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Singing and silence: female personae in the English ayre

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The books of ayres (or lute-songs) published in England between 1597 and 1632 (see Table 1) offer to the reader a microcosm of complex literary and cultural influences. The composers of the ayres collected lyric poems from manuscript, play-text, anthology, and romance, and offered them, usually twenty-one songs at a time, for the entertainment of a growing amateur market. In England in this period musicians were viewed as 'fantasticall' creatures by nature, prone to the imbalance of humours, especially that of melancholy,[1] and the combination of solo song and lute, an instrument often eroticized in lyric and drama, shaped the ayre into a particularly intense expression of the dark and complex culture of late Elizabethan and Jacobean England.[2] The ayres have a dual nature in that as songs, or performed lyric, they interconnect with the performance arts of the period, both masque and play, but also operate as consumers and transmitters of lyric poetry, thus allying themselves with manuscript anthologies and print. They have mostly been studied from the perspective of the relationship of the two arts, with musicologists offering studies of techniques of word-setting and the development of song-style,[3] and literary scholars studies of the effects of music on the development of poetry,[4] but the evidence of the books of ayres

[1] Jacques on types of melancholy: 'Nor the musician's, which is fantastical' (*As You Like It*, Act IV, sc. i, 11). One of Hal's degrees of melancholy is '[as] a lover's lute' (*I Henry IV*, Act I, sc. ii, 75). All Shakespeare quotations are taken from *The Oxford Shakespeare. The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford, 1988). On lute music and melancholy, see Robin Headlam Wells, 'John Dowland and Elizabethan melancholy', *Early Music*, 13 (1985), 514–28.

[2] On the iconography and symbolism of the lute across Europe, see Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven, CT, 1978); Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound. Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, CA, 1993) and *The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols, Munchen and Salzburg, 1977). In the European Baroque a lute is often pictured among the display of a courtesan, but even while the lute was in its age of innocence in England, Shakespeare makes the prevalent attitude clear enough with Richard's scornful 'He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber / To the lascivious pleasing of a lute' (*Richard III*, Act I, sc. i, 12/13).

[3] Peter Warlock's *The English Ayre* (London, 1926; repr. Westport, CT, 1970) is the early classic study. See also Ian Spink, *English Song. Dowland to Purcell* (New York, 1974). For studies of individual composers see Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, 2nd edn (London, 1982); John Duffy, *The Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger, 1575–1628* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1980); Erik S. Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion and the Two Daniels* (Kirksville, MO, 1993).

[4] On the relationship of the two arts, see Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London, 1948; repr. 1970); Gretchen L. Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature, 1580–1650* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1962); Elise B. Jorgens, *the Well-Tun'd Word, Musical Interpretations of English Poetry 1597–1651* (Minneapolis, MN, 1982); Louise Schliener, *The Living Lyre in English Verse* (Columbia, MO, 1984); Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and its Music* (Oxford, 1986); Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston, MA, 1986).

