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FRAMING A DITTY FOR ELIZABETH: THOUGHTS ON MUSIC FOR THE 1602 SUMMER PROGRESS

The summer of 1602 featured a soggy 'progress' by Queen Elizabeth to various noble households in the vicinity of London, interspersed with elaborate royal entertainments. In the midst of the formal festivities occurred an enigmatic and apparently distressing incident involving the Queen, her Principal Secretary Robert Cecil, and his niece Elizabeth, Countess of Derby. Cecil hastily used songs to try to win back the lost favour of his Queen, and though his long-mislaid lyrics were identified a quarter-century ago, their music has remained unknown. This article reviews evidence of music for the songs, and for other events during that summer's progress.

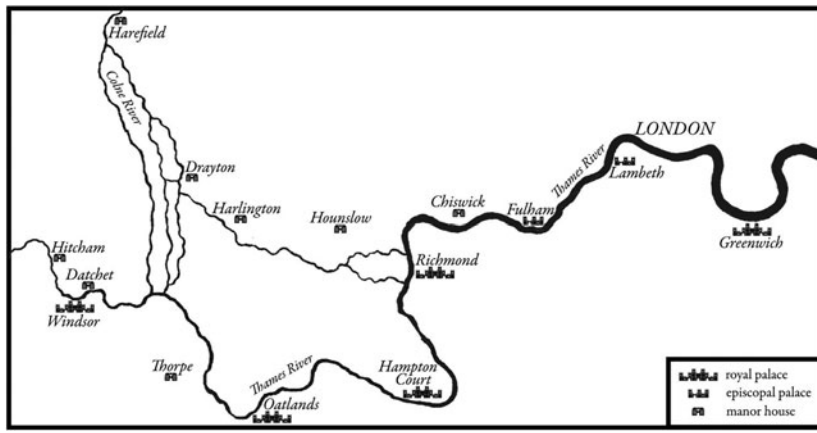
The summer of 1602, Queen Elizabeth's last, was a joyful one in spite of the weather. The monarch had been planning to go on another of her 'progresses', visiting grand houses around her realm, receiving copious rich gifts, and being royally entertained. In the end, her travels were somewhat curtailed, as John Chamberlain later reported, due to 'the fowle weather, and a generall infection of the small pockes spred ower all the countrie'.[1] The progress began when she left her Palace at Greenwich on 28 July, and travelled through Lambeth to the small village of Chiswick, across the Thames near the site today of The National Archives at Kew, and home of Sir William Russell (see Map). Russell presented a recitation at Elizabeth's arrival and departure, written for the occasion by John Lyly.[2]

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[1] Letter to Dudley Carleton, 2 October 1602. The National Archives, State Papers 12/285 fol. 47ᵛ. See N. E. McClure, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 160.

[2] This entertainment was first brought to light and attributed to Lyly in *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham*, ed. L. Hotson (New Haven, 1953), pp. 33–6. Notwithstanding the title, the Entertainment at Chiswick is also included. See also L. Scragg, 'Angling for Answers: Looking for Lyly in the 1590s', *Review of English Studies*, 67 (2015), pp. 237–49.

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Map Palaces and manor houses in Queen Elizabeth's summer progress of 1602

On 31 July, after passing through Hounslow and Harlington, the queen arrived at Harefield, north of Uxbridge, the home of Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, and his wife Alice (Spencer), the Dowager Countess of Derby. Alice's three daughters by her late husband, the 5th Earl of Derby, were in need of husbands, and the couple were intent on soliciting the help of the queen to facilitate that end. Things did not work out quite as they had hoped in that regard, but there was an elaborate entertainment laid on for Elizabeth during her three-day sojourn there, apparently devised by John Davies, and it survives somewhat piecemeal in no fewer than twelve manuscript copies – a remarkable record of preservation for such an event.[3]

After Harefield, on 3 August, the court moved to Hitcham manor, near Burnham in Buckinghamshire, the home of Sir William Clarke. Clarke was considered by one courtier not to have been very accommodating of the retinue,[4] but it seems to have been

[3] See, in particular, G. Heaton, 'Elizabethan Entertainments in Manuscript: The Harefield Festivities (1602) and the Dynamics of Exchange', in J. E. Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and S. Knight (eds.), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 227–44. See also J. Wilson, 'The Harefield Entertainment and the Cult of Elizabeth', *Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), pp. 315–29; G. Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 100–16; and E. Z. Kolkovich, *The Elizabethan Country House Entertainment* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 87–122.

[4] A letter written on 6 August from the Earl of Northumberland to Lord Cobham notes that Clarke 'neither gives meat nor money to any of the progressors'. See The National Archives, State Papers 12/284/96.

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convenient for the court to stay there while preparing to go to the royal palace at Oatlands, in Surrey, as a substitute destination of the soggy progress. As Thomas Edmonds wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury on that same day: 'Her Majestie hath had compassion, notwithstanding her earnest affection to goe her progresse, yett to forbeare the same in favor to her people, in regard of the unseasonableness of the weather; and, for that pourpose doth appointe to return by the end of this weeke, and to settle at Otelandes.'[5] Indeed, she had originally planned to go as far as Bristol, and to take the waters at Bath for her aching arm and hip.[6]

After a meal at Datchet and a brief stay at Thorpe in Berkshire, the court arrived on 11 August at Oatlands, which became its home base for nearly two months. In spite of the near-constant rain, the queen rode out hunting about three times a week, people came and went, and there were occasional excursions. One extended excursion, from 9 to 11 September, was to Drayton to visit the queen's cousin, George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, who was Lord Chamberlain at the time. His wife was the former Elizabeth Spencer, sister of Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, who had been the queen's hostess at Harefield. The Careys had themselves been at Bath, and the queen had intended to visit them there until the weather intervened. After that short visit, it was back to Oatlands.[7]

Finally, on 8 October, the court moved to Richmond Palace, and though it never travelled far from London, the progress of 1602 was officially over. In spite of the wretched weather and her nagging

[5] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3203, fol. 70^{r}. See E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners*, vol. 3 (London, 1791), p. 135.

[6] From a letter written by the Jesuit Father Rivers (a pseudonym, probably for William Sterrell), to Ridolfo Perino (a pseudonym for Father Robert Persons), on 30 June. Westminster Archdiocesan Archive, vii, 49. See *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 1 (London, 1877), p. 41. On the identities of Father Rivers and Ridolfo Perino, see P. Martin and J. Finnis, 'The Identity of "Anthony Rivers"', *Recusant History* 26 (2002), pp. 39–74. An earlier candidate for Father Rivers was Cecil's fired secretary Simon Willis, on whose dismissal, see below. On Willis as Rivers, see F. Edwards, S.J., *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610* (St. Louis, 1995), p. 226. For uncertainties about the identification of Sterrell as Rivers, see Heaton, 'Elizabethan Entertainments', p. 237, n. 27.

[7] Technically, Elizabeth's hostess at Oatlands was George Carey's sister Katherine, Countess of Nottingham, whose husband had been named Keeper of Oatlands in 1562. Although she served as an attendant to the queen for forty-five years, she is not mentioned as participating in the festivities that summer, and it seems likely that she had not fully recovered from the grave illness reported by her husband in a letter of 31 January 1602 (Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.385). In any case, the Earl and Countess lived at Hampton Court, where he had also been made Keeper *c.* 1571, and the queen made the six-mile journey from Oatlands to visit them there around 28 September.

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infirmities, the queen seems to have had a marvellous time. Her Principal Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, wrote to George Carew on 9 August that 'blessed be God, I saw not her Majesty so well these dozen yeares'.[8] George Savile wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury on 14 August about the merriment at the Lord Keeper's house at Harefield, including 'Barley Breaks, dancing of country dances by the Boys of the Chapel, and excellent vaulting of tumblers'.[9] On 19 September, the Earl of Worcester wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, saying 'Wee are frolyke heare in Cowrt; mutche dawncing in the privi chamber of Contrey dawnces before the Queene maiestie, who is exceedingly pleased therewith. Irish tunes are at this tyme most pleasing …'.[10] On 23 September, the royal favourite Fulke Greville wrote to the Countess of Shrewsbury: 'The best news I can yet write your ladiship is of the Queens health & dispo[si]tion of body, which I assure you is excellent good & I have not seen her every way better disposed thes many years.'[11] Lastly, on 27 September, the Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, wrote from his Palace at Fulham to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'Her Majesty is merry; long may she continue so and in good health, which is our chief worldly comfort.'[12] A portrait of the resplendent Queen Elizabeth, apparently from the time of the 1602 progress, may be seen in Figure 1.[13]

In the midst of this arcadia occurred a curious incident involving three people: the queen, Sir Robert Cecil (see Figure 2), and his niece, Elizabeth (see Figure 3). This young woman was the eldest daughter of Cecil's late sister Anne and the Earl of Oxford, and wife to William Stanley, the current Earl of Derby. She was also a Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, which means that she attended the queen along with the other ladies and Maids of Honour, of whom there were

[8] Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 604, p. 204. See *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew*, ed. J. Maclean (London, 1864), p. 128.
[9] Nottingham Archives, DD/SR 1/D/14, fol. 1[r].
[10] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3203, fol. 18[r].
[11] *Ibid.*, fol. 75[r].
[12] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3201, fol. 62[r].
[13] The gown in this portrait has been related to the one presented to the Queen during the 'Petition of St Swithin' at the Harefield event 'of clothe of siluer all wrought with rainebowes', with 'a verie riche paire of sleeues … of Rubies and pearle'. The petition also mentions 'Iris', which is part of the motto in the portrait. See Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988), pp. 83–4. See also Mary C. Erler, 'Sir John Davies and the Rainbow Portrait of Queen Elizabeth', *Modern Philology*, 84 (1987), pp. 359–71. The fabric shown in the queen's dress was recently identified in an altar cloth at Bacton, Herefordshire. See Eleri Lynn, 'The Bacton Altar Cloth: Elizabeth I's "long-lost skirt?"', *Costume*, 52 (2018), pp. 3–25.

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Figure 1 Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603). 'The Rainbow Portrait', attr. Marcus Gheeraerts, *c.* 1602). Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House

several.[14] The incident in question was described in a letter from William Browne to the Earl of Shrewsbury, written on 18 September:

I send yo^{ur} Lo: herein enclosed som verses compounded by M^{r}. Secretary who gott Hales to frame a ditty vnto itt, the occasion was as I hear y^{t} the young Lady of Darby

[14] The Lottery for the Harefield entertainment, discussed below, names thirty-one ladies attending the queen.

