more accurate texts, as well as a number of otherwise unknown songs. Byrd, John Dowland, and Robert Jones figure strongly. Not reliant on printed sources, this manuscript collection runs parallel to the printed tradition with which it shares many titles. Like many manuscripts of solo songs of the period it is a harbinger of the rise of the continuo song at the expense of the lute song, giving us throughout only the vocal line and a bass line. The manuscript is unique for its period in England in including rudimentary figuring in some of the bass lines, in addition to some written-out chords; Mary Chan therefore argues that the manuscript "was compiled by a professional . . . for 'professional' musicians" and was notated for lyra viol (pp. 167-68). Since a number of the songs belong to choirboy plays, she contends that the book is representative of "children's music at court" and "may even represent the repertoire of the Children of the Chapel Royal" (p. 134), the company associated on and off with Queen Anne's name.[27]

On fol. 12v of the Christ Church manuscript, across the page from a version of an air that appears in Ferrabosco's 1609 collection, is a setting, with a lightly figured bass, of the following short lyric:

> Sheppard in faith tell me how much
> dost thow love me
> wonder & ioye doth tell
> how deere I doe love thee
> tell me how much
> O never such
> heavenly faire maides our feilds doe blesse
> nor ever will

[26]For a description and discussion of the manuscript, as well as references to earlier mentions of the volume, see Mary Chan, "*Cynthia's Revels* and Music for a Choir School: Christ Church Manuscript Mus 439," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971): 134-72. A list of the manuscript's contents is at pp. 170-72. Chan dates the volume on very strong evidence to *c.* 1609 (p. 147).

[27]Implicit in Chan's argument, starting from the presence in the manuscript of the only known setting of a song from *Cynthia's Revels*, is a strong Jonsonian context for the volume; this might offer more circumstantial evidence for my emphasis on Jonson, Ferrabosco, and the court of Queen Anne as the interface between the manuscript poetry of Robert Sidney and Mary Wroth and the outside world.

> woe to me vnkind sheperdesse
> but o deere still.

No composer's or author's name is given. But the song is in fact an anonymous setting of the first stanza, with the words somewhat altered, of Robert Sidney's seven-stanza Pastoral 2 as found in his autograph manuscript, where it appears as a dialogue between a nymph and a shepherd:

> Pastoral. 2 Shepheard, Nymphe.
> N. Shepheard iffaith now say how wel
> thow doest loue me
> S. Wonder and ioye kan onely tel
> how I loue thee
> N. Tel mee how much?
> S. O neuer such
> heauenly fayre mayde owr feelds did bless
> nor euer wil,
> O to me vnkind Shepherdess
> but O deer stil.[28]

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[28]Quoted from BL Add. MS 58435, fols. 5-6v; printed in *Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. Croft, pp. 140-46. The Christ Church version is also transcribed in *Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics*, ed. John P. Cutts (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1959), p. 293. Cutts's lineation differs from Sidney's. The contents of the Christ Church manuscript are suggestive. Three of its songs are edited by David Greer in *Songs from Manuscript Sources* 2, The English Lute Songs (London: Stainer and Bell, 1979), nos. 9, 10, and 11; no. 10 (also in Cutts, p. 128) is found on fol. 12, directly preceding "Sheppard in faith." On fol. 13 is a copy of item 15 from Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (1609); another copy is found in Tenbury 1018, fol. 34v. Half of the songs in the *Ayres* are found at different points in the Christ Church manuscript, more or less close to the "Sheppard" lyric (see Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 560-71). Cutts prints a large number of lyrics from the manuscript; of these, several are extant in printed songbooks, including items 100, 114, 165, 178, and 423; and several (items 25, 81, 100, 128) exist in other manuscripts. Five items from the Christ Church manuscript are found in *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, ed. Andrew J. Sabol (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1978; repr. with supplement, 1982), nos. 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13. It becomes possible to speculate on Robert Sidney's authorship of lyrics other than those found in his autograph

As is more characteristic of songs in manuscript than of those in print, only one stanza is provided in the Christ Church setting. This does not mean that the song was not originally composed to match the words of all seven stanzas, which as it happens it does very well.[29] The lack of differentiation between nymph and shepherd in the text as we have it makes a nonsense of the words, but perhaps it was copied from a version that made more sense. The music does include two rests which coincide with changes of speaker but apart from that there is no pronounced rhetoric to the music, and so nothing to make singing the subsequent stanzas to the same music difficult. The sprightly tune is fairly fragmentary, and would adapt itself to the different divisions of lines between the two speakers in subsequent stanzas. In addition, the almost entirely homophonic writing means that the bass accompaniment does not jostle for rhythmic attention or alter our perception of the setting's imposition of rhythms on the words. The music is in fact rather jolly, with syncopations and a short burst of triple time in the middle. It is also over in a flash, which would make performance without the subsequent stanzas hopelessly abrupt. Perhaps the odd features of the setting are best explained as facilitating the singing by two speakers, in character, of the whole of Sidney's song, with the vocal line apportioned according to the text.[30]

Although the words are somewhat different in the version set to music, that music is in fact better suited to the rhythms of Sidney's autograph text (Ex. 2):

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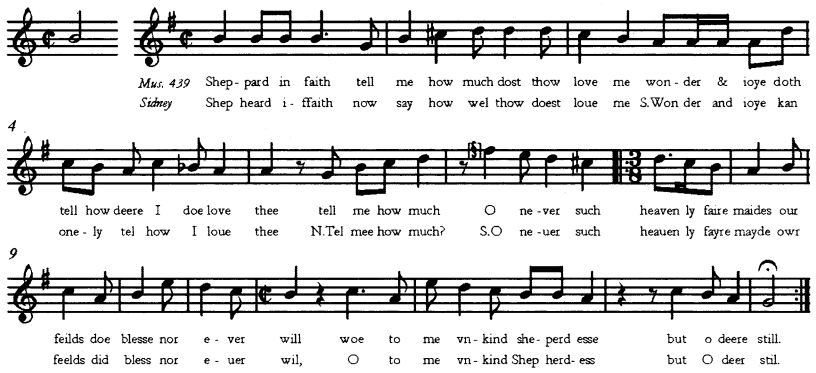
manuscript, but it suffices that these coincidences show that one of his lyrics became part of a body of texts and settings circulating with relative freedom among the musical at court. A facsimile of the setting of Pastoral 2 is to be found, unattributed, in *English Song 1600-1675: Facsimile of Twenty-two Manuscripts and an Edition of the Texts*, ed. Elise Bickford Jorgens, 12 vols. (New York: Garland, 1986-89), VI.i, 24.

[29]Cf. Maynard, *Elizabethan Love Poetry and Its Music*, p. 148, on other cases where the lack of succeeding stanzas in a manuscript song does not mean that the additional stanzas found in other copies of the text do not match the tune, and were not intended to match it.

[30]This is not the only instance in the period of a monologue song setting of a text with speakers. For a study of the dialogue song see Ian Spink, "English Seventeenth Century Dialogues," *M & L* 38 (1957): 155-63.



Example 2. "Sheppard in faith."

The music also copes very well with the varying rhetorical and rhythmic demands of the subsequent stanzas, as shown below in the Appendix, which pairs the music with the complete text of Sidney's autograph. It seems possible in this light that the Christ Church text is at one remove at least from a textually superior *musical* version, and that this lyric of Sidney's, in its song guise, not only escaped his control but propagated more than one copy. This supposition would fit the character of the Christ Church volume, which gathers assiduously and eclectically from both manuscript and print. The ironic wit of Sidney's poem, with its abject shepherd's amorous conceits buffeted by the nymph's scorn, is brought out more fully when the words are joined with the music. The triple-time middle section is the preserve in stanzas 1 to 5 of the shepherd's increasingly extreme claims of love, solicited by the nymph at the start of each stanza. In stanza 6 the nymph cuts into this section with the words, "Like what then doest thow loue, tel this / thow weariest mee," and this upsetting of the balance seems to prompt the shepherd's dominance of the final stanza (the nymph gets only half a line) with his last-ditch *blason*. The dialogue was gaining popularity as song both in England and abroad,[31] and this setting helps us to see that the dramatic

[31]See Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 486, for a list. Cf. a very similar opening in *Airs de Cour 1603-43*, ed. André Verchaly (Paris: Heugel, 1961), no. 15 (from 1611): "Patoureau m'aime tu bien? / Je t'aime dieu sait combien."

character of the other dialogue poems in Sidney's collection, and indeed the earnest play with the conventions of love poetry in his other songs, are best understood if his poems are seen not as private and personal musings but as verse for performance, ideally as song.