Table 1 The books of ayres (lute-songs) published in England, 1596–1632

Composer	Date	Short title	Printer (all London)	No. of songs (poems set)	Female-persona songs	ELS reprint no.	Editor
Attey, John	1622	*The First Book of Ayres*	Thomas Snodham	14	I, IV	vol. 1, no. 2	David Greer
Barley, William	1596	*A New Book of Tablature*	William Barley	prints 7, sets 2			
Bartlet, John	1606	*A Book of Ayres*	John Windet	21 (18)	II, IX	vol. 1, no. 3	David Greer
Campion, Thomas	*c.* 1613	*Two Books of Ayres*					
		(a) *Divine and moral songs*	Thomas Snodham	21		vol. 2, no. 4	David Greer
		(b) *Light conceits of lovers*		21	IX, XIV,XV, XIX		
Campion, Thomas	*c.* 1618	*Third* (a) *and Fourth* (b) *Book of Ayres*	Thomas Snodham			vol. 2, no. 5	David Greer
		(a)		29	I, IV, XVI, XXVII, XXVIII		
		(b)		24	IX, XIII, XVIII, XXIV		
Cavendish, Michael	1598	*14 Ayres in Tablature*	Peter Short	28 (24)		vol. 5, no. 8	David Greer
Giovanni Coprario	1606	*Funeral Tears*	John Windet	7	I–VII	vol. 3, no. 9	David Greer
Giovanni Coprario	1613	*Songs of Mourning*	John Browne	7		vol. 3, no. 10	David Greer
Corkine, William	1610	*Ayres*	W. Stansby	12	V, XI	vol. 3, no. 11	David Greer
Corkine, William	1612	*The Second Book of Ayres*	M. L., I. B.	18 (19)		vol. 3, no. 12	David Greer
Danyel, John	1606	*Songs for the Lute, Viol and Voice*	Thomas Este for Thomas Adams	20 (16)	I, IX–XI, XIX	vol. 3, no. 13	David Greer
Dowland, John	1597	*The First Book of Songs*	Peter Short	21		vol. 4, no. 14	Diana Poulton
Dowland, John	1600	*The Second Book of Songs*	Thomas Este	22 (20)		vol. 4, no. 16	Diana Poulton
Dowland, John	1603	*The Third and Last Book of Songs*	Peter Short for Thomas Adams	21	XIV	vol. 4, no. 17	Diana Poulton
Dowland, John	1612	*A Pilgrim's Solace*	for M. L., J. B. & T. S.	21 (19)		vol. 4, no. 18	Diana Poulton
Dowland, Robert	1610	*A Musical Banquet*	for Thomas Adams			vol. 4, no. 19	Diana Poulton
Ferrabosco, Alfonso	1609	*Ayres*	Thomas Snodham	28 (24)	XXVI, XXVIII	vol. 5, no. 20	David Greer
Ford, Thomas	1607	*Music of Sundry Kinds*	John Windet	11	XI	vol. 5, no. 21	David Greer
Greaves, Thomas	1604	*Songs of Sundry Kinds*	John Windet	21 (16)	V–VI	vol. 5, no. 22	David Greer
Handford, George	1609	Ayres	unpublished .	19	III, XVI, XIX, XX	vol. 5, no. 32	David Greer
Hume, Tobias	1605	*The First Part of Ayres (Musical Humours)*	John Windet	5		vol. 6, no. 24	Frank Traficante
Hume, Tobias	1607	*Captain Hume's Poetical Music*	John Windet	3		vol. 6, no. 25	Frank Traficante
Jones, Robert	1600	*The First Book of Songs*	Peter Short	21		vol. 7, no. 26	David Greer
Jones, Robert	1601	*The Second Book of Songs*	Peter Short for Mathew Selman	21		vol. 7, no. 27	David Greer
Jones, Robert	1605	*Ultimum Vale*	John Windet	21		vol. 7, no. 28	David Greer
Jones, Robert	1609	*A Musical Dream*	John Windet	21	II, V, VII, VIII, X, XIII	vol. 7, no. 29	David Greer
Jones, Robert	1610	*The Muses Garden for Delights*	the assigns of William Barley	21	XIV, XV	vol. 7, no. 30	David Greer
Mason, George and Earsden, John	1618	*The Ayres Sung and Played at Brougham Castle*	Thomas Snodham	10		vol. 8, no. 31	David Greer
Maynard, John	1611	*The XII Wonders of the World*	Thomas Snodham	12	X, XI, XII	vol. 8, no. 32	Ian Harwood
Morley, Thomas	1600	*The First Book of Ayres*	William Barley	18 (16)	VII	vol. 8, no. 33	David Greer
Pilkington, Francis	1605	*The First Book of Songs*	Thomas Este	21	XVI	vol. 9, no. 34	David Greer
Porter, Walter	1632	*Madrigals and Ayres*	William Stansby	28	XXII, XXIV	vol. 9, no. 35	David Greer
Rosseter, Philip	1601	*A Book of Ayres*	Peter Short			vol. 9 no 36	David Greer
		Part I by Thomas Campion		21 (20)	V		
		Part II by Philip Rosseter		21			

is relevant also to rhetoric, the performance arts, patronage, class, gender, philosophy, and religion in the period, and recent studies have begun to open up some of these areas.[5] My concern in this paper is with one aspect of the cultural place of the songbooks in the transmission and reception of lyric poetry, the role of the ayres in the lives of women.