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Figure 2 Sir Robert Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's Principal Secretary (1563–1612). Miniature portrait by Isaac Oliver (*c.* 1600), shown actual size. Reproduced by permission of The Burghley House Collection



Figure 3 Elizabeth (de Vere) Stanley, Countess of Derby (1575–1627). Anonymous painting *c.* 1600. Reproduced from the collection at Blair Castle, Perthshire

wearing about her neck in her bosom a picture w^{ch} was in a dainty tablet, the Queen espying itt asked what fyne iewell that was the Lady Darby was curious to excuse the shewing of itt butt the Queen wold haue itt and opening itt and fynding itt to be M^{r}. Secretaryes, snatcht itt away and tyed itt vppon her shoe, and walked long wth it there, then she tooke itt thence and pinned itt on her elbow and wore itt somtymes there also, w^{ch} M^{r}. Secretary being told of, made these verses, and had Hales to sing them in his chamber, itt was told her ma^{ty}. y^{t} M^{r}. Secretary had rare musick and songs she wold needes hear them and so this ditty was soung, w^{ch} y^{u} see first written, more verses [*down the left margin*:] there be lykewyse whereof som or all were lykewyse soung, I do ~~imagin y^{t}~~ boldly send these things to yo^{ur} Lo: w^{ch} I wold not do to any els for I hear they are very secrett, some of y^{e} verses argew that he repynes not thoghe her ma^{ty} please to grace others, and contents himself wth th[e fa]vour he hath: I am now in hast butt will wryte again when I haue bene at court, in the meane tyme will pray for yo^{ur} Lo: and my most honorable Lady and remayne ever

Your Lo: in All humblenes sincerely

William Browne

18th September 1602[15]

[15] Lambeth Palace Library MS 3203, fol. 36^{r}. A facsimile of the letter appears in J. Eckhardt, '"From a Seruant of Diana" to the Libellers of Robert Cecil', in P. Beal and G. Ioppolo (eds.), *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing* (London, 2007), pp. 115–31, Plate 1, at p. 124. Browne is usually described as Sir William Browne, but he was not knighted until 14 March 1604, among a large group so honoured by King James at the Tower (his first conferral of knighthoods upon arrival in London). See W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. 2 (London, 1906), p. 129.

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To summarise, Cecil's niece was wearing a miniature portrait in a closed locket around her neck.[16] The queen demanded to see it, which the young countess was initially reluctant to allow. Discovering the portrait to be of her Principal Secretary, the monarch seemed to show displeasure by walking around with the locket tied first to her shoe, then to her elbow. It is difficult to say if the queen was angry or teasing, but Cecil could not afford to take any chances, so he wrote some verses and made it known that they would be sung in his chamber by Robert Hales, one of the queen's favourite singers. The queen could not resist coming to hear the songs, which were intended to appease her. Browne notes that he enclosed the lyrics, which he considered 'very secrett', but they were not preserved with his letter.

Why the young Countess of Derby would be wearing a closed-locket portrait of her uncle is something of a mystery. He was a dozen years older but they were both raised in the household of William Cecil, Lord Burghley – her grandfather and his father – for several years after 1576, when Elizabeth was temporarily disavowed by her father, the Earl of Oxford. Even after her parents' reconciliation in 1582, she seems to have remained in the Cecil household until 1589, when she became a Maid of Honour to the Queen. Robert Cecil may thus have been either an older-brother figure or a father figure to the countess.[17] Regardless, for a young married woman to be discovered wearing another man's portrait must have been an embarrassment for the married couple and the man portrayed.

As for the queen's insistence on opening the locket, she may have been alarmed because the young Countess of Derby had carried on a scandalous liaison with the Earl of Essex from 1595 to 1597, starting just a few months after her marriage.[18] As with Robert Cecil, the countess had known Essex from a young age as well, since he spent some years in the same household as a ward of Burghley. By the summer of 1602, Essex had been dead for eighteen months, but it

[16] It is interesting that Queen Elizabeth had a locket ring (now in the collection of the Chequers Estate) with miniature portraits of herself and her mother, Anne Boleyn. Joshua Eckhardt speculates that the Cecil portrait was a lost one by Nicholas Hilliard. See Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant', p. 118. The contemporary miniature portrait of Cecil by Isaac Oliver (Fig. 2 above) survives in the collection at Burghley House in Lincolnshire, MIN0008, so that is a possibility also.

[17] After Burghley's death, Elizabeth's younger sister Bridget wrote to Robert Cecil: 'yow are vnto mee as a father in his steede', so that suggests a father-figure, though Elizabeth was nine years older and may have had a more fraternal relationship. See Bridget's letter of 7 April 1599, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 178/144, printed in *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 9 (London, 1902), p. 130.

[18] See H. Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court', in P. Croft (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 265–81, at p. 270.

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is easy to understand why the queen might be suspicious when the young woman was reluctant to hand over the locket.

Browne's account of this incident has been known since the late eighteenth century,[19] but it took another two hundred years before the lyrics themselves were identified. They will be discussed below, but the event as described has fascinating cultural implications, as outlined by T. G. Bishop:

> The route taken by Cecil in his attempt to regain the good graces of the queen reveals not only his knowledge of her personal tastes, but his shrewd sense that refiguring his relations to her through the musical mode at this tense moment, when spoken appeals might be futile or even provocative, allows both parties leeway to reposition themselves. Music saves appearances and offers new roles through a translated formal mediation. Cecil does not have to entreat, or even directly express an intention to entreat, nor does the queen have to undertake to listen to anything but a concert: what is 'told' her is not that 'Cecil wishes to apologize', but that he has 'rare music and songs'. The disgraced lord does not speak for himself, but 'is sung' by another, and Elizabeth, if she wishes to hear the music, must agree to remain silent while he is represented.[20]

After two hundred years of commentators wishing they knew what song accomplished this reconciliation, Katherine Duncan-Jones identified Cecil's lyric, or at least one that fits Browne's description perfectly, in a manuscript at Oxford's Bodleian Library:[21]

> From a servaunt of Diana, as faithfull as the best
> a lady got a picture, and ware it at her breste
> his pereles mistres tooke it, it pleasd her soe to doe
> and ware it at her elbowe, though first tyde at her shoo
>
> What meant that Angellike queene to weare that picture so?
> meant she to skorne her servaunt, and to disgrace him? no.
> She at her elbowe ware it, to signifie that hee
> to serve her at her elbowe doth ever love to bee

[19] Browne's letter was first printed in Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, pp. 146–7. John Nichols also quoted it in *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (London, 1823), pp. 596–97. That edition has been updated as *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. E. Goldring, F. Eales, E. Clarke and J. E. Archer, vol. 4 (Oxford, 2014), pp. 198–9. The section of that volume on the Harefield Entertainment was edited by G. Heaton.

[20] T. G. Bishop, 'Elizabethan Music as Cultural Mode', in J. Crewe (ed.), *Reconfiguring the Renaissance* (Lewisburg, PA, 1992), pp. 51–75, at p. 60.

[21] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don.c.54, fol. 7^{v}. See K. Duncan-Jones, '"Preserved Dainties": Late Elizabethan Poems by Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Clanricarde', *Bodleian Library Record*, 14 (1992), pp. 136–44. Joshua Eckhardt pointed out an earlier copy in All Souls College Library, MS 155, fol. 128^{r}, with an attribution to 'R. C.', thus supporting Robert Cecil as the poet. See Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant'.

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And at her foote she she plac'td it, where he would prostrat lye
to shewe where he resolved, even at her foote to dye
And at her foot &c.[22]

Cecil cleverly shows how the queen's actions of wearing the portrait on her shoe and at her elbow, rather than demeaning him (the obvious interpretation), could be construed to show her appreciation of Cecil's devotion to her.[23] In both manuscripts where this poem appears, it is paired with a second lyric, *My love doth fly with wings of fear*. It seems possible that this other lyric relates to the 'more verses there be likewise whereof some or all were likewise sung', though its specific connection to the incident is not clear. In the Bodleian manuscript, it is attributed to the Earl of Clanricard, recently returned from military success in Ireland and rapidly gaining favour with the queen.[24]

My love doth flye wth winges of feare
and doth a flame of fyer resemble
w^{ch} ~~burninge~~ mounting high and burning cleare
yet evermore doth waue and tremble

My love doth see, and doth admire
admiring breedeth humblenes
blinde love is bold, but my desire
the more it loues presume the lesse

My love seekes not reward, no^{r} glorie
but wth it selfe it selfe contentinge
is never sullen, never sorry
never repyning no^{r} repentinge

[22] This last stanza recalls Cecil's father's plea to the queen on 17 February 1587 when he was out of favour over the execution of Mary Queen of Scots: 'I am most willyng to endure any payne, to be carryed to some place, yea to be layd uppon the floore neare your Ma^{ty} fete, ther to endure your Ma^{ty} pleasure, hopyng by Gods goodness … I shall fynd some dropps of your mercy to quynch my sorrowfull pantyng hart.' See British Library, Lansdowne MS 115, fol. 89^{r}.

[23] Writing before the lyrics were discovered, Steven W. May saw the incident purely as 'lighthearted frivolity'. See *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp. 133–4. On the other hand, even though the song answers the question in the negative, Katherine Butler affirms 'the possibility of disfavour' in the second stanza's line, 'meant she to skorne her servaunt, and to disgrace him?' See *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 63. Recently, Catharine MacLeod agreed that Cecil seemed to interpret the queen's actions as 'intentionally demeaning', at least potentially. See *Elizabethan Treasures: Miniatures by Hilliard and Oliver* (London, 2019), p. 18. The seriousness of the incident also seems to be supported by Browne's reference to the lyrics as 'very secrett': why would they be secret if they were merely jesting?

[24] See the discussion of authorship in Duncan-Jones, 'Preserved Dainties', and Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant'.

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But who the sunne beames can behold
but hath some passion, feeles some heate?
for though the sunne himselfe be cold,
his beames reflecting fire beget

O that myne eye, o that myne hart
were both enlarged to contayne
the beames and ioyes she doth impart
while she this love doth not disdaine

A third source, the so-called Burley manuscript,[25] contains only this second lyric and preserves one further stanza at the end:

This bowre vnfit for such a gueste,
but since she makes it now her Inn,
Would god twere like her sacred breast
most fayre wthout, most rich wthin.

The central task of this study is to try to discover what sort of musical setting might have been provided for these two lyrics. One factor must have been the apparent urgency of the incident: 'M^{r}. Secretary being told of [the Queen's actions], made these verses, and had Hales to sing them in his chamber.' This suggests real haste, and while Cecil may simply have been anxious to reinterpret an obvious humiliation, Joshua Eckhardt has pointed out that Cecil's guilty conscience over his ongoing correspondence with King James could have spurred him to swift action, representing himself 'as a prostrate servant when he could have been charged as a traitor'.[26] Indeed, Cecil had fired his long-time personal secretary, Simon Willis, just three days before the summer progress began, as he wrote to Sir Henry Wotton in 1608,

principally, because I was loath he should haue come to some Discovery of that correspondency which I had with the King our Souveraigne, which, without great Difficulty, I could not have avoyded, considering his dayly, and neare attendance,

[25] Leicestershire Record Office DG.7/Lit.1, fol. 280^{v}, copied by William Parkhurst, who was in Henry Wotton's employ from 1604, including in Venice from 1604 to 1610. On this source, see *The Burley Manuscript*, ed. P. Redford (Manchester, 2017); an edition of this poem appears on pp. 153–54. The poem in the Burley manuscript appears among others by John Donne and was first edited in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. H. Grierson, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1912), pp. 437–38. It has additionally been attributed to John Davies. See *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. R. Krueger (Oxford, 1975), pp. 306–7, 424.