The occurrence of Robert Sidney's lyric in the Christ Church manuscript also enables us to observe a context for his poems different from the only one we have hitherto known—Sidney's unique autograph manuscript of his poems (British Library, Add. MS 58435).[32] If we can begin to imagine his poetic and musical activity in a milieu involving other writers, musicians, types of song, kinds of performance, and occasions, the significance of Robert Dowland's *Banquet* of 1610 starts to come into focus. Manuscript songbooks tend to evolve pragmatically rather than to manifest a design. The juxtapositions they offer can be all the more significant for this, and we may read the concurrence of a Robert Sidney lyric and a large amount of Ferrabosco in the Christ Church manuscript around 1609 as indicating that the two men share a location and an audience. What signs can be read in the *Banquet*? Like a manuscript songbook it has the appearance of originating in some particular, and perhaps exclusive, location. Unlike most songbooks it is able and willing to name authors as well as composers, as if to let purchasers of the volume in on that location. The English songs presented are varied, and in most cases the texts are (correctly) ascribed: a setting by Anthony Holborne of a lyric, "My heavie sprite," ascribed to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; a setting by Richard Martin of "Change thy minde," ascribed to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; a setting by Robert Hales of an unattributed lyric, "O Eyes leave off"; two settings subscribed "D'incerto" of lyrics ascribed to Philip Sidney, and taken from *Astrophil and Stella*, "Goe my Flocke" and "O Deer life"; a setting by Daniel Bacheler of another lyric ascribed to Essex, "To plead my faith"; another correctly ascribed song from *Astrophil and Stella*, "In a

[32]Germaine Warkentin offers a comprehensive physical and contextual study of the autograph manuscript in "Robert Sidney's "'Darcke Offrings': The Making of a Late Tudor Manuscript *Canzoniere*," *Spenser Studies* 12 (1998): 37-73.

grove," in a setting ascribed to "Tesseir";[33] a setting by John Dowland of a lyric ascribed to Sir Henry Lee, "Farre from triumphing Court"; another Dowland song, "Lady if you so spight me," its words unattributed and probably taken from *Musica Transalpina*; and Dowland's "In darknesse let me dwell," the words unattributed.

The collection also contains three French songs titled "Airs du Court," subscribed "D'incerto" but in fact taken from the first installment (1608) of Gabriel Bataille's ongoing collection of solo lute songs, *Airs de différents Autheurs*; three unattributed "Spanish" songs, the first two headed only "Espagnol," one being in fact in pseudo-Italian and the other two taken from Bataille's collections of 1608 and 1609; and four Italian songs, the first ascribed to Dominico Maria Megli and taken from a collection printed in 1602 (reprinted 1609), the next two, including "Amarilli mia bella," ascribed to Giulio Caccini (both are taken from his *Nuove Musiche* of 1602), and the final one anonymous. Caccini was starting to circulate in English manuscripts, and some would have owned his printed works. But his appearance in an English printed book was groundbreaking.[34] The same could be said of the French songs, two of which are by Pierre Guédron.[35] The new French and Italian musics were

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[33]Doughtie points out that the tune was by Guillaume Tessier, and had been printed in 1582 as a four-part setting of Ronsard's "Le petit enfant amour." He concludes: "Apparently Dowland found that Tessier's tune would fit Sidney's poem, and then fashioned a lute accompaniment from the three lower voices of Tessier's song" (*Lyrics*, pp. 586-87). More recently John Stevens has pointed out that Sidney may have in fact written his lyric as a contrafactum to Tessier's tune ("Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music,'" pp. 162-63).

[34]Cf. Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song*: "The ideas of the Camerata are not reflected in English music much before 1610, when Robert Dowland published Caccini's 'Amarilli mia bella' in *A Musicall Banquet*, along with John Dowland's dramatic 'In darknesse let mee dwell'" (p. 28). An important manuscript discussed below, Tenbury 1018, is a major repository of Caccini and of Ferrabosco's efforts to respond to him; another manuscript associated with the Sidneys, BL Add. MS 15117, contains a contrafactum to Caccini's "Amarilli" which immediately follows settings of the Countess of Pembroke's versions of psalms 51 and 130. See Mary Joiner (Chan), "Caccini's *Amarilli mia bella*: Its Influence on *Miserere my maker*," *Lute Society Journal* 10 (1968): 6-14.

[35]Hulse, "Musical Patronage," pp. 219-20, compares the appearance of French lute music in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of lute-lessons* (also 1610).

weaving their way into English song. This development had begun with the interest of Philip Sidney and others in Englishing Italian madrigals, French airs, and metrical psalms thirty years before and had borne fruit in the English madrigal and lute song. It continued to unfold in the influence of the latest French *airs de cour* and Italian monodies on the style of the later John Dowland, as his three songs in this volume show very plainly, as well as on the composers of masque music, most notably Jonson's collaborator Alfonso Ferrabosco. The *Banquet* attests to Robert Sidney's centrality to this development, both as patron and practitioner, and to its close connection with other configurations in Elizabethan and Jacobean court culture. As was the case when Philip Sidney assembled the fruits of his own avant-garde interest in French and Italian song in *Astrophil and Stella* and *Certain Sonnets*, here the literary and musical experiment is placed in a social and occasional context.

What, then, of the Englishmen assembled in the first half of the volume? The collection of names makes it clear that a faction united by political and cultural common ground is being represented. We have texts by Sir Philip Sidney; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Sir Henry Lee; and George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. And we have settings by John Dowland, Robert Hales, Anthony Holborne, Daniel Bacheler, and Richard Martin. A dense web connects these men.[36] Holborne knew Dowland and wrote two pieces named for the Countess of Pembroke.[37] Daniel Bacheler served his musical apprenticeship in the Walsingham household, and came along with Frances Walsingham when she married Sidney. He rode one of his master's horses in Sidney's funeral procession,

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Records of Queen Anne's French musicians from 1612 on are included in *Records of English Court Music.*, ed. A. Ashbee, 9 vols. (Snodland: Ashbee; Aldershot: Scolar, 1986-96), IV.

[36]Only Martin has no clear connection to the others.

[37]"The Countess of Pembroke's Funerals" and "The Countess of Pembroke's Paradise," which exist both in manuscript and in print in lute and consort versions. See the "Thematic Index" in Brian Jeffery, "Antony Holborne," *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968): 129-205, nos. 2, 59. There is disagreement about which Countess of Pembroke might be referred to, but Jeffery infers a strong connection to Mary, Countess of Pembroke's mythical circle (pp. 138-46); for editions see *The Complete Works of Anthony Holborne, Volume I: Music for Lute and Bandora*, ed. Masakata Kanazawa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), no. 13, pp. 61-64, and no. 20, pp. 83-84.

and seems to have followed Sidney's widow into the household of Essex when she remarried.[38] Like Frances, Bacheler would to Essex have represented another weapon in his arsenal of credentials as Philip Sidney's political and cultural heir, along with the sword bequeathed to him in Sidney's will. Lute galliards on "To plead my faith" were already circulating in manuscript with that title, so Bacheler's song must have been well known, though this is its first appearance. Like Essex's other servant, Robert Hales, Bacheler was later to be a groom of Queen Anne's privy chamber,[39] promoted perhaps under the auspices of her Lord Chamberlain, Robert Sidney. Essex's sister Penelope is also present in veiled form, not only as the Stella about whom Sidney's three lyrics are written, but as the speaker of "In darknesse let me dwell," which is taken from Coprario's *Songs of Mourning*, a collection of seven songs clearly intended to voice Penelope's grief at her loss of her husband the Earl of Devonshire in 1606.[40]

The connection of the Dowlands to these circles appears more subtly in John Dowland's books of airs, which contain lyrics or parts of lyrics by Essex, Philip Sidney, and Greville. A more particular significance is signaled by the inclusion of lyrics attributed to Sir Henry Lee and George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Sir Henry Lee created the annual Accession Day Tilts, in which Philip Sidney was a notable participant, and invented his own status as the Queen's champion. At the tilt in 1590, he handed over the role to Clifford.[41] The tilt as described in

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[38]On Bacheler see Hulse, "Musical Patronage," ch. 2; Duncan-Jones, *Sidney*, pp. 279, 299, 305; and Anne Batchelor, "Daniel Bacheler: The Right Perfect Musician," *The Lute* 28 (1988): 3-12.