The books of ayres transmit fantasies of women much in the same way as the stage of the time, constructing them as objects of desire and disturbance. The stage presents boys and men as women; the songbooks offer, among the lovesongs and religious songs, lyrics written in the female voice for boys and men to sing. The majority are solo complaints, defences, and replies to courtship, but there are also dialogue songs, usually between pastoral lovers. Male users of the songbooks are thus offered alternative voices to read, hear or perform with their own voice – they can imitate the lover and imitate the female. I hope to elucidate the implications of these constructed female speakers for women as readers and audience of the songbooks. Uncertainties of social transmission and context cluster round the study, and I propose to look at one of these, the likelihood of women singing the ayres, or reading them (a possibility dependent upon the role of the songbooks as reading material), before turning to the female-persona ayres of William Corkine, John Danyel, Thomas Campion, and Robert Jones in order to clarify both the kinds of female voices offered and how their reception is controlled by the songbooks that contain them.

The published books of ayres are in folio format, expensive and visually rich productions, and must have been objects of sensual pleasure for those who bought them.[6] They offered a socially recognized entry into a world of sentiment and fancy, rather similar to that offered by the reading of Elizabethan romances. Ayres, with their sensuous music and erotic lyrics, represent a world of desire, and do so in part by including representations of female voices. In order to contain this pleasure-world within safe limits, the songbooks rely to a degree on the widespread acceptance of singing as a polite accomplishment, but also disarm suspicion by foregrounding the technical aspects of music in their titles and prefaces, often expressing professional authority or rivalry in addressing practitioners of the art of music, or making reference to approved notions of the affective power of music. Many prefaces offer to contain the songs within the outward show of Renaissance musical theory with its inherited Neoplatonic idealism and abstract topoi of harmonies and spiritual movement,[7] while in contrast the ayres themselves connect with

[5] Robin Headlam Wells, *Elizabethan Mythologies: Studies in Poetry, Drama and Music* (Cambridge, 1994); Daniel Fischlin, *In Small Proportions. A Poetics of the English Ayre 1596–1622* (Detroit, MI, 1998).

[6] Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs* of 1600 sold for four shillings and sixpence: less than some volumes of poetry, and about the average price a great household paid for a book, but more than the general public could afford. David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1981), 184.

[7] On Neoplatonism in musical theory, see S. K. Heninger Jr, *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, CA, 1974) and John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (New York, 1970), and on the lute-ayres specifically, Robin Headlam Wells, 'The ladder of love: verbal and musical rhetoric in the Elizabethan lute-song', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 173–89.

more immediate gender politics. The composer Robert Jones provides a clear example of this, publishing songs which celebrate 'comic' rape in a volume prefaced by this orthodox advertisement: 'Musicall meditations, the only wing of true courage, being the most pleasing voice of man, whose sweetenes reacheth unto heaven it selfe.'[8] This most 'fantasticall' composer openly exploits the underlying impulses of song and songbook towards, in his own words, dream, extravagant humour, and fantasy:

> . . . where Somnus having taken possession of my eyes, and Morpheus the charge of my senses; it happened mee to fall into a Musical dreame, wherein I chanced to have many opinions and extravagant humors of divers natures and Conditions, some of modest mirth, some of amorous Love, and some of most divine contemplation; all these, I hope, shall not give distaste to the eares, or dislike to the mind, eyether in their words, or in their severall sounds, although it is not necessarie to relate or divulge all Dreames or Phantasies that Opinion begets in sleepe, or happeneth in the mindes apparition. (*A Musicall Dreame*, 1609)

> Deare friends, for so I call you, if you please to accept my good meaning, I presented you last with a Dreame, in which I doubt not, but your fantasies have received some measurable contentment, and now if you please to bee awaked out of that Dreame, I shall for your recreation and refreshing, guide you to the Muses Garden, where you shall find such varietie of delights, that questionlesse you will willingly spend some time in the view thereof. In your first entrance into which Gardin, you shall meete with Love, Love, and nought but Love, set foorth at large in his colours, by way of decyphering him in his nature. (*The Muses Gardin for Delights*, 1610)