[26] See Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant', p. 119.

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as my Secretary, to whose eyes a pacquett, or a paper, might haue beene so visible, as he mought haue raysed some such inferences thereof, as mought have bredd some jealousie in the Queenes mynd, yf she had knowne it, or heard any such suspicion to move from him. Wherein, althogh I hope you remayne secure, yf her Majesty had knowne all I did, how well there should have knowne the innocency and constancy of my present fayth; yet her age and orbity,[27] joyned to the jealousy of her sexe, might haue moved her to think ill of that which helpt to preserve her.[28]

Thus, at this sensitive time, Cecil could not afford for the queen to harbour any lingering doubts about his loyalty. For him, it was an emergency, and he must have quickly made the verses and had them sung. Browne's initial description, in fact, recounted that Cecil wrote the lyric and 'gott Hales to frame a ditty vnto itt'. That phrase is confusing, and requires some unpacking. The most likely reason for the confusion is that Browne was a little unclear about the terminology, using 'ditty' to refer to a piece of music generally, whereas it actually refers to a lyric.[29] That usage seems clearer later on when he says 'so this ditty was soung, w^{ch} y^{u} see first written, more verses there be lykewyse whereof som or all were lykewyse soung', which seems to equate 'ditty' and 'verses'. Thus, in spite of the modern conception of a 'ditty' as a 'short simple song' (to quote the *Oxford English Dictionary*), a 'ditty' for Elizabethans was a lyric which could be set to music, or a lyric written for specific music, not something to which a ditty might be framed. Such an interpretation is evident from widespread contemporary usage,[30] such as this couplet from Thomas Whythorne's *Songes* of 1571:

[27] 'Orbity' means 'childlessness'.

[28] Letter of 29 March 1608, The National Archives, State Papers 99/5 fol. 68$^{r–v}$. See *Letters and Memorials of State*, ed. A. Collins, vol. 2 (London, 1746), p. 326. Puzzlement over the dismissal of Willis was noted in John Manningham's Diary for October 1602, when he says: 'I heard that Sir Robert Cecile is fallen in dislike with one of his secretaries of greatest confidence, Mr. [blank], and hath dismissed him, which moves manie conjectures and much discourse in the Court.' See British Library, Harley MS 5353, fol. 44^{r}, printed in *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, 1602–1603*, ed. R. P. Sorlien (Hanover, NH, 1976), p. 96. Manningham's diary contains no entries between April and October of 1602, so he seems to have saved up news from the summer, and also included a version of the Harefield Lottery (fol. 95$^{r–v}$).

[29] The term 'frame unto' also needs some explanation. A sense of its meaning can be gleaned from the quotations below but, essentially, in this context it means to 'adapt' or 'shape' something to something. So, Hales is commissioned to adapt or shape something to fit Cecil's verses.

[30] The ditty-as-lyric usage is unequivocal in contemporary examples like Michael Cavendish's *Ayres* (1598), sig. M1^{v}, where he gives a full page of lyrics, each one labelled *This is the Ditty of the second song*, etc. Further, Ben Jonson, in *Cynthia's Revels* (1601), sig. H3^{r}, has the character Hedon say: 'I made this *Ditty* and the *Note* [i.e., music] to it', to which Amorphus responds, citing a song of his own: 'I think I haue both the *Note* and the *Ditty* about me.' And in *Eastward Ho* (1605), sig. I3^{r}, Sir Petronel Flash says: 'An excellent

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> Heerin be diuers songs also, the which altred haue I,
> By mending of sum the Musick, of others the ditti[31]

Similarly, this quotation from Thomas Kyd's(?) *The Tragedye of Solymon and Perseda* (1592) includes this couplet of dialogue (1.2):

> When didst thou sing a note that I could heare,
> But I haue framde a dittie to the tune[32]

These are supported by passages from Thomas Morley's 1597 treatise *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*:[33]

Rules to be obserued in dittying: It followeth to shew you how to dispose your musicke according to the nature of the words which you are therein to expresse, as whatsoeuer matter it be which you haue in hand, such a kind of musicke must you frame to it. (p. 177)

[Music] being aptlie framed for the dittie and well expressed by the singer (p. 179)

Poets who compose the ditties (p. 180)

The most principall and chiefest kind of musicke which is made without a dittie is the fantasie (pp. 180–1)

The Italians make their galliardes (which they tearme *saltarelli*) plaine, and frame ditties to them (p. 181)

Browne probably meant that Cecil 'got Hales to frame music unto the ditty', or something similar. Indeed, it is possible to frame music to an existing lyric, or to frame a lyric to existing music, but not frame a lyric to a lyric. The task of Robert Hales, then, would have been to set Cecil's lyric to music.

Hales is known to have composed a single lute-song, *O eyes leave off your weeping*, printed in Robert Dowland's *A Musicall Banquet* of 1610,[34] but that is the only evidence we have for him as a composer. His primary fame was as a singer, and he was a recognised favourite of the queen. When on 17 November 1590 (Accession Day), Sir

Ditty it is, and worthy of a new tune.' There are hundreds of comparable examples. The rare instances from this period where 'ditty' is used to refer to sound without words are probably figurative, like birdsong which might be imagined as conveying text. An example of this is the lark's 'ditty', twice mentioned in *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1599), sigs. C1^{r} and D6^{r}, of which one is quoted in the *OED* definition as evidence that 'ditty' could mean 'song'.

[31] (London, 1571), Tenor partbook Preface, sig. AAA2^{v}.

[32] (London, 1592), sig. A2^{v}.

[33] Coincidentally, Morley dedicated his *First Booke of Balletts* (1595) to Sir Robert Cecil (sig. A2^{r}).

[34] No. 3, sig. C1^{v}–C2^{r}.

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Henry Lee retired as Elizabeth's 'Champion' at a court ceremony in the Tiltyard at Whitehall, John Dowland's *His golden locks time hath to silver turned* was 'pronounced and sung by M. *Hales*, her Maiesties seruant, a Gentleman in that Arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable'.[35] Sir Henry Wotton reported that 'my Lord of *Essex* chose to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (beeing his common way) to be sung before the Queene, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whose voyce shee tooke some pleasure'.[36] And for Twelfth Night in January 1601, Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon gave instructions 'To appoint Musicke seuerally for the Queene, and some for the play in the Hall. And Hales to have one place expressly to shewe his owne voice.'[37]

But this evidence does not suggest that Robert Hales was so fluent a composer as to make an instantaneous lute-song setting of *From a servant of Diana*, nor indeed, of the other songs that were apparently sung at the same time, including *My love doth fly*. So, how might Hales have framed music to Cecil's poem, especially given the time constraints? The most likely scenario is that he did not compose something new but, rather, used existing music that fit the words. Even if Browne was confused about the terminology in saying that Cecil 'gott Hales to frame a ditty vnto itt', and used 'ditty' in the sense of words and music together, he surely meant that Hales set the tune of the pre-existent song to Cecil's lyric. Indeed, one thing that 'ditty' does not mean at this period is a composed melody without words, so according to Browne's description, this would rule out Hales creating new music to set Cecil's lyric. Moreover, hasty musical borrowings made necessary by the shortness of time have a long history. Ludwig Senfl reworked Costanzo Festa's motet for the 1514 funeral

[35] W. Segar, *Honor, Military, and Civill* (London, 1602), p. 198. William Segar was a portraitist and, at the time of Lee's retirement, held the post of Somerset Herald at the College of Arms.

[36] Sir Henry Wotton, *A Parallel between Robert late Erle of Essex, and George late Duke of Buckingham* (London, 1641), p. 3. Wotton gives the final couplet of that sonnet as 'And if thou shouldst by Her be now forsaken,/She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken'. From the surrounding discussion, Wotton is apparently referring to a time in the 1590s. Though a handful of other poems were set to music, the only lute-song setting of an Essex sonnet of which I am aware is *To plead my faith*, set by Daniel Batchelar and published in Robert Dowland's *A Musicall Banquet* (1610), No. 6, sigs. $D2^{v}$–$E1^{r}$.

[37] Alnwick Castle Archives; Letters and Papers, vol. 7, fols. 19^{v}–22^{r}. See R. J. Alexander, 'A Record of Twelfth Night Celebrations', *Records of Early English Drama*, 16 (1991), pp. 12–19.

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of Anne of Brittany, tweaking it slightly to make it suitable for the funeral of the Emperor Maximilian in 1519.[38] Elton John took his own *Candle in the Wind*, a 1973 elegy for Marilyn Monroe, and wrote new lyrics for Princess Diana's funeral in 1997.[39] Closer to the time in question, some anonymous lyricist used *Cease now, delight*, Thomas Weelkes's elegy for Lord Borough (d. 1597), for Prince Henry (d. 1612), changing only a few words to make it fit the situation.[40] The scramble resulting from unexpected deaths invited that kind of repurposing, and I believe such a process is most likely here, not for a sudden death, but for an urgent crisis of state.

Thus, it is much more likely that Hales simply sang the lyric to existing music that, in his opinion, worked the best.[41] There are two basic possibilities for this. One is that he borrowed an existing lute-song for the purpose, and the other is that he set the lyric to a popular tune that fitted the stanza versification of eight lines of trimeter in an abcbdefe rhyme scheme. Both possibilities will be explored here.

Writing new lyrics for ballad tunes was an everyday occurrence in the broadside repertoire, but is it, indeed, likely that a popular tune would be used for such a purpose at court?[42] To answer this question, it is useful to review what is known about music for Elizabeth during her 1602 progress. The Entertainment at Chiswick, the first stop on the progress, consisted solely of two prose speeches by John Lyly, so there was no known musical involvement. At Hitcham, there are no descriptions of music, but it is interesting for the report of William Browne, who enjoyed an extended audience with the queen on 8 August, and wrote excitedly about it afterwards to Sir Robert Sidney on 12 August.[43] He was obviously interested in entertainment

[38] See A. Main, 'Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet', *Musical Quarterly*, 48 (1962), pp. 173–89.

[39] For a discussion of the two versions, see S. J. Hubert, 'Two Women, Two Songs: The Subversive Iconography of "Candle in the Wind"', *National Women's Studies Association Journal*, 11 (1999), pp. 124–37.

[40] R. W. Duffin, 'Voices and Viols, Bibles and Bindings: The Origins of the Blossom Partbooks', *Early Music History*, 33 (2014), pp. 61–108, at pp. 76–80.

[41] See many examples of this in R. W. Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York, 2004) and Duffin, *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (New York and Oxford, 2018).

[42] On courtiers writing contrafact poems to ballad tunes, see Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, pp. 57–61. Of course, writing new lyrics to existing tunes was common in the ballad repertoire generally.

[43] Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, U1475 [De L'Isle MSS] C8/135 [misdated 1601].

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because, in a postscript, he mentions that he is enclosing copies of the entertainments at both Chiswick and Harefield.