[39]The two are listed regularly from the beginning of James's reign; see *Records of English Court Music*, ed. Ashbee, IV, 196ff.

[40]See Katherine Duncan-Jones, "Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich," in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, ed. Jan van Dorsten et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 186-88; and Christopher Morrongiello, "A Study of John Coprario's *Funeral Teares* (1606) and *Songs of Mourning* (1613)" (unpub. M.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1993). Although the "Tesseir" has turned out to be Guillaume (see above, n. 33), a reader might have taken it for the Charles Tessier who dedicated his *Airs de Cour* to Penelope Rich in 1597.

[41]Lee is Philip Sidney's "Lelius"; for connections of Clifford and Lee to Sidney manuscripts see Woudhuysen, *Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, esp. pp. 332-35.

George Peele's *Polyhymnia* (1590) is also a ritual recalling Sidney's legacy. Essex appears in mourning for "Sweete *Sydney* . . . / . . . whose successor he / In love and Armes had ever vowed to be" (fol. A4v); Sir Charles Blount, the future Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire, appears as, it would seem, Penelope Rich's lover;[42] Greville also participates, as does Thomas Sidney, the younger brother of Philip and Robert, who was to die in 1595. At the end of Peele's volume is a poem, "His golden locks time hath to silver turned," which William Segar later describes as presented to Elizabeth on this occasion by Lee and Clifford and sung by Robert Hales;[43] Hales, like Lee and Clifford, is represented in Robert Dowland's *Banquet*. It has been speculated that John Dowland wrote the song Hales sang in 1590, because Lee's lyric appears with Dowland's music in his *First Booke* (1597). If the other songs in the *Banquet* seem obliquely to revisit the 1590 Accession Day Tilt, a firm connection becomes more likely when we notice that the Lee/Dowland song in the *Banquet*, "Farre from triumphing Court," recalls the earlier song in its scenario, its form, and in many verbal details, most clearly the line "Tyme with his golden locks to silver changed."[44]

Behind this gathering of names stand the Dowlands, father and son, Robert Sidney, and Philip Sidney. The personalities represented in the *Banquet*, and the occasions glanced at, chart a simple history of the relation of the music of John Dowland and his fellow musicians, both in print and in manuscript, to the culture of chivalry of the 1590s, which fixed on Philip Sidney as its hero, handed over its ideals to the younger generation, and finally centered on the Earl of Essex and his associates. Robert Sidney was closely associated both with the Essex circle and with its vestiges at the court of Queen Anne. As Queen Anne's Lord Chamberlain, Sidney was at the center of a remarkably musical circle of courtiers, and would have functioned as the executive producer of plays

[42]Duncan-Jones, "Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich," p. 183.

[43]Segar's account, in *Honor, Military and Civill* (1602), is quoted at length in Poulton, *John Dowland*, pp. 238-39; see further pp. 28, 227, 408-09, including references to Hales's employment by Essex.

[44]Related verbal echoes are found in Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600), nos. 6-8, a tripartite song which has also been connected to Lee. See Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 466-68.

and masques presented by or to her.[45] Anne's brother, King Christian IV of Denmark, had employed John Dowland in the late 1590s and early 1600s. Robert Dowland might fittingly have dedicated this volume combining nostalgia and anticipation to young Prince Henry (1594-1612), looked to by some as the heir of chivalrous, or militant Protestant, ideals. Such people, whose heroes were Sidney, Essex, Clifford, and Lee, had in many cases been connected to the Essex faction and were a part of its Jacobean remnant. Sir Henry Lee had given a suit of armor to Henry in 1608 as a token of his inheritance, and in the wake of Jonson's masque *Prince Henry's Barriers* (January 1610), and perhaps of Henry's creation in June 1610 as Prince of Wales, Henry might have seemed an obvious choice for Dowland's volume.[46] But Robert Dowland chose Robert Sidney as his dedicatee, perhaps because he wanted to unite the representation of a cultural and political milieu with the representation of a site of musical and poetic activity.

Planned for the end of this remarkable year, 1610, was a new masque presented by Queen Anne, devised by the usual team of Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson, and Alfonso Ferrabosco. In the event, *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* was delayed until 3 February 1610/11.[47] Jonson gives no list of dancers, so we cannot know if Mary Wroth performed. She had already danced in two of Jonson's three previous masques for Queen Anne, *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) and *The Masque of Beauty* (1608). Her father

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[45]On Sidney and Queen Anne's circle see J. Leeds Barroll, "The Court of the First Stuart Queen," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 191-208, and *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[46]See Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 66-67, 223-24 (for Essex and Lee), and *passim* for Henry and the cult of chivalry.

[47]Texts and accounts of this masque are given in *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-52), VII, 359ff. and X, 529; and *Inigo Jones, The Theatre of the Stuart Masque*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), I, 229-37 (including set and costume designs). See also Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 36-37; and *Records of English Court Music*, ed. Ashbee, IV, 197.

Robert Sidney would have experienced, we might imagine, some feelings of pride, both in his daughter's performances and in his own darkly splendid costume for the occasion of *Blackness*, "a sute of Ashe coulor satten cutt with a peach coulor taffetie and laid on thick with siluer lace" which cost him £80, not to mention the £40 spent on borrowing some £10,000 worth of jewels to adorn it and in covering the loss of two diamonds. According to one record, *Love Freed* also gave Wroth's younger sister Philip her turn as "one of the maskers." Robert Sidney again splashed out at least £100 on his new suit, Philip's "ritch petticoat," and "a great many Jewells borrowed."[48]

But Robert Sidney may have been further involved in the performance of Jonson's and Ferrabosco's latest collaboration. In the masque a sphinx has captured the daughters of the morning and Love, and set a seemingly insoluble riddle. Unable to solve it, Love is about to be torn to pieces when the priests of the muses come to the rescue and help Love reach the answer. A succession of songs and dances celebrate Love's rescue and the renewed possibility of appreciating beauty, and these culminate in two songs, "O What a fault" and "How neere to good," which are followed by the last masque dance. As printed in Jonson's 1616 Folio the two songs, though linked, are divided by the lengthy measures and revels. However, in the only manuscript to contain the songs, Tenbury 1018 (*c.* 1610), a third song, "Senses by uniust force bannisht," appears between the two:[49]

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[48]See BL Add. MS 12066, fols. 4v-5, a record of Sidney's finances prepared by his servant Thomas Nevitt, apparently in response to an accusation of fraud. Detailed records of Sidney's attendance at masques and other court occasions, and his expenditures in preparation for them, form part of this lengthy document. In a letter of December 1610, one of William Trumbull's correspondents reports that Sidney's daughter ("Mrs. Philip Sydney") is one of "The Ladies nominated to be of the Queen in England" (*HMC Downshire*, II, 412).

[49]The two texts quoted here come from *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson, VII, 369-70; and St. Michael's College, Tenbury Wells MS 1018 (now in the Bodleian Library), fols. 36v-37v.