Linda Austern has demonstrated the degree to which music-making was viewed as potentially erotic, with contemporary moral and behavioural treatises pointing to the misuse of music as an incitement to sensuality, particularly when combined with female attraction (a combination realized by the idea of women singing to men).[9] This perception of moral danger encouraged the gendering of practical music amongst amateurs as a competitive social accomplishment for men, but a solitary recreation for women. The distinction is observed in the drama of the time, which shows women singing alone or with their maids in their private chamber. The convention is marked enough to make its rupture by Ophelia's singing snatches of song to Claudius and his court a sure sign of madness. It is also made clear by the exclusive male address of music manuals aimed at the amateur musical

[8] Robert Jones, *A Musicall Dreame* (1609). All prefatory material and facsimile text has been taken from *English Lute Songs 1597–1632. A Collection of Facsimile Texts*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld (9 vols, Menston, 1971), hereafter *ELS*. The chart appended to this essay supplies editorial details of individual songbooks in this collection.

[9] Linda P. Austern, '"Sing Againe Syren": the female musician and sexual enchantment in Elizabethan life and literature', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42/3 (1989), 420–48. See also her 'Love, death and music in the English Renaissance', in K. R. Bartlett, K. Eisenbichler, and J. Liedl (eds), *Love and Death in the Renaissance* (Ottowa, 1991).

market.[10] Nicholas Yonge's introduction to *Musica Transalpina* (a collection of imported madrigals) sets the social tone:

> Right honourable, since I first began to keepe house in this Citie, it hath beene no small comfort unto mee, that a great number of gentlemen and Merchants of good accompt (as well of this realme as of forreine nations) have taken in good part such entertainment of pleasure, as my poore abilitie was able to affoord them, both by the exercise of Musicke daily used in my house and by furnishing them with Bookes of that kinde yeerely sent me out of Italy and other places.[11]

The rapid development of this market reflects the growing aspiration of the middle-class male to write 'gentleman' after his name (as the composers of the books of ayres themselves take every opportunity to do), and the compilers of instruction books for singing the latest music and playing fashionable instruments aim straight at young men's need to acquit themselves well in society, as illustrated by Thomas Morley's portrait of the inept gentleman embarrassed by his inability to join in the madrigal when 'supper being ended, and Musicke bookes, according to the custome being brought to the table: the mistresse of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing.' From the perspective of women's participation there is no difference between Morley's scenario and Holyband's description of an English family sitting down to part-singing twenty-five years earlier:

> *(Katherine fetches the songs)*
>
> FATHER: Behold, ther bee faire songes at fouer partes.
>
> ROLAND: Who shall sing with me?
>
> FATHER: You shall have companie enough: David shall make the base: John the tenor. and James the treble. Begine: James, take your tune: go to: for what do you tarie?[12]

The same musicians who wrote the ayres and the instruction books were often employed as tutors to young ladies of great households, but nothing of this is reflected in commercially printed material. That girls were taught to play and sing, but then implicitly restricted by social codes in what and when they sang would not surprise any student of the mores of the period. There is no evidence to support the assumption that women sang lovesongs in social gatherings, either at home or at court. Early studies such as Bruce Pattison's *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* arrive at a position of

[10] Printed in English, in London: John Case, *The Praise of Musicke* (1586); William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* (*c.* 1587); William Barley, *A Newe Booke of Tabliture* and *The Pathway to Musick*, both 1596 and both plagiarized; Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597); Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603); John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus, His Micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing* (1609); Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe and Short Instruction to the Art of Musicke* (1631).

[11] Nicholas Yonge, *Musica Transalpina* (1588), quoted in Pattison, *Music and Poetry*, 7–8.