Apparently the last to be planned in advance, Harefield was an elaborate entertainment indeed, consisting of the 'Dialogue of the Bailiff and the Dairymaid', the 'Dialogue of Place and Time', the 'Petition of St Swithin', a 'Lottery', and 'Place's Farewell', all ostensibly written for the event by John Davies. The Lottery was an extended device where the ladies of the court drew lots, supposedly booty from a real Spanish ship recently pirated and brought to shore, with each new item accompanied by a couplet of poetry. The obvious music in all of this entertainment is a song, used to introduce the Lottery by the Mariner who brought the booty. *Cynthia, queen of seas and land* was sung by the Mariner (or, in one source, two Mariners),[44] and a setting of it survives, published in 1605 by Robert Jones in his *Ultimum Vale*.[45] We have no guarantee that this was the setting used at Harefield, both because the script circulated so widely after the event, and because Jones's published setting is for four voices, though a version of it may have been possible. Just to show that some other setting could have been used, Example 1 gives that lyric set to *I smile to see how you devise*, a tune from the Elizabethan keyboard manuscript known as the Mulliner Book.[46] It is one of the only tunes suitable for a stanza with the rare 44443343 versification, as found in this lyric.

After singing this song, the Mariner gives a short speech introducing the Lottery. In the course of the song and the paragraph following, he uses the word 'fortune' fourteen times, including the vow 'that as they came to my hands by fortune, soe I would not parte from them but by fortune'. The Lottery itself begins with the drawing by the
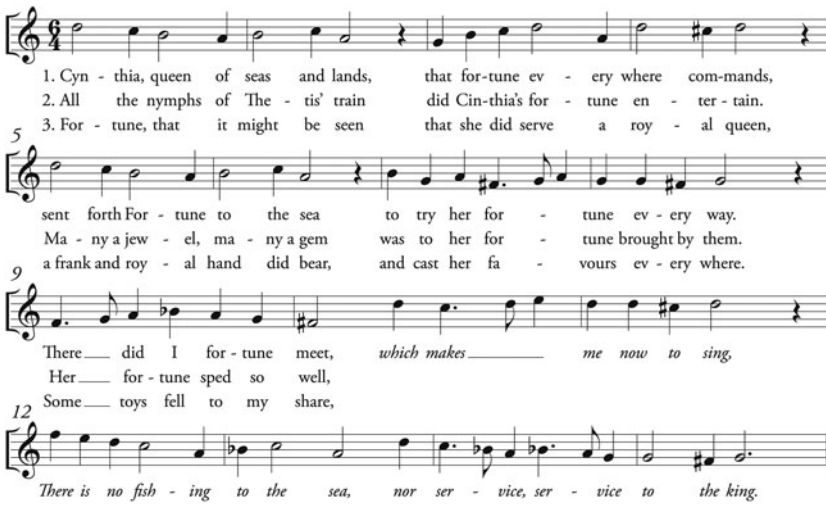
[44] This is in the Conway manuscript version, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS X.d.172.

[45] No. 8, sigs. E2^{v}–F1^{r}. Apparently copied from the 1605 print, a manuscript copy of the top part with bass survives in Giles Earle's Songbook (*c.* 1615–*c.* 1626) (British Library, Add. MS 24665), fols. 19^{v}–20^{r}. Jones's setting as part of the Harefield Entertainment is discussed in Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, pp. 157–61.

[46] British Library, Add. MS 30513, fol. 86^{v}. The tune was probably written to set the poem of the same title in Clement Robinson's *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (1584), sig. D2^{v}, which includes 'nets' and 'guide the ship', both of which fit with the Mariner's song. A version of the proverb-refrain seems first to have been printed in Mathew Grove, *The most Famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia* (1587), sig. E8^{r}, and it might have sounded familiar to the queen since it was also used in the Entertainment at Cowdrey in 1591. See *The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montacute* (1591), p. 10. See also Scragg, 'Angling', p. 246.

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Example 1 *Cynthia, queen of seas*, set to *I smile to see how you devise*
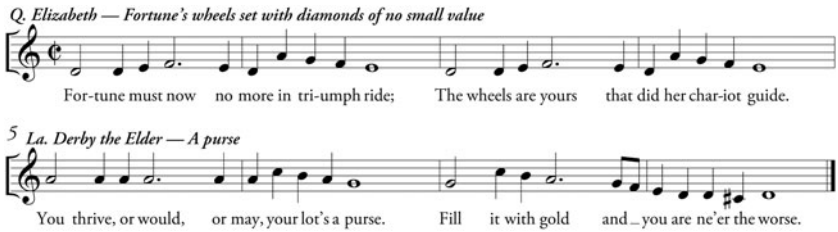


queen of 'Fortunes wheeles sett with diamonds' and a couplet that begins 'Fortune muste nowe no more in triumphe ride'. Indeed, all of the verses are pentameters of rhyming couplets. Any lottery ostensibly involves luck or chance, so the word 'fortune' might be expected to be prominent, but its constant use throughout this lyric, plus the distinctive versification, lead me to suggest that all of the couplets of the Lottery were sung to the tune *Fortune my foe*.[47] The use of the word 'fortune' and the versification would be enough to make a case for the tune, but there are echoes of the original *Fortune my foe* song as well, in lines like 'Blinde Fortune dothe not see howe faire you bee', which is reminiscent of 'If wisdom's eyes blind Fortune had but seen', or 'Frowne in goode earnest', which recalls the opening line of the famous song 'Fortune my foe, why dost thou frown on me?', or 'fortune might favor thee', which recalls 'though Fortune favor thee' from the song. The personification of Chance makes an appearance in both lyrics as well: 'Chaunce knows not what to giue you for a lott' from the Lottery, and 'O cruel Chance, thou breeder of my pain' from the original song. Thus, while we have no direct evidence that it was sung, it seems quite possible that parting with the lots 'by fortune', as the Mariner vowed, meant parting with them while singing the lyrics to the tune *Fortune my foe*. Example 2 gives the opening couplets for Queen Elizabeth and the Dowager Lady Derby,

[47] For an edition of this song, see Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, pp. 152–4.

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Example 2 Sample couplets from the Lottery, set to the tune *Fortune my foe*



Harefield's hostess (following the order in the Conway manuscript and in the sole printed version).[48] The lots drawn are given after their names.

There are some things about the performance of the Lottery that are unclear in the description. Do the ladies named actually draw the lots from the box, or are they drawn for them? A period engraving by Gijsbert van Veen shows Death drawing lots from an urn for a line-up of people from all walks of life, and this seems to support the idea that the lots were drawn for the ladies in this case.[49] Secondly, do the ladies present the couplets themselves, each in turn, or are they presented for them by some actor or musician, with some master of ceremonies – the mariner himself, perhaps – naming the objects as they are drawn? That there is a specific couplet for each lot shows that the order was not random: there must have been some sort of choreography to ensure that the item drawn was paired with the right person, and the couplet was ready when the object was drawn. In addition, the fact that the queen is first in the action, with both a lot and a couplet, confirms that the ladies are not doing these things themselves, though everyone would certainly have known the tune. Indeed, in the *c.* 1587 poetic exchange between Queen Elizabeth and Sir Walter Raleigh, both Raleigh's original 'Fortune hath taken thee away my love', and Elizabeth's 'Ah, silly pug, wert thou so sore afraid', both fit handsomely to *Fortune my foe*, and they may have been written expressly to do so.[50] That may also explain why Robert Naunton, speaking of Raleigh after his death, said he had sung *Fortune my foe* when he found 'his favour declining'.[51]

[48] Folger Shakespeare Library, MS X.d.172, and F. Davison, *A Poetical Rapsodie* (1608), sig. B3ʳ.
[49] See *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1612), p. 203.
[50] See G. Abraham, 'A Lost Poem by Queen Elizabeth I', *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 May 1968, p. 553. See also Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, pp. 59–61.
[51] Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the Late Queen Elizabeth, Her Times and Favorits* (London, 1641), p. 31. See K. A. Butler, 'Image and Influence: The Political Uses of Music at the Court of Elizabeth I' (Ph.D. diss, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), pp. 182–3, and S. W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (Columbia, MO, 1991), pp. 318–21.

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There is one other roundabout confirmation of popular song being heard at court around this time. On 26 September 1602, the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania visited the court at Oatlands. His three-week trip to England was chronicled by his secretary, Frederic Gerschow, who afterwards wrote down everything they saw and experienced.[52] Ten days before visiting the court, they had been to the Tower of London, which led Gerschow afterwards to mention the late Earl of Essex and a ballad written about him:

> On descending to the courtyard, the spot was shown to us where the brave hero the Earl of Essex was beheaded, and lay buried in the chapel close by. How beloved and admired this Earl was throughout the kingdom, may be judged from the circumstance that his song, in which he takes leave of the Queen and the whole country, and in which also he shows the reason of his unlucky fate, is sung and played on musical instruments all over the country, even in our presence at the royal court, though his memory is condemned as that of a man having committed high treason.[53]

Gerschow mentions hearing the ballad *All you that cry, O hone, O hone*, written partially in the voice of the earl, during their one-day visit to the court. The broadside called for the tune *The King's Goodnight*,[54] which then became known as *Essex Last Goodnight*,[55] but it was a popular tune and it is remarkable that Gerschow and his Duke happened to hear such a song at court during their few hours at Oatlands on 26 September.

At any event, Elizabeth herself and no doubt all of her ladies could have sung their couplets to the first or second strain of *Fortune my foe*, though it seems virtually certain that, for the Harefield entertainment, they had someone to do it for them,[56] possibly even the Boys of the

[52] Gerschow's description of a pre-play vocal and instrumental concert at Blackfriars on 18 September is of interest. See R. W. Duffin, 'Music and the Stage in the Time of Shakespeare', in R. M. Smuts (ed.), *Oxford Handbooks of Literature: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 748–63, at pp. 749–50.

[53] From 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the year 1602', ed. G. von Bülow and W. Powell, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series VI (London, 1892), p. 15 (with the original German on p. 14).

[54] An early copy is English Broadside Ballad Archive 36027.

[55] On this tune, see C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966), pp. 206–8.

[56] In sources like the Conway MS and the early print of the Lottery in Davison's *A Poetical Rapsodie*, there is an even number of couplets, which would work out perfectly with each couplet taking half of the tune. Not all sources have an even number, however, and it is difficult to know how many couplets were used in performance at Harefield. Nevertheless, an odd stanza at the end could simply be sung to a repeat of the final strain, as a *petite reprise*. William Byrd's setting of the tune, indeed, reprises that final strain in each variation.

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Chapel who were present.[57] The widespread knowledge of the tune, even at court, plus the various references to country dances, Irish tunes and Barley Break during the progress, help to make clear that a song set to a popular tune would not have been out of place at court during this season.

Before leaving Harefield, I would like to propose that another existing lute-song may have been inserted earlier in the festivities, perhaps during the Dialogue of Time and Place. These two allegorical characters discuss how time stops for the 'goddess' that they are entertaining, and Time's speech includes this passage: 'I am her time, and time were verie vngratefull yf yt shoulde not euer stande still to serue preserue cherishe & delighte her, that is the glorie of her time, and makes the time happie whearein she liues.'[58] It seems to have gone unnoticed heretofore that the verbal imagery is strongly reminiscent of John Dowland's exquisite lute-song *Time stands still*, published in his *Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* of 1603, just a year after the Harefield entertainment.[59] Indeed, though the language of the lute-song is more elevated, it fits the situation so well that if it was not written for the Dialogue, it must certainly have been inspired by it. Here is Dowland's lyric:

> Time stands still with gazing on her face,
> stand still and gaze for minutes, houres and yeares, to her giue place:
> All other things shall change, but shee remaines the same,
> till heauens changed haue their course & time hath lost his name.
> *Cupid* doth houer vp and downe blinded with her faire eyes,
> and fortune captiue at her feete contem'd and conquerd lies.