Jonson, 1616 Folio:

The Masque dance followed.

That done, one of the PRIESTS *alone sung.*

O What a fault, nay, what a sinne
In *Fate*, or *Fortune* had it beene,
So much beautie to haue lost!
Could the world with all her cost
Haue redeem'd it? [chorus] No, no, no.
[Priest] How so?
[chorus] It would *Nature* quite vndoe,
For losing these, you lost her too.

The Measures and Reuells follow.

Then another of the Priests *alone.*

How neere to good is what is faire!
Which we no sooner see,
But with the lines, and outward aire
Our senses taken be.
We wish to see it still, and proue,
What waies wee may deserve,
We court, we praise, we more then loue.
We are not grieu'd to serue.

The last Masque-dance.

Tenbury 1018:

O what a fault nay what a sin
in fate or fortune hadd it been
So much bewtie hadd been loste
could the worlde with all her coste
haue redeemde it

sences by vniust force bannisht
from the obiecte of you[r] pleasure
now of you is all ende vannisht
you who late possest more treasure
when eies fedd one what did shyne
and eares dranke what was deuine
then the earthes brode armes could measure

how neere to good is what is fayre
which wee no sooner see
but with the lynes and outward ayer
our sences taken bee
wee with [wish] it still to see and prooue
what way wee may deserue
wee courte wee prayse wee more then loue
wee ar not greude to serue[50]

The insertion of this third, intervening song in Tenbury 1018 suggests the interesting possibility that in the performance of 1610/11 Robert Sidney was honored (and perhaps even surprised) by the inclusion

[50]Tenbury 1018 contains the music from a number of masques, a great deal of Caccini, and a number of songs by Ferrabosco, written as continuo songs (voice and bass). Of the fourteen manuscript songs which scholars have attributed to Ferrabosco, nine are found only in Tenbury 1018; the other five are found in Fitzwilliam Museum Mu 782 (the John Bull MS, discussed below), with four unique to that source. Of the twenty-eight songs printed in Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (1609), three are found in Tenbury 1018-19, two in textually superior versions; sixteen are found in Christ Church Mus. 439, one with an additional verse not printed, and two in ornamented versions. For full lists with concordances see Duffy, *Ferrabosco*, appendices I and II, pp. 293-302. On the manuscript's close connection to Ferrabosco see further Duffy, p. 55, and Warwick Anthony Edwards, *The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music*, 2 vols. (unpub. doctoral diss., University of Cambridge, 1974), I, 220-21.

of one of his own manuscript lyrics. The song in question, first identified as Sidney's by Andrew Sabol, is an almost verbatim version of the opening stanza of a lyric preserved in Sidney's autograph manuscript:

> Senses by vniust force banisht
> from the obiects of yowr pleasure
> now of yow all end is vanisht:
> yow whoe late possest more treasure
> when eyes fed, on what did shyne
> and eares dranck what was deuine
> then the earths broad arms do measure[.][51]

While Sidney watched his daughter perform he may also have heard his own words sung, a double pleasure framed for him within the masque. Such a gesture would be characteristic of the author of "To Penshust," whose relationship with the Sidney family was close. Perhaps Sidney was in on the surprise from the start. In any case, his lyric is quite appropriate to its new context, and (as Ferrabosco would have been pleased to find) better suited to musical setting than are most of Jonson's lyrics—a feature one would expect of a poet like Sidney, with his devotion to the musical

[51]Quoted from BL Add. MS 58435, fol. 42v; the whole lyric is printed in *Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. Croft, pp. 290-92. The identification of the stanza as Robert Sidney's was made by Andrew Sabol in the supplement to the reprinted edition (1982) of *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, p. 663, and has not figured in any subsequent discussion of the three Tenbury songs. A diplomatic transcription of the Tenbury 1018 text is given by John P. Cutts, "Early Seventeenth-Century Lyrics at St. Michael's College," *M & L* 37 (1956): 227. Sabol edits the three (continuo) songs with a keyboard realization (item 17, pp. 67-71, 552). A more graceful realization appears in Ferrabosco, *Manuscript Songs*, ed. Ian Spink, The English Lute-songs, 2nd series, 19 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1966), pp. 20-25. Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), reproduces the relevant pages in facsimile (pp. 232-33) and transcribes all three songs. Duffy, *Ferrabosco*, provides a complete transcription in fragments and a splendid discussion (pp. 166-78, 122-23). All four versions differ slightly in setting the words to the notes, as Tenbury 1018 is careless in this respect, and certain accidentals are inferred or ignored. The English song portions of Tenbury 1018 are reproduced in facsimile in *English Song*, ed. Jorgens, VI.ii; the lyric is not attributed to Sidney in vol. XII, the commentary.

end product. The evidence points to a private joke concocted by Jonson to compliment his patron, and perhaps even to thank him for the favor of showing him the poems which Robert Sidney seems otherwise to have kept very close—so close that with the exception of the two manuscript songs discussed here, "Sheppard in faith" and "sences by vniust force bannisht" (both found, significantly enough, in the two surviving music manuscripts most closely connected to Ferrabosco's activities around 1610, Christ Church Mus. 439 and Tenbury 1018), there are no known copies of any of Robert Sidney's poems apart from the single autograph manuscript of his poems, Add. 58435.

I want now to leap forward at least ten years to look at Mary Wroth's dealings with the same composer, Alfonso Ferrabosco II. Ferrabosco died in 1628, by which time Wroth had probably finished the second part of her *Urania*. In what follows I will assume, I believe with foundation, that its prose was written after 1620, but that some of its poems may have been written a little earlier. Jonson had perhaps by this time written his sonnet to Wroth about copying out her sonnets (*Underwood* 28), printed posthumously. Though Wroth's cousin William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was now Lord Chamberlain to the King, and her father Robert kept his public role until his death in 1626, her life following the death of her husband in 1614 was on the surface more retiring. She does, however, seem to have spent much time at Baynard's Castle, the Pembroke residence in the city of London where the Sidneys often lodged while at court. Baynard's was situated, conveniently for these literati, down the road from the booksellers' district around St. Paul's, practically next door to the winter playhouse at Blackfriars and just across the river from Shakespeare's Globe. We can only speculate about Mary Wroth as book-buyer or playgoer. But we have more evidence of what went on behind Baynard's closed doors. Two children were born to Mary Wroth and her cousin-lover William Herbert in the years just before the *Urania*'s publication in 1621.[52] And it seems that she

[52]The fullest biographical account remains that in the introduction to *Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Roberts, pp. 3-40; for Mary's children with Pembroke see pp. 24-26 and, further, *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania* [1621], ed. Josephine A. Roberts (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), pp. lxxiv-lxxv, and *The Second Part of the Countess of*

worked on the *Urania* at Baynard's. A letter to Wroth from a kinsman in 1640 reminds her of "the favor you once did me in the sight of a Manuscrip you shewed me in your study att Banerds Castle"; from what follows it seems likely that this was one of the parts of her *Urania*.[53] This is clearly a privileged glance at a private work and no more. We have no evidence about the readership of Part II of the *Urania*, no reference to the poems found there, and no other copies of them—with one intriguing musical exception, which also involves Baynard's Castle.

Wroth's work, we must remember, is entitled *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania*. Perhaps (before it was printed, and in the second part which also bears that title) it was "onelie for" and "onely to" Susan, Countess of Montgomery (wife of Philip Herbert, William's brother) in the same private way that Sidney describes his *Arcadia* as the Countess of Pembroke's (*Poems,* ed. Ringler, p. 9). We might imagine private rehearsals of the work for family and friends, taking our license from the many depictions of story-telling, poetic recitation, and musical performance in the *Urania* itself. And we must suppose that it was a rare enough privilege to be allowed access to Wroth's writings; just as her persona and heroine Pamphilia is reticent about displaying her literary activities except under some veil, so Wroth seems to have reserved the sight of her writings for Jonson, Pembroke, and perhaps a few others. Two manuscript settings of Wroth lyrics ("Love growne proud" and "O mee the time is come to part") derive their texts from the printed *Urania*. There is also fragmentary evidence that one poem, "All night I weep, all day I cry, ay me," may have escaped in musical form prior to the publication of the first part of *Urania* in 1621 and spawned or interacted with a sub-genre of "Ay me" refrain songs.[54] And there is little more.