[12] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597, ed. A. R. Harman (London, 1952); C. Holyband, *The French Schoole-maister* (1573), in M. St Clare Byrne, *The Elizabethan Home* (London, 1930), 51.

generous inclusivity in social music-making by eliding class and gender, taking royalty as representative, and mistaking literary convention for life. On the subject of court life, much is made of Elizabeth I's playing of lute and virginals and singing, but she made her position clear to John Melville, the Scottish ambassador who overheard her playing on the virginals when he visited the court in 1564: 'But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alleging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy'.[13] (Which is not to say that she did not arrange to be overheard on this and other politically useful occasions.) It is within this gendering of amateur musical performance overall that we need to consider the likelihood of women singing ayres.

Lute-songs, whether performed as solos or as partsongs, transmit an explicitly personal, albeit conventional and fictional, passion. Whereas the madrigal was predominantly a social activity, the lute-song is also a message. If taking part even in the less intense communication of the madrigal was conceived as a largely masculine occupation, the more intimate and affective lute-song would hardly be considered appropriate for women. It is unlikely that late Elizabethan and Jacobean society would sanction the social or public delivery of a song such as Campion's 'Fire! Fire! Fire! Fire! / Lo here I burn in such desire' by respectable wives and daughters. Pattison, indeed, offers strong evidence that the preferred high voice was the boy treble, and that such servants were much in demand for family music-making.[14] If women did sing ayres to, or with, mixed company it is likely that they would have been schooled to choose the religious or moral songs found in most collections. The inclusion of religious song, particularly at the time of the rise of Puritan influence on family habits, must have opened up a wider commercial market, and may have provided many women with their most usual access to the songbooks. Apart from this, and the possibility of closet practice among women, the books of ayres, and certainly the explicit and sometimes bawdy female-persona songs, can be read as a largely male-to-male transaction. We are seeing a source of male amusement – brothers, guests, young men in music lessons singing these female-voice songs much as the same young men would play women's parts in school plays.

The presentation of the books of ayres in fact directs them to a predominantly male, educated, urban readership. Of thirty-three publications, eighteen have a prefacing letter 'To the Reader', of which four begin 'Gentlemen', whilst two more address themselves to or refer to a gentleman reader in the course of the letter. Others speak in terms that assume a man's social world, behaviour or education. The composers, swapping commendations between themselves and their European counterparts, educated, widely travelled, manoeuvring for positions at court, sometimes soldiers and spies in

[13] Roy Strong and Julia T. Oman, *Elizabeth R.* (London, 1971), 28.
[14] Pattison, *Music and Poetry*, 11.

passing, present themselves in these volumes as epitomes of the gendering of the Jacobean male. In fact, the arguments between John Dowland and Tobias Hume about the strengths of the two competing accompanying instruments, lute and viol, carry the markers of an honour quarrel.[15] Campion directs the second of his double volume of 1618 to Monson's son in words which emphasize the homosocial nature of this world of music:

> Love is the fruit of Vertue, for whose sake
> Men onely liking each to other take.
> If sparkes of vertue shin'd not in you then,
> So well how could you winne the hearts of men?
> . . .
> And so my love betwixt you both I part,
> On each side placing you as neare my heart.[16]

It is for and in this world that the composers select, write or set women, as patrons and audience in their prefaces, as fantasized bodies and voices in their songs. On the question of women's reception of the songbooks as readers, hearers, and patrons of music, it should be noted that of the ten songbooks dedicated to female patrons, only two refer remotely to the possibility of practice: Michael Cavendish to Arabella Stuart in 1598 suggests she 'may (if it please you) make use of them at your idlest houres':[17] whilst the other is John Danyel to Anne Grene, a situation explored later in this essay. Other songbooks refer to their ladies as patrons and protectors of the musicians. Only Giovanni Coprario, in a dedication to Penelope Devereux in 1606, refers to her singing the ayres, which he sets as expressions of her mourning for Charles Blount, and this is part of an imaginative structure intended to defend Blount's reputation against sexual slander. No other material in these elaborate publications refers to women or women's recreation.

Yet if women did not sing these ayres, they were nevertheless audience to them, say at court entertainments, or when directing hospitality in their own home, and the books of ayres, as texts and scripts