[57] See the letter of George Savile, cited above (n. 9). There were twelve Boys of the Chapel in the lists for Elizabeth's funeral the following spring, so presumably a similar number would have been at Harefield. See *Records of English Court Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, vol. 4 (1603–1625) (Snodland, 1986), p. 3. There is also an extant lottery, appended by William Skipwith to John Marston's Entertainment at Ashby, apparently from the summer of 1607 and coincidentally honouring Alice, the Dowager Countess of Derby, who delivers the first stanza. It survives as an appendix to Huntington Library, MS EL 34 B9 and includes fourteen numbered stanzas of four or six lines. In this case it seems that the ladies themselves did the singing. Its verses may also have been sung to *Fortune my foe*, especially since the first stanza uses pentameters, although the subsequent stanzas are all in tetrameters. I am grateful to Vanessa Wilkie for drawing my attention to this manuscript. See James Knowles, 'Marston, Skipwith, and *The Entertainment at Ashby*', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, vol. 3 (1992), pp. 137–92, including pp. 173–7 for a facsimile and transcription of the lottery.

[58] This is such a significant moment because, as Jean Wilson says: 'While Time stops, all mortal cares must stop with him, and the house becomes a type of Paradise.' See Wilson, 'Harefield Entertainment', p. 323.

[59] No. 2, sigs. B2^{v}–C1^{r}. The volume was registered by Thomas Adams on 21 February 1602/3.

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When fortune, loue, and time attend on
Her with my fortunes, loue and time, I honour will alone,
If bloudlesse enuie say, dutie hath no desert.
Dutie replies that enuie knowes her selfe his faithfull heart,
My setled vowes and spotlesse faith no fortune can remoue,
Courage shall shew my inward faith, and faith shall trie my loue.

Though not used as a proper noun, 'place' is mentioned in the song as well, at the end of the second line. The praise here is so extravagant that it could only be addressing the queen, and indeed, the line 'shee remains the same' recalls Elizabeth's motto, *Semper eadem*. Fortune is well represented, and will be again shortly in the 'Lottery', as we have seen. Dowland's *His golden locks* has already been mentioned as used in the court ceremony for Sir Henry Lee, and it has previously been proposed that *Time stands still* emanated from some court entertainment as well, but no specific occasion has emerged until now.[60] A performance of *Time stands still* could have occurred at the end of the Dialogue of Time and Place, or alternatively, it could have come near this passage within it: 'Well, well, this is not time for vs to enterteine one another, when wee should bothe ioyne to enterteine her; arre you redie, *Place*? *Time* is redie.'[61]

Lastly, with regard to the Harefield entertainment, there seem to be two passages that anticipate wording from the two songs of the Cecil incident. The first occurs as part of Place's speaking in her Dialogue with Time, when she says: 'I should in somme measure resemble her sacred self, and been in the outward fronte exceedinge faire, and in the inward furniture exceedinge riche.' This seems echoed in the Burley manuscript's added verse to *My love doth fly*, which includes the lines 'Would god twere like her sacred breast/most fayre wthout, most rich wthin.'

The other connection is subtle but intriguing. Cecil's niece, Elizabeth, who was at the centre of the incident with the locket, draws a lot described as 'A ring, with this Poesye, as faithfull as I finde'. It seems not to have been noticed heretofore that this is reminiscent of the opening of Cecil's lyric: 'From a servant of Diana, as faithful

[60] See, in particular, the discussion and edition of the song in Butler, 'Image and Influence', pp. 144–6. See also D. Poulton, *John Dowland* (London, 1982), p. 277, and P. Howard, 'Time in Entertainments for Queen Elizabeth I: 1590–1602', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 65 (1996), pp. 467–81 at 476–7. Howard documents seventeen instances of the figure of 'Time' in entertainments for Elizabeth during those years.

[61] Place echoes the imagery in her speech of farewell, when she says: 'I haue no winges as Tyme hathe; my heavynes is suche, as I must stand still', but if it was indeed used, the lute-song seems more likely to have been placed in or near the earlier Dialogue.

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as the best'. The language 'as faithful as' suggests an awareness on Cecil's part of the specific role his niece had played in the Lottery at Harefield,[62] and may imply that the incident took place not long after, but we do not know for sure.

Some information about dating may be teased out of the letters of William Browne, who is the sole source for the incident in his letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury on 18 September. But where was he writing from? And how new was the information about the incident and the songs? Browne was clearly interested in court entertainments since he went to the trouble of having the Chiswick and Harefield entertainments copied out to send to Sir Robert Sidney along with his newsy letter on 12 August, ten days after the Harefield event and four days after his own visit to court at Hitcham. If Browne had known about the incident then, he would probably have mentioned it, so it is unlikely to have been current gossip on 8 August, when he visited the court. We have another letter from William Browne to Sir Robert Sidney on 15 September, and this provides further insight into the timing. Writing from London, Browne reports that he expects to be at the court on Friday or Saturday of that week, which would be 17 or 18 September, and that he expected to stay four or five days.[63] We know from his 18 September letter that he was not yet at court ('I am now in hast butt will wryte again when I haue bene at court'). It has been proposed that Browne was still in London on the 18th,[64] but that seems unlikely because he wrote to Shrewsbury on 17 September from Fulham, saying he had determined not to write until he had been to the court, but an opportunity to send a letter had presented itself.[65] So the next day, the 18th, since he was not yet at court (Oatlands is 15 miles from Fulham), he was very likely still at Fulham. On that day, he wrote again to Shrewsbury, sharing the story about the incident with Cecil and the queen, and enclosing the lyrics. The most obvious interpretation is that, no earlier than 17 or 18 September, word of this story leaked to Fulham, and Browne was able to share it. Fulham was the palace of the Bishop

[62] Starting around the end of the sixteenth century, a ring with a saying or short poem inscribed within in it seems to have been a fairly common gift. Such a ring is mentioned, for example, in John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1602) (5.1). In the Harefield Lottery instance, the inscription would be 'as faithful as I find'. Initially, Cecil may have used that poesy for his second line, but abandoned the ending when he failed to identify a fourth-line rhyme that would locate the picture on the lady's bosom. To preserve the original, he could have used something like 'which to her breast did bind'.

[63] Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre U1475 [De L'Isle MSS] C8/221. See *Letters and Memorials of State*, ii, p. 258.

[64] *John Nichols's The Progresses*, iv, p. 198.

[65] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3201, fol. 54^{r}. See Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, pp. 143–5.

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of London, Richard Bancroft, who (as noted above) wrote a letter on 27 September describing Elizabeth's high spirits, so he seems to have kept informed about the court at Oatlands. One further possibility is that the incident took place at Drayton, at the home of Lord Hunsdon, during the queen's visit there from 9 to 11 September. It could not have occurred much later than that for word of the incident to have leaked and the secret lyrics copied and shared from Fulham on 18 September. So, after the event at Harefield, the month from Browne's 12 August letter to the queen's 11 September return from Drayton seems the most likely window.

The question remains: how might Robert Hales have set the lyrics to music? Can we gain some sense of how these songs may have sounded? If, indeed, popular tunes were used to set the lyrics, it is unfortunate that Browne did not mention any titles so that the Earl of Shrewsbury could sing along to himself as he read, and we could know exactly how they sounded. Browne was reporting second-hand, however, so he did not actually hear the songs himself, and that may be why he did not include musical information in the letter, though he may have inserted 'to the tune of . . . ' directions on his now-lost copy of the lyrics. Plausible settings of these lyrics to popular tunes can be conjectured from the available information, however, narrowing the possibilities to a small number of likely prospects. The versification of each of the two lyrics is unusual but not extremely so, and thus there is a handful of tunes that could set each poem. I present them here with a brief argument for each.
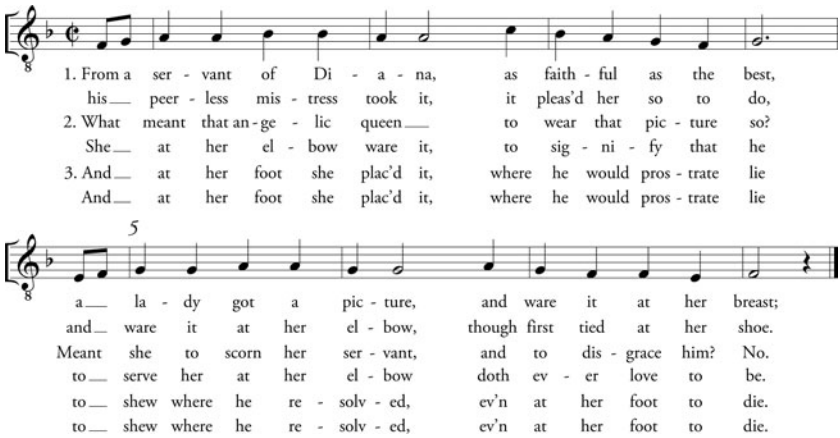
The first setting of *From a servant of Diana* is to the tune of *Rogero*, a melody based on a variant of the *Ruggiero* ground bass that was commonly used to improvise musical settings of Italian poetry from this period.[66] Yet another variant of *Ruggiero* survives as a setting for Philip Sidney's *Have I caught my heavenly jewel*, quoted by Falstaff in *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Act III, sc. 3).[67] The *Rogero* ground, intriguingly, set the ballad *Diana and her darlings dear*, so its use to improvise a setting of Cecil's Diana song seems entirely plausible, although the

[66] Such an instance is described in *The aduentures of Master F.I.* from George Gascoigne, *An Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573), p. 231: 'The dinner ended, & he throughly contented both with welfare & welcome, they fell into sundry deuices of pastime: at last *F.I.* taking into his hand a Lute that lay on his Mistres bed, did vnto the note of the *Venetian* galliard applie the *Italian* dittie written by the woorthy *Bradamant* vnto the noble *Rugier*, as *Ariosto* hath it.'

[67] British Library, Add. MS 15117 (*c.* 1615), fol. 19^{r}. Sidney's poem appears in *Astrophel and Stella* (1591), pp. 47–8. For musical editions of *Diana and her darlings dear* and *Have I caught my heavenly jewel*, see Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, pp. 122–4 and 187–8.

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Example 3 *From a servant of Diana*, set to the tune of *Rogero*



original poem is in ballad metre and Cecil's entirely in trimeters.[68] It also happens that *Rogero* sets only half a stanza of Cecil's poem, so there is a lot of repetition, including a complete reprise of the final quatrain, which makes little sense musically. Still, the Diana connection and the simple improvisatory character make it seem possible for an urgent situation (Example 3).