Montgomery's Urania, ed. Josephine A. Roberts, Suzanne Gossett, and Janel Mueller (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1999), pp. xxi-xxiii.

[53]The letter is given in full in *Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Roberts, pp. 244-45.

[54]"Love growne proud" (Wroths's *Poems*, no. U55), a lyric sung within the fiction of the 1621 *Urania*, is found in a manuscript of songs by John Wilson (Bodleian Mus.b.1), fol. 18; see *Urania, Part I*, ed. Roberts, p. 801. An anonymous setting of "O mee the time is come to part" (no. P57 in *Poems*) is found in John Gamble's manuscript song book in the New York Public Library

A participant in masques at court, Wroth seems also to have organized musical entertainments at her estates. Jonson implies as much in his "To Sir Robert Wroth" (*Forrest* 3, ll. 51-52), and Andrew Sabol has presented two dance tunes of the period which seem to be named for Wroth, "Durance Masque," referring to one of the Wroth estates, and "My Ladi Wraths Mascharada."[55] We should recall that it is as a lutenist that Wroth had herself depicted in the well-known Penshurst portrait by an anonymous painter that serves as the frontispiece to this volume. Of course a lute or lyre will often stand for poetry, although a woman with lute was the favored figure for *musica*. But in this case the symbolism is grounded in reality: the unwieldy size and extra courses of Wroth's theorbo (thirteen courses, or sets of strings, rather than the six to eight of the basic lute) pronounce quite emphatically the subject's practical musicianship.[56] It is reasonable to imagine that Wroth would have wished not only to perform lute songs based on the music of musicians

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(no. 235). Both manuscripts are printed in facsimile in *English Song*, ed. Jorgens, VII and X. "All night I weep, all day I cry, ay me" is no. P14 in *Poems*, and is found both in the autograph Folger manuscript of Wroth's poems and in the printed 1621 *Urania*. Roberts prints "A shortened, revised form of this poem" (93-94), which appeared in editions of *Wits Recreations* after 1645 (first printed 1640), by which time the expanding collection had become *Recreation for ingenious head-peeces*. Peter Beal has drawn to my attention a variant text of this other version, no. 119 (40v) in the Thomas Killigrew Commonplace Book of royalist verse and lyrics at the University of Texas at Austin. That both of these later witnesses agree in line 3 with Folger against 1621 suggests that the lyric may represent a Wroth lyric in manuscript circulation as a song prior to 1621. A lyric of similar form and type is found in a strophic setting for voice and bass in two manuscripts, Christ Church Mus. 439, discussed above (15v-16r), and British Library Add. MS 24665 ("Giles Earle his booke, 1615"), 6v-7r. That we are dealing with a topos is further suggested by two ghost entries in New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4257 ("John Gamble his booke . . . 1659"), for which only titles and/or incipits survive: "Ay mee I haue loued &c" (no. 110) and "The answeare to Ay me" (no. 111).

[55] *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, ed. Sabol (1982 ed.), no. 119, p. 219, and no. 401, p. 510.

[56] The theorbo was also a precious commodity, only just starting to come in from Italy around 1600 (Hulse, "Musical Patronage," p. 115, n. 38). The trouble it would have taken to get hold of one testifies to the seriousness with which Wroth treated her music.

known to her, or the words of a Jonson or a Sidney, but to give musical voice to her own verse. She might even have wished others to sing those words, whether or not they knew who had written them.

Had Wroth wished to hear her words set to music, she would have had two options. The simplest was to write them *to* music, and I believe that she may have done this with one resource we know she must have possessed, the book of Robert Jones's lute songs dedicated to her in 1610, *The Muses Gardin for Delights*. We can compare a rather short art ballad from Jones's volume to what may be Wroth's response to it, in the opening of her longest poem, the haunting 39-stanza tale of the shepherd Aradeame found both in the *Urania* and in an early portion of the Folger manuscript of her poems:[57]

Jones, *Muses Gardin* (1610):

There was a Shepheard that did live,
And held his thoughtes as hie
As were the Mounts, whereon his flockes
did hourely feede him by.
He from his youth, his tender youth,
which was unapt to keepe,
Or hopes, or feares, or loves, or cares,
or thoughts but of his sheepe

2
Did with his dogge as Shepheards doe,
For Shepheards wanting wit,
Devise some sports, though foolish sports,
Yet sports for Shepheards fit,
The boy that (yet) was but a boy,
And so desir's were hid,
Did grow a man, and men must love,
And love this Shepheard did.

3
He loved much, none can too much
Love one so high divine,
As but her selfe, none but her selfe,
So faire, so fresh, so fine,
He vowed by his Shepheards weede,
An Oath which Shepheards keepe,
That he would follow Phillyday,
Before a flocke of sheepe.

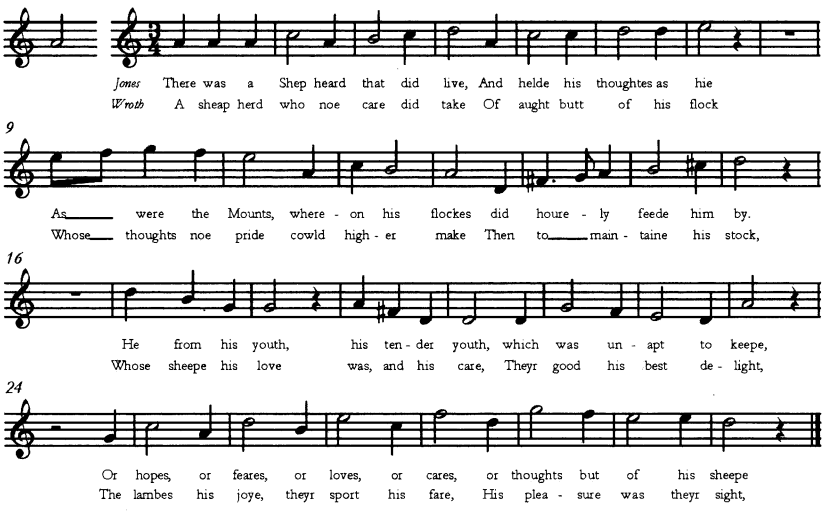
Wroth, ed. Roberts

1.
A sheapherd who noe care did take
Of aught butt of his flock
Whose thoughts noe pride cowld higher make
Then to maintaine his stock,
Whose sheepe his love was, and his care,
Theyr good his best delight,
The lambs his joye, theyr sport his fare,
His pleasure was theyr sight,

2.
Till love, an envier of mans blis
Did turne this merry lyfe
To teares, to wishes which ne're miss
Incombrances with strife,
For wheras hee was best content
With looking on his sheepe:
His time in woes must now be spent,
And broken is his sleepe. . . .

[57]The two texts below are quoted from Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 366-7, and *Poems*, ed. Roberts, no. U52, pp. 183-92.

We can also set each lyric's first stanza side by side in Jones's music (Ex. 3):



Example 3. "There was a Shepheard."

The two lyrics have identical metrical forms, but as the form is the ballad stanza this is not in itself remarkable.[58] However, they also agree in scenario and in numerous verbal details. The simplicity of the setting, which deviates very little from a triple-time quantitative scanning of the iambic meter, makes it all the more possible that Wroth might have written her poem as a contrafactum. Jones's song is, indeed, abrupt, and whether or not the lyric on which it is based had additional stanzas, it signals the expectation proper to the ballad of great length. My point is that whether Jones's song is a source or just an analogue, it clarifies for us that the aesthetic background to a poem such as Wroth's is the repetition

[58]Jones's stanza, of course, is the less disciplined $a_8b_6x_8b_6$ variety, which is only in appearance different from fourteener couplets. Wroth's "Sweet Silvia" (*Poems*, ed. Roberts, no. P92), on an unrelated theme, is in ballad stanza, but divided by quatrains, and not (as in both these cases) octaves. It would work to this music, but it is less useful to imagine it thus.

not just of a metrical form but of a musical one. She learned both the mood and the sound of her poem from poems and songs like Jones's, if not from this very song. It is the way we should hear Wroth's poem, and imagine it heard—if only by her.

The other option, had Wroth wished her poems to become songs, would have been to make them available to musicians, and there is one piece of evidence that she did exactly that. The text concerned is a lyric beginning "Was I to blame." It appears in the manuscript continuation of the *Urania* in the Newberry Library, where it is recited by a deathly Amphilanthus, alone and bereft, having lost Pamphilia for what seems to him like the last time.[59] The context of this lyric within Wroth's fiction should be juxtaposed with a happier episode early in the continuation where Pamphilia performs a lyric, "Had I loved butt att that rate", ascribed within the text to Amphilanthus, which is found in several other manuscripts and attributed on their authority to William Herbert.[60] The earlier episode is, in essence, a depiction of the musical Sidneys at play. Amphilanthus (who shadows William Herbert) is there, as is Pamphilia's father, the King of Morea (who shadows Robert Sidney). A debate arises about styles of singing in which the family members vie with each other to claim a lack of talent—a sort of ironic group sprezzatura. The King is about to call Pamphilia to sing, but Amphilanthus interjects:

> Nott my Cousin I pray S*i*r call[,] for one, nor my sister I beeseech you for certainly non off our blood can haue that fine nice qualitie of singing[,] the knowledg of a voice to singe w*it*h neuer hauing bin*n* knowne amongst vs, The King smiled to heere his Nephew soe bolde w*it*h his kindred, yett sayd if Pamphilia showld haue a voice itt were strange for her father cowld neuer yett ſinge one tune, in order, butt my sister had a

[59]Newberry Library, Case MS fY 1565. W 95, I, fols. 26bv-27a. References to the Newberry manuscript are not by the later foliation, but by Wroth's numeration of each folded sheet; thus "II, fol. 2av" refers to the verso of the first leaf of the second bifolium of vol. II. Transcriptions are diplomatic, with deletions in angled brackets and editorial punctuation in square brackets.

[60]Newberry MS, I, fols. 5b-5bv. In *The Second Part*, ed. Roberts et al., the two episodes are found respectively on p. 137 (Amphilanthus's solitary song) and pp. 29-31 (the musical debate). For the William Herbert lyric see *Poems*, ed. Roberts, 217-18.

> good voice, and soe your sister Vrania may follow her, in any harsh discording tunes my Lord sayd Vrania for certainely I doe nott scarce knowe how to singe the slightest ballad to the right tune butt I shall make Ciuile warr in Jarring in itt. . . .

They consider asking a guest to sing instead, and there is more feigned philistinism from Amphilanthus: "hath she a stronge voice sayd Amphilanthus, I loue a lady that when she putts forth her voice makes the roome rattle." Finally Pamphilia sings, first two or three songs not given to us by Wroth, and then the song by Amphilanthus/Pembroke, "Had I loved". Wroth gives the text of the latter in full, telling us that it had itself originated in artful indirection, since Amphilanthus made it when he was courting Pamphilia under the guise of a show of love to Antissia. The author and original rhetoric, it would seem, are known only to the two cousins, and so their exchange after the performance, like many such moments in the *Urania*, is fraught with subtle tensions and hidden reproaches:

> Delicately sunge most delicate Lady sayd the Emperour, The words my Lord said she deserues a farr better singer, fearing I rather disgrace them then giue them their true expression, you shew Madame sayd hee excellency in all things, nor needs ther any excuse. . . .

The evidence I wish to put alongside this representation of a musical context is simple. It is a manuscript song, "Was I to blame," attributed by the scribe to Alfonso Ferrabosco, which is characteristic of his late style and highly praised by modern musicologists. The manuscript in which it is found, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS Mu 782, contains a wealth of keyboard and vocal music, mostly existing elsewhere as well; the portion containing Ferrabosco's song can be dated to the period 1615-1630.[61] The text, as has been pointed out, is a faithful copy of the

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[61]See Fitzwilliam Museum MS Mu 782 (formerly 52.D.25), fol. 104v. The manuscript was at one point in John Bull's possession. The lyric was first reproduced, unattributed, by Cutts, *Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics*, p. 389. *English Song*, ed. Jorgens, XII, 265, contains a modernized transcript of the lyric, also unattributed. The Fitzwilliam manuscript is briefly described by Ian Spink,

first stanza of Wroth's lyric "Was I to blame." Equally importantly for our purposes, Mu 782 represents the only evidence of contact between the unpublished manuscript continuation of the *Urania* (or at least some of its contents) and the outside world.[62]

Wroth, *Urania*, second part, Newberry MS:

Was I to blame to trust
thy loue like teares when t'is most Just
to Judg of others by our owne, while mine
from heads of loue <butt fruictles flow> and faith did flow
<could I suspect that thine>
yett fruictles ran, cowld I suspect that thine
when in my hart each teare did write a line
showld haue noe spring butt outward showe,

2
My loue O neuer went
in maske, w*h*ich made mee confident
that thine had bin*n* loue to, and noe disguise,
nott loue put on, butt taken in,
nor like a scarfe to bee putt of which lies,
att choise to weare ore leaue, butt when thine eyes
did weepe thy hart had bled w*ith*in,

English Song: Dowland to Purcell (London: Batsford, 1974), p. 272, and at more length in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 146-49. An edition of the setting, with a keyboard realization of the bass line, is in Ferrabosco, *Manuscript Songs*, ed. Spink, pp. 6-7. Spink dates this part of the manuscript to "about 1620." Cf. Duffy, *Ferrabosco*, p. 55.

[62]The two texts are quoted below from the Newberry MS, I, fols. 26bv-27a and Fitzwilliam MS Mu 782, fol. 104v. There are two substantive differences between my transcription of Wroth's autograph and Roberts's in *Poems*, pp. 205-6: in l. 19 for "and" Roberts reads "which", and in l. 29 for "Itt" Roberts reads "For". The latter is corrected in *The Second Part*, ed. Roberts et al., p. 137. This edition includes a reproduction of MS Mu 782, fol. 104v (fig. 8) and a note on the setting (p. 503). The Ferrabosco setting was first noticed in my "Five Responses to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1628" (unpub. doctoral diss., University of Cambridge, 1996), pp. 182-83.

3.
Butt as the guilfull raine
the sky that weeps itt doth nott paine
butt weares the place wherein the drops doe fall
Soe when thy Clowdy lids imparte
thos showers of subtill Teares; and seeme to call
compassion when you doe nott grieue att all,
you weepe them, butt they frett my hart,

4
Deere eyes I wrong'd nott you
to thinke you were as faire, soe true
why wowld you then your selues in griefe attire
with pitty to inlarge my smart
when beauty had enough inflamd desire
and when you were euen cumber'd *with* my fire
why would you blowe the coales *with* art,

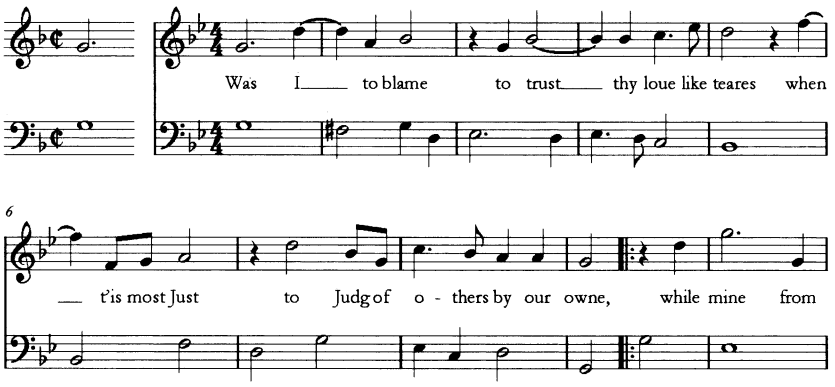
5
Itt was less fault to leaue
then hauing left mee to deceaue
for well you might haue my vnworthe refusd,
nor cowld I haue of wronge complaind
butt since your scorne, you <haue [?] *with*> *with* deceipt confusd
my vndesert you haue *with* teares excusd,
and *with* the guilt your self haue staind. . . .