The most common way of 'improvising' a musical setting, however, was simply to use a borrowed melody that fit the versification of the lyric, and an obvious choice at that time would have been the tune of *Rowland* (Example 4). That tune was enormously popular starting in the late 1580s, when it was used to set a ballad about Lord Willoughby fighting in the Low Countries, and it was the most popular tune of the period for eight-line trimeter stanzas.
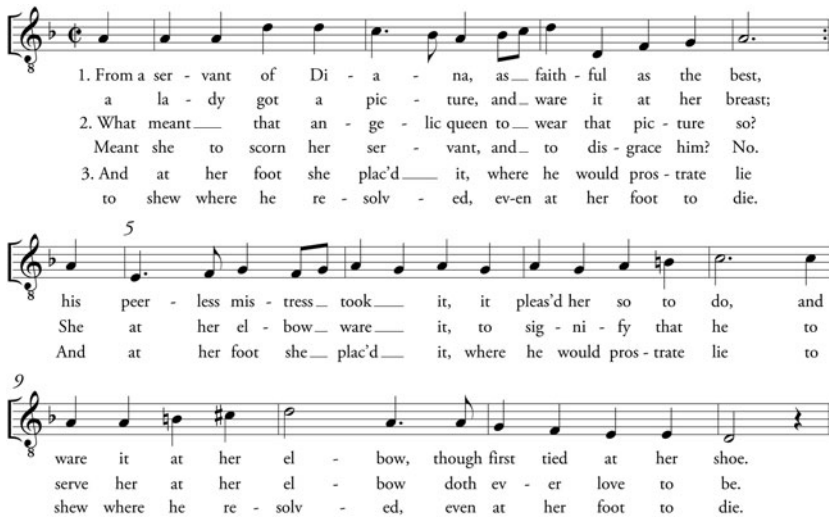
Next is a setting to the tune *Walking in a Country Town* (Example 5). The first published appearance of this tune was the year after the incident, in Thomas Robinson's *Schoole of Musicke* (1603),[69] so it was current and, like all these tunes, fits extremely well. A personal connection existed, moreover, since Robinson dedicated his *New Citharen Lessons*

[68] It is also not entirely clear that the Diana ballad is old enough to have been known in 1602, though it is possible that it was circulating in manuscript. Its earliest surviving notice is a Stationers' Register entry for 14 December 1624. The *Rogero* tune was certainly known, however.

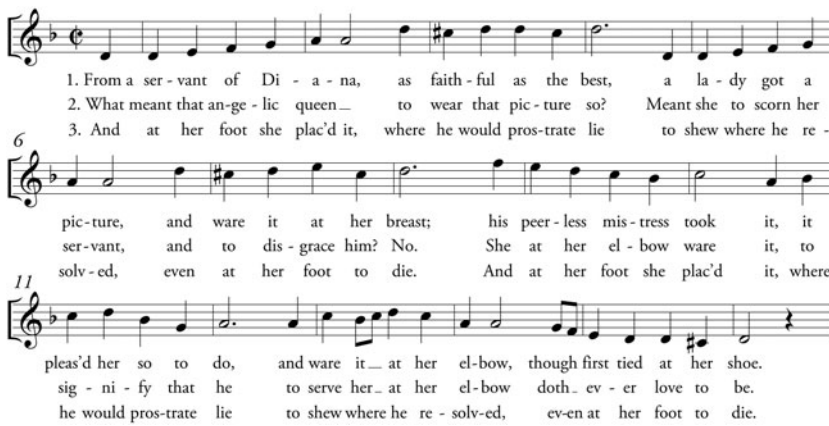
[69] Sig. M2^{r}. This tune became popular on the Continent as *Pots hondert tausent Slapferment*. See C. R. Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* (Chicago, 1929), pp. 313–14.

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Example 4 *From a servant of Diana*, set to the tune of *Rowland*
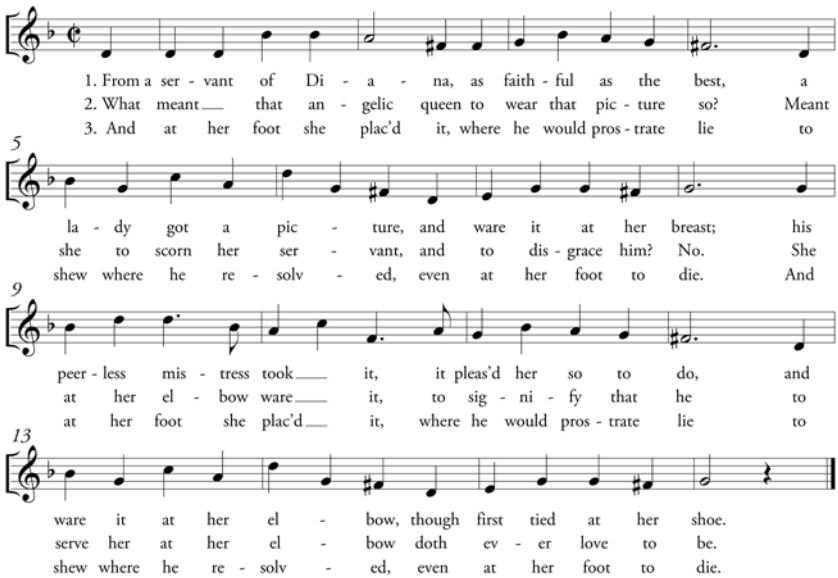


Example 5 *From a servant of Diana*, set to the tune *Walking in a Country Town*



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Example 6 *From a servant of Diana*, set to the tune *O Man in Desperation*



(1609) to Robert Cecil's son, Viscount Cranborne, noting that he had 'alwaies tasted of the comfortable liberalitie, of your Honours Father'.[70]

The next possibility is a setting to the tune *O Man in Desperation* (Example 6). A ballad with that title was registered on 15 August 1586 and it was called for as a tune later that year,[71] so it seems immediately to have had an independent musical life. It is a pity that the original ballad has not survived, but 'man in desperation' suits Cecil's situation in this incident remarkably well, and the symbolism may have made it an enticing choice.
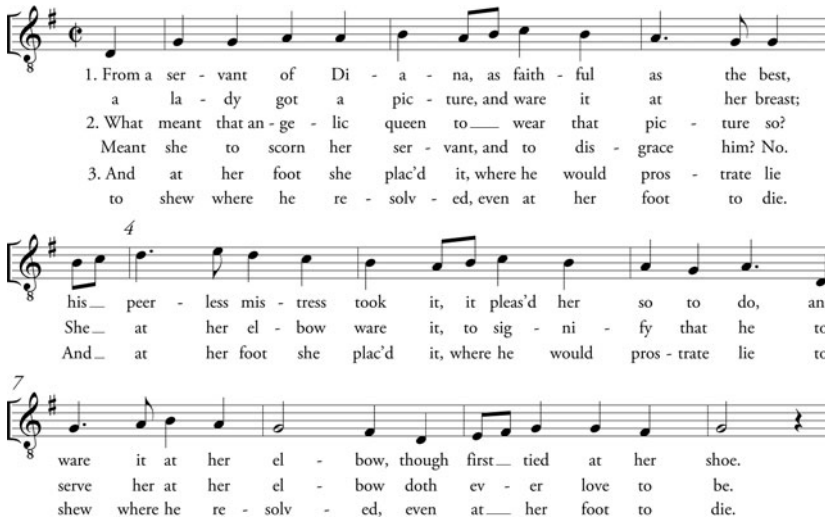
Finally, among ballad tune possibilities is a setting to *Wilhelmus van Nassau* (*Nassaw, Nassouwe*) (Example 7). This does not initially seem like an obvious choice since it was not called for as a tune for any English broadsides, so it may not have been widely known, but the melody does appear in several English lute manuscripts from

[70] Sig. A2^{r-v}. On Robert Cecil's patronage in music, see L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1991), pp. 24–40; and Hulse, '"Musique which pleaseth myne eare": Robert Cecil's Musical Patronage', in Croft (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power*, pp. 139–58. See also 'Cecilian Patronage', ch. 5 in R. Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations, 1570–1612: Politics, Surveillance, and Patronage in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart Years' (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2006), pp. 208–67.

[71] See Duffin, *Some Other Note*, p. 634.

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Example 7 *From a servant of Diana*, set to the tune *Wilhelmus van Nassau*



the period.[72] Its most important credential in this context is that Sir Philip Sidney wrote his poem *Who hath his fancy pleased* to be sung to the tune (probably having heard it in the Low Countries),[73] and its eight-line trimeter versification matches Cecil's perfectly.[74]

[72] See J. Craig-McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530–1630' (D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1993), Appendix 4, Index of Music Titles, under *Prince's Almain/Wilhelmuslied*. On the early history of the tune, including its French origins, see M. Kestemont, E. Stronks, M. de Bruin and T. de Winkel, *Van wie is het* Wilhelmus*?* (Amsterdam, 2017).

[73] This is, thus, a case of framing a ditty to a tune. One of the lyric's earliest sources is Folger Shakespeare Library, MS H.b.1, fol. 223^{r} (*c.* 1585), sometimes called the 'original version' of the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. Its earliest printing was in the 1598 edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, pp. 483–4, which would certainly have been available to the queen since a copy of that volume with her coat of arms is in the Folger Shakespeare Library (STC 22541, c.3). Interestingly, her device seems superimposed on that of the Earl of Essex. For a modern edition of the lyric, see *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. W. A Ringler, Jr. (Oxford, 1962), pp. 151–2.

[74] Though the rhyme scheme of Sidney's lyric and the *Wilhelmuslied* is ababcdcd, the most famous French antecedent, *O la folle entreprise*, has the same abcbdefe rhyme scheme as Cecil's lyric. See *Beau Recueil de plusieurs belles Chansons spiritulles* [sic] (Paris, *c.* 1569–70), fols. 61^{r}–62^{v}. Perhaps the earliest surviving lyric to use the tune, *Que dictes vous en France* of around 1523 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f. fr. 2200, fol. 45$^{r–v}$), uses a mix of those rhyme schemes. For an edition of that poem, along with the opening couplets of nineteen other sixteenth-century lyrics apparently based on the same tune, see *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1894), pp. 301–5. The manuscript of *Que dictes vous en France* cites an earlier chanson, *Dictes moy qu'il vous semble de l'empereur et du Roy* (*c.* 1519?), as the source of its tune, but that lyric is not otherwise known.