Fitzwilliam MS Mu 782:

Was I to blame to trust
thy louelike teares, when t'is most Just
to Judg of others by our owne, when myne
from heades of loue & faith did flowe,
yet fruitless ran cold I suspect th*at* thine
when in my hart each teare did write a line,
should haue no springe but outward showe.

According to John Aubrey, Ferrabosco was employed by Pembroke's brother Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, and had a lodging in

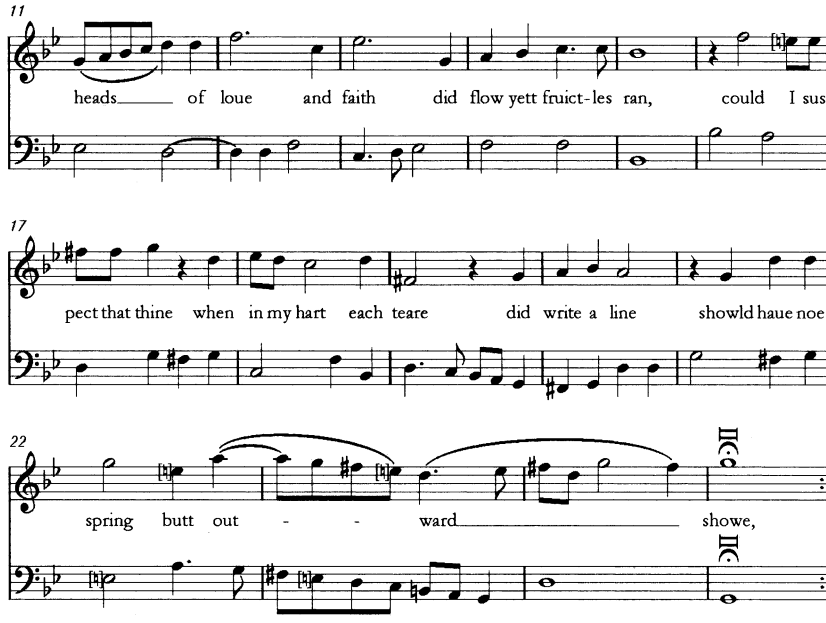
Baynard's Castle.[63] As Steriamus, Montgomery is depicted in both parts of the *Urania* as a lutenist poet. It is most likely that Wroth's poem did not find its way to Ferrabosco by accident. Perhaps by now he was an intimate; perhaps Ferrabosco's friend Ben Jonson was an intermediary. The evidence of Wroth's own poetic style and the music it imagines suggest to us that she would have recognized an affinity between her kind of words and the new declamatory rhetoric of Ferrabosco's dramatic solo songs, a style closer to late Dowland than to early, and more in tune with Donne than with Dyer. That is to say, Wroth's prosodic and musical tastes were at the forefront of developments in poetry and song, and she may well have chosen a compatible composer. An edition of the song follows, its text modified to Wroth's autograph (Ex. 4):[64]



Example 4. "Was I to blame."

[63]Aubrey, *Natural History of Wiltshire* (London, 1847), p. 88. From the context it is possible that Aubrey refers to Alfonso Ferrabosco III. Aubrey's editor Kate Bennett confirms the reading in Bodleian MS Aubrey 2, fol. 41v (personal communication): "Alphonso Ferrabosco (the son) was Ld Philip (1st[)] Lutenist. He sang rarely well to the Theorbo Lute. He had a Pension and Lodgeings in Baynards Castle."

[64]Fitzwilliam MS Mu 782, fol. 104v; text modified to Wroth's autograph, from Newberry MS, I, fol. 26bv.



Example 4 (continued). "Was I to blame."

Ferrabosco sets only one of the five stanzas of Wroth's poem; while a critical discussion of the poem might dwell on the beautiful third stanza, only the first is a part of the song. In many manuscript songs, the lack of subsequent stanzas does not mean that the song was not originally designed to work strophically. However, Ferrabosco's declamatory style does not suit strophic performance, and where a lyric has its own declamatory rhetoric, as is the case with Wroth's, the likelihood of coincidence between musical and verbal rhythms across stanzas decreases. The song is complete as we have it. The two parallel declamatory styles are worth pausing over, as they are evidence that Wroth is involved in the symbiotic development of both a more flexible, speech-oriented approach to verse rhythms and a more demonstrative rhetoric in the melodic lines which would set them. The sort of musical style which was becoming predominant for serious songs when Wroth

wrote her poem was not suited to strophic setting.[65] If a poet expected his or her poem to be set to music strophically it might be written in short stanzas in rhythms which depart minimally from the verse meter. A composer might then set the speech rhythm or the metrical basis of the first stanza, or attempt a compromise between the two. If the composer set the speech rhythm, only subsequent stanzas written within a repeating metrical, rhythmic, and syntactical grid would fit; if the composer set the metre, some leeway would be allowed to the verse in the deviation of rhythm from metrical regularity without the setting being stretched to breaking point. While it is arguably true that "In practice, most composers set the first stanza and let the others shift for themselves" (Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song*, p. 18), this was not always so. If "Was I to blame" were a poorly executed strophic song, both Wroth and Ferrabosco would share the blame, but it is more useful to see both artists as recognizing the expressive potential of the declamatory style.[66]

Wroth's syntax persistently cuts across her line ends, so that rhyme connects not the ends of phrases but parts of the same phrase in unpredictable ways; her mixture of three different line lengths and of rhymes connected not only in couplets but at a greater distance increases the subtlety of the form's sound. Across the poem as a whole each stanza imposes its own distinct syntax on the metrical grid (iambic 7 $a_6a_8b_{10}c_8bb_{10}c_8$), so our ear never settles into any expectation of repetition. Ferrabosco's musical phrases coincide with Wroth's syntax; neither pays any attention to line ends until the penultimate line, with its complete subordinate clause. The music has many fine touches, the rhythms of each part tending to cut across each other, the bass part descending with a predictable "Lachrymae" motif on "each teare," and the vocal part straining the expressive limits with jumps of an octave at two points, characteristic of Ferrabosco's loose-limbed approach to melody. The song is discussed at length and with great sophistication by Duffy (*Ferrabosco*, pp. 79-82). He sees it as paradigmatic of a sort of song by Ferrabosco which combines the virtues of the serious lute song—that is,

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[65]Jorgens, *Well-Tun'd Word*, chs. 4 and 6, distinguishes usefully between tuneful and pathetic ayres in exploring this transition.