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For *My love doth fly*, the second lyric which may have been sung by Robert Hales, there are four popular tune possibilities. First is the tune *Walsingham*. Katherine Duncan-Jones noted the affinity between the final stanza of Raleigh's *Walsingham* poem and the third stanza of this lyric:[75]

Raleigh's *Walsingham*	***My love doth fly***
Butt true Love is a durable fyre	My love seekes not reward, no^{r} glorie
In the mynde ever burnynge;	but wth it selfe it selfe contentinge
Never sycke, never ould, never dead,	is never sullen, never sorry
From itt selfe never turnynge.	never repyning no^{r} repentinge

No one, to my knowledge, has suggested that *My love doth fly* might therefore have been sung to the *Walsingham* tune. It can be made to fit, although *Walsingham* is in ballad metre and *My love doth fly* entirely in tetrameters, so a little crowding is necessary (see Example 8).[76] It is also intriguing that, immediately after Queen Elizabeth's death, Clanricard married Frances Walsingham, the widow of both Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Essex.[77]

A melody that works better from a versification standpoint is the tune of *I have house and land in Kent*, from *Melismata* (1611) by Thomas Ravenscroft (Example 9).[78] Besides the felicitous match of words and music, Thomas Egerton's first wife was a Ravenscroft, and Thomas Ravenscroft's brother was in service with the Egerton family, certainly in 1603 and possibly earlier.[79]

Another connection to Thomas Ravenscroft may be through the author of the Entertainment at Harefield. It has been assumed that

[75] Duncan-Jones, 'Preserved Dainties', p. 140.

[76] A certain amount of variability in syllables is evident among lyrics set to the tune. The section of *Frauncis Newe Jigge* (*c.* 1595) that is specified to be sung to the *Walsingham* tune has anywhere from four to seven syllables in the second and fourth lines of each quatrain. *My love doth fly* has more, but the melody is frequently heard with precisely the divisions given here, as in the very first statement of the tune in John Bull's keyboard setting, and in the first variation in William Byrd's setting.
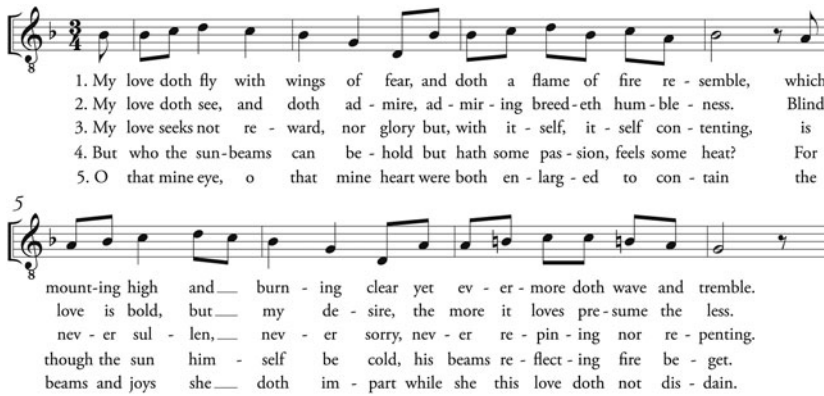
[77] See Duncan-Jones, 'Preserved Dainties', p. 141. It is also interesting that Robert Sidney wrote a dialogue poem, 'Yonder comes a sad pilgrim' (British Library, Add. MS 59435, fols. 16^{r}–18^{v}), clearly meant to be set to the *Walsingham* tune. See *The Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. P. J. Croft (Oxford, 1984), pp. 34–7, 184–95, 313–14. For further on the *Walsingham* poem and tune, see B. Brookshire, '"Bare ruin'd quires, where late the sweet birds sang": Covert Speech in William Byrd's "Walsingham" Variations', in D. Janes and G. Waller (eds.), *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 199–216, and G. Waller, '"As you came from Walsingham": Walsingham in Poetry and Music after the Dissolution', in his *Walsingham and the English Imagination* (Farnham, 2011), ch. 4, pp. 91–114.

[78] No. 22, sig. F2^{v}–F3^{r}.
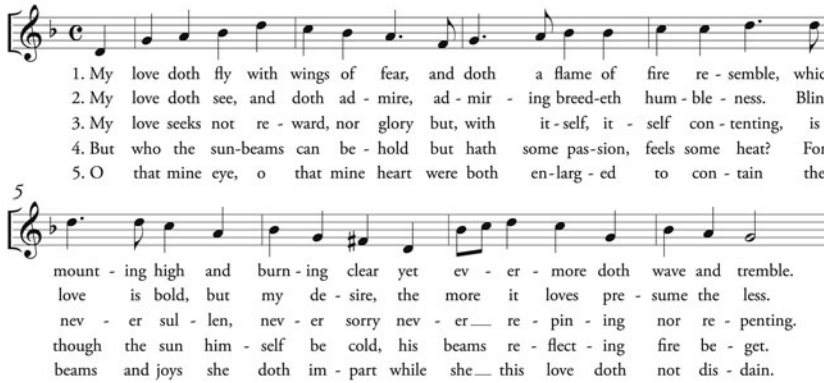
[79] See R. W. Duffin, *The Music Treatises of Thomas Ravenscroft* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 25–7. A copy of Thomas Ravenscroft's *A Briefe Discourse* (1614), furthermore, survives in the Huntington Library (69078) with a holograph dedication to Sir John Egerton, the Lord Keeper's son by Elizabeth Ravenscroft.

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Example 8 *My love doth fly*, set to the tune *Walsingham*



Example 9 *My love doth fly*, set to Thomas Ravenscroft's *I have house and land in Kent*



the writer of the entertainment was John Davies of the Middle Temple, later knighted for his work in the governance of Ireland. But the evidence for authorship comes only from a 'I.D.' attribution in the first printed version in 1608, and those attributions are shaky enough.[80]

[80] Hyder Rollins, editor of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, says: 'It is doubtful just what attributions are made, who made them, and how much faith is to be put in them.' See *A Poetical Rhapsody, 1602–1622*, ed. H. E. Rollins, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1932), p. 36. By the fourth surviving edition of 1621, the ascription was to 'Sir. *I.D.*', however, so the attribution to the lawyer-poet was assumed by that time.

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Moreover, there are letters from John Davies of the Middle Temple to Sir Robert Cecil in June and September of 1602, and neither suggests plans for nor follow-up to an entertainment that summer.[81] So, if the writer was, indeed, John Davies, it may have been the other poet of that name, later known as John Davies of Hereford. One reason for this includes a conspicuous fascination with *Time* and *Place* in the latter's published poems from the period.[82] John Davies of Hereford also dedicated several publications to Thomas Egerton and members of his family, so he seems to have been close to the household. But he was also close to Thomas Ravenscroft since he wrote a commendatory poem for Ravenscroft's treatise *A Briefe Discourse* (1614), where he referred to the musician as 'my deare, vertuous, and right expert friend'.[83]

Next is a setting to the metrical psalm tune popularly known as *Old Hundredth* (Example 10). This was first printed in England as a melody for Psalm 100 in *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes of Dauid* in 1561.[84] It then appeared in the 1565 edition of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, and became extremely popular from that time forth, even to the present day. Of the sixty-seven Sternhold & Hopkins metrical psalm tunes in the 1573 print (the most in any edition),[85] this is the only one that fits a four-line stanza of tetrameters. There is a verbal connection, furthermore,

[81] See Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 184/38 and 184/123.

[82] See, for example, from *Mirum in Modum* of 1602 (the same year as the progress): 'Eternall, without time, from whome *Time* came,/Being present euery where, yet without place,/For euery place hee fram'd and keepes in frame'; and 'Who is not chang'd by *Place*, for he fills all,/Nor yet by *Time*, for he is without time' (sig. F1^{v} and F4^{r}). The imagery also appears in his *Microcosmos* of 1603: 'Diffring in nothing but in *Time* and *Place*' (p. 25); and in his *Wittes Pilgrimage* (1605): 'Time, and Place vs both do woo' (sig. M2^{r}). Moreover, a more extended poetical discussion of *Time* and *Place* occurs in his *Yehovah Summa Totalis* (1607), sig. C1$^{r–v}$. On its title page, that publication is described as 'an Addition to *Mirum in Modum*' of 1602, and is dedicated to Thomas Egerton and the Countess of Derby. Ironically, in a poem signed 'I.D.', John Davies of Hereford prophesied future confusion with his namesake when he wrote: 'Then must *Iohn Davies*, share *Iohn Davies* worth/For *times* to come can no *distinction* giue.' See 'To my beloved M^{r}. Iohn Davies of the Middle-Temple Councellor at the Law', *Microcosmos*, sigs. Nn4^{v}–Oo1^{r}.
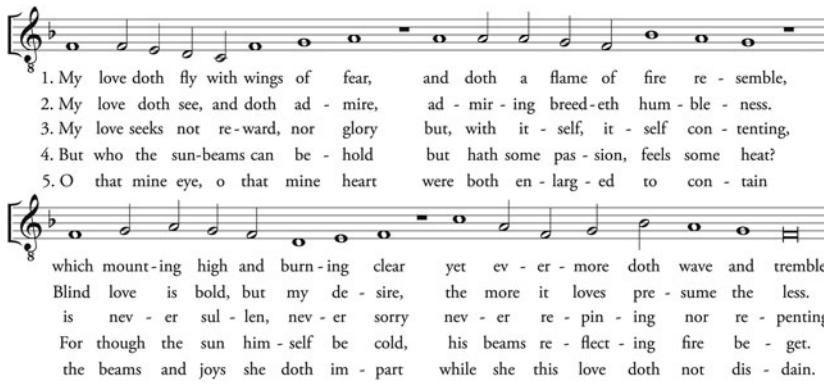
[83] See Duffin, *Music Treatises*, p. 39.

[84] Fol. 109$^{r–v}$. First printed in Geneva the previous year, the English use of the tune for William Kethe's new metrical translation of Psalm 100 derives from a setting of Théodore de Bèze's metrical Psalm 134, *Or sus, serviteurs du Seigneur*, in *Pseaumes Octantetrois de Dauid* (Geneva, 1551), pp. 275–6. In an 'Advertissement' on sig. V3$^{r–v}$, Louis Bourgeois claims to have composed all of the settings for the versified de Bèze psalm translations (in addition to amending infelicities in several Marot psalm settings). On the early history of the English metrical psalter, see R. A. Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (Oxford, 1991); B. Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme* (Aldershot, 2008); and *The Whole Book of Psalms: A Critical Edition of the Texts and Tunes*, ed. B. Quitslund and N. Temperley (Tempe, AZ, 2018).

[85] See N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1979), p. 58.