[66]On the fading of true strophic writing, see Jorgens, *Well-Tun'd Word*, pp. 15, 37-38.

an attention to musical expression and architecture—with those of the declamatory style, a musical rhythm and syntax sympathetic to the verbal. He demonstrates subtle effects of irony and dialogue between voice and accompaniment, and ways in which the poem's rhythms and images are suited to song. When one adds the fact that Wroth is the author of Ferrabosco's text, she deserves much credit, both for what her words produced and, indeed, for knowing how to write in a developing poetic medium for a rapidly evolving style of song.[67]

The presentation of a song written by William Herbert but performed by Pamphilia ("Had I loved butt att that rate") thus stands in some sort of symmetrical relation to the spoken performance by Amphilanthus of a lyric by Mary Wroth which we now know to have been set by Ferrabosco. Wroth elsewhere seems to make her life imitate her art, and vice versa. Other moments of poetic performance and transcription are often the junctures at which the equations which govern Wroth's fiction are put under most strain: the scene in which Pamphilia narrates Wroth's life as a short prose fiction followed by a sequence of sonnets, or that in which Amphilanthus is given a copy of Pamphilia's poems.[68] Such moments seem to draw much of their force from their imitation of the scenes of writing and textual exchange within Wroth's own life. Ferrabosco's setting, therefore, has some status within the ethical and emotional economy of the fiction, because of the two-way traffic between life and art which Wroth manages. It may have been intended for performance to William Herbert, to draw him into the fiction, or it may have been for Wroth, so that she could perform and replay a moment from the fiction—could (in Donne's phrase) free "againe / Griefe, which verse did restraine."[69] It is in any case highly likely that Wroth knew of this setting, and probable that she herself commissioned it.

The various examples presented here may lead us to some general conclusions. Pattison's insistence "that the whole character of literature

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[67]The best discussion of Ferrabosco's vocal work, and his understanding of prosodic developments, is found in Duffy, *Ferrabosco*, *passim*. Spink, *English Song*, p. 46, and Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, pp. 127-36, also give useful accounts of Ferrabosco's style.

[68]*Urania* (1621), fols. 3G3-3H2 and fols. 2L4v-2M2, reprinted in *The First Part*, ed. Roberts, pp. 499-505 and pp. 317-21.

[69]"The triple Foole," ll. 15-16; *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. John T. Shawcross (New York: Anchor, 1967), p. 99.

was being continually decided by the musical connections and interests of the writers" in this period still needs drumming home ("Sidney and Music," p. 81). The Sidneys wrote poems to music, and it would seem that some of the longest and best of the poems of Robert Sidney and Mary Wroth were contrafacta. And they wrote poems in expectation of a musical setting; much of their verse came, in Philip Sidney's words, "either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well enchanting skill of music."[70] They offered patronage to musicians, and were rewarded with memorable pieces and collections. Their willingness to learn from Continental examples—by translation, imitation, and the writing of contrafacta—puts them in the mainstream of English song in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean period. It is symptomatic of these interests that their manuscript poems are found elsewhere in musical settings. It is common in the period for courtly lyric which was kept close (perhaps not seeing print until after the author's death, and in some cases not even circulating in manuscript) to be found set to music during the author's lifetime, both in manuscript and in print. Authors such as Donne and Greville may either have encouraged musicians to set their poems to music, prepared to live with the consequences, or have been less worried about their work circulating as song because the consumers of manuscript and printed songbooks appear to have been more interested in the composer than in the author of the lyric. This seems to be the case with the Sidneys. There are, as far as I am aware, no known copies of the unprinted holograph poetry of Robert Sidney and Mary Wroth, with the significant exception of the three manuscript song settings discussed here. If their poems circulated at all, it was as songs.

Further conclusions are difficult. It seems likely that Robert Sidney, if he wrote his poetry as an alienated Elizabethan courtier stuck in the Low Countries, used that poetry as a successful Jacobean courtier as an instrument in his dealings—literary, musical, political, and social—with a select group of courtiers, poets, and musicians. It seems probable that, just as Mary Wroth's poetic technique and content were heavily influenced by the writings of her father, aunt, and uncle, so her sense of the uses of lyric was learned from the textual and performative contexts of their poems. It also appears likely that further lyrics by Robert Sidney

[70] *The Defence of Poesy*, in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 92.

and Wroth not preserved in their authoritative collections may survive unattributed in manuscript or printed songbooks, and that there were more musical settings of their lyrics than we now know of. A final consequence of attention to the musical context of the poetry of Wroth and her father is that it becomes possible to add more substance to speculation about the role of Ben Jonson in their artistic lives.

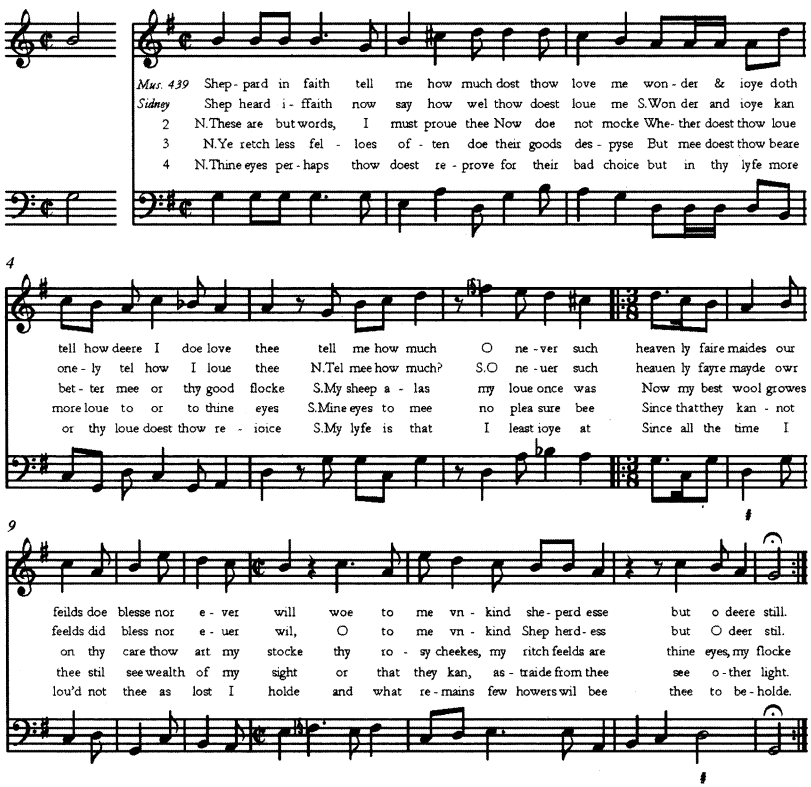
When we think about the literary voices of the Sidney poets, and about the autobiographical resonances bound up in their poems and fictions, we do well to remember the context of musical performance: the possibility that exists for poets, and their personas, of performing their words, perhaps as if they were another's, or of hearing them performed by another. When we do this, we start to see more clearly the character of lyric *prosopopoeia*, the relation of the lyric self to its author. The masque, the madrigal, and the consort song and lute song all need to be thought about as media in which the literary activities of court writers might be recontextualized, on paper or in public and private performance, and in which their authorship and their voices might become a more fluid thing.

Christ's College, Cambridge

Appendix

Shepheard iffaith now say how wel

Sir Robert Sidney ANON.



5

N. What's past thow hast forgot, nor now
Knowst what wil bee
but at this time more louest thow
thyself or me
S. Myself I nere
shall loue I feare
Thy cares are mine, thow art my wil
I loue with thee
myself I shall not loue vntil
thow louest mee

6

N. Tush these fine words do no whit please
make known thy loue
for iif thow car'st for none of these
what kanst thow loue
S. My cares are one
for thee alone
N. Like what then doest thow loue, tel this
thow weariest mee
S. Like thyself like nothing els is
my loue to thee

7

N. Like me how's that. Sh: fayre as Sunbeames
louely as day
sweet as fresh flowers, fine as cleer streames
ioyful as May.
lips of cherries
hands of lillies
Eyes stars of fyre, brest fram'd in snow
hart (ah) heauen hy
Blessed Nymphe shepheards thus thee know
and thus loue I.

Source: Oxford, Christ Church MS Mus. 439, fol. 12v; alternative first stanza and additional stanzas from Sidney's autograph, 'Pastoral. 2', British Library Add. MS 58435, fols. 5-6v.
Note: The two instances of bass figuring (bars 8 and 14) indicate a chord from the bass note with at least the third above. The repeat mark (indicated in the original with $ above each part at the start of the triple time section) is used frequently in the manuscript at the point at which the refrain is taken to begin; if performance of the subsequent stanzas was imagined by the composer such a repeat would be unlikely.