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Example 10 *My love doth fly*, set to the metrical psalm tune *Old Hundredth*



in the 'wings of fear'/'serve with fear' figure in the first stanza of each. And even though Robert Cecil seems to have been aligned with the emerging high-church party, we know that psalm singing formed a part of daily worship in the Cecil household,[86] as well as that of John Egerton and his stepsister-wife Frances (Stanley), the children of Harefield's hosts.[87] After all, as Nicholas Temperley said of the English avidly singing metrical psalms: 'They sang not because they were Puritans, but because they were singers.'[88] Amidst that practice, using an iconic psalm tune to set a compatible lyric seems like a reasonable option.[89]

Lastly, among the popular tune settings, is *Fortune my foe* (Example 11). That tune normally sets pentameters, as noted above, but there are

[86] Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage', p. 39. See also L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590–1640' (Ph.D. thesis, King's College, London, 1992), pp. 265–85, citing Hatfield House, Cecil MSS Bills 57/7 and 67B. The library at Hatfield House included four editions of the Sternhold & Hopkins metrical psalms, along with several communion books with psalms appended.
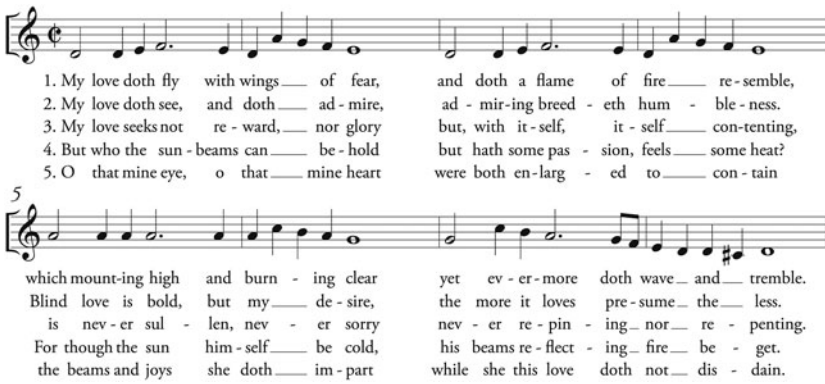
[87] See Hulse, 'Musique which pleaseth', pp. 157–8, n. 69, citing Huntington Library MS EL 6495. The Huntington Library today includes eleven copies of Sternhold & Hopkins metrical psalms that formerly belonged to the Egerton family. It is also interesting that Thomas East's four-voice musical settings of the metrical psalter, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1592), preserves a setting of *Old Hundredth* by John Dowland (pp. 184–85).

[88] See Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p. 46.

[89] Using a metrical psalm tune for a secular lyric may seem surprising, but it apparently happened enough to provoke the wrath of George Wither: 'I recon it little better then Sacriledge, for any man to vse those tunes with a prophane subiect, which haue been once consecrated vnto the seruice and honour of God.' See *A Preparation to the Psalter* (1619), p. 87. For three near-contemporary play songs by William Percy (1570–1648) that seem likely to have been set to *Old Hundredth*, however, see Duffin, *Some Other Note*, pp. 532–33, 568–70, and 581–82.

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Example 11 *My love doth fly*, set to the tune *Fortune my foe*



tetrameter lyrics that call for it, and the imagery of *My love doth fly* matches some in the original ballad:

Fortune my foe	***My love doth fly***
5. In vain I sigh, in vain I wail and weep; In vain mine eyes refrain from quiet sleep: In vain I shed my tears both night and day, In vain my love, my sorrows do bewray.	5. O that myne eye, o that myne hart were both enlarged to contayne the beames and ioyes she doth impart while she this love doth not disdaine
6. My love doth not my piteous plaint espy, Nor feels my love what griping grief I try: Full well may I false Fortune's deeds reprove, Fortune, that so unkindly keeps my love.	2. My love doth see, and doth admire admiring breedeth humblenes blinde love is bold, but my desire the more it loues presume the lesse
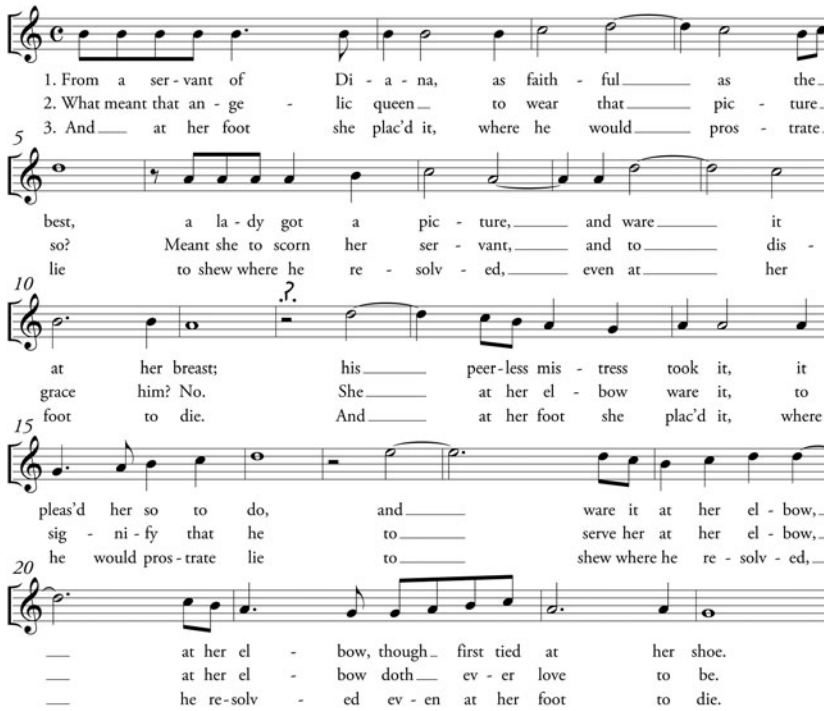
The 'mine eyes'/'myne eye'[90] and the shared beginning to the stanza, 'my love doth', makes the connection seem conceivable, especially since *Fortune my foe* appears to have been on people's minds that summer.

These are the popular tunes that seem most plausible as choices for Robert Hales in setting Cecil's lyrics to music. But, as noted earlier, it is also possible that Hales used an existing lute-song to provide music for the lyrics. Intriguingly, the only lute-song in the entire repertoire that approaches the versification of *From a servant of Diana* is John Dowland's *Me, me, and none but me*, from his *Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* of 1603 (Example 12),[91] the same publication that furnished *Time stands still*, discussed above.

[90] The Burley manuscript version actually has 'myne eyes'.
[91] No. 5, sig. D1^{v}–D2^{r}.

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Example 12 *From a servant of Diana*, set to John Dowland's *Me, me, and none but me* (1603)
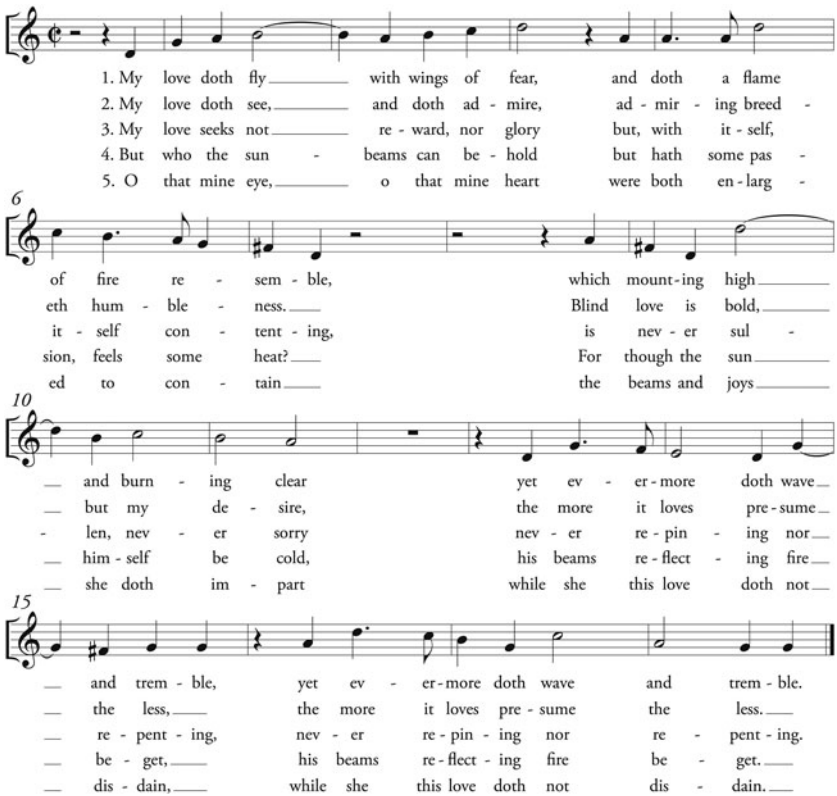


Hales sang Dowland's *His golden locks* at an earlier court event, so it might be expected that he was familiar with Dowland's more recent work. It is worth noting also that Dowland was once in the service of Lord Hunsdon, whose house the court had visited from 9 to 11 September, and would later dedicate his translation of a German music treatise to Cecil himself, noting that Cecil did 'excellently vnderstand, and royally entertaine the Exercise of Musicke'.[92] And besides those personal connections and the versification match, both lyrics conclude with the words 'to die'.

There is also a plausible lute-song setting for *My love doth fly*. There are four lute-songs up to 1610 that use quatrains of tetrameters in an abab rhyme scheme, but the best match, both for the musical character and the date, is Robert Jones's *Once did I*

[92] John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus, or Introduction Containing the Arte of Singing* (London, 1609), sig. A2^{r}. See also Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage', and Hulse, 'Musique which pleaseth'.

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Example 13 *My love doth fly*, set to Robert Jones's *Once did I love* (1600)



love from his *First Booke of Songes & Ayres* of 1600 (Example 13), a collection dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney, and recipient of letters from William Browne during this 1602 progress.[93] The setting requires a repeat of the final phrase of the lyric in each stanza, but Jones's original song is set that way as well.[94]

[93] No. 4, sig B2^{v}–C1^{r}. Like Dowland, Robert Jones had a connection with Robert Cecil through a dedication. His epistle to the *First Set of Madrigals* (1607) mentions 'the worthy approbation you haue giuen to many professors' of music (sig. A2^{v}). See also Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage', and Hulse, 'Musique which pleaseth'.

[94] That all of this music connected to the 1602 summer progress raises the question of whether there is a possible musical setting for the six stanzas of *Beauty's rose and virtue's book*, the Petition of St Swithin from the Entertainment at Harefield. One manuscript source (Warwickshire CRO CR 136/B2455) says the Petition was 'deliuered in writing', but that may not have precluded performance as well. In fact, the stanza

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Traces of historically significant but ephemeral works like those discussed here are always difficult to uncover. Some vestiges may be found, however, in a close re-examination of the texts themselves, in letters (including eyewitness accounts and gossip), and in personal connections, all filtered through known performance practices of the period for whatever insights may be revealed. There is no way to know for certain how Robert Hales chose to 'frame' Cecil's ditty on that summer day in 1602, but if my surmise about the urgency of the occasion is correct, and Hales used pre-existing music – either popular tunes or borrowed lute-songs – the settings presented here would all have been excellent possibilities. Hales may even have had to choose among these very settings when deciding how best to present these secret songs for Queen Elizabeth and, crucially, bring Sir Robert Cecil back into her good graces. For centuries, we may have lamented the loss of lyrics connected with this curious incident, but now that they have been identified, we can recover a semblance of their musical charm, and bring them to life as Elizabeth may have heard them. She may have been merely teasing her trusted adviser, but the incident is mysterious and Cecil was clearly anxious. If they indeed helped to preserve the peaceful succession of the crown at a moment when things might have gone much awry, there are few songs in English history whose successful performance was more important to the security of the realm.

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versification – six tetrameter lines in an aabccb rhyme scheme – is quite rare, but matches that of the famous *O Mistress mine* song from Shakespeare's contemporaneous play, *Twelfth Night* (Act II, sc. iii). For a new exploration of possible original musical settings of that lyric (and therefore music that could set *Beauty's rose*), see R. W. Duffin, 'Thomas Morley, Robert Johnson, and Songs for the Shakespearean Stage', in M. Cooke and C. R. Wilson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Music* (Oxford, forthcoming).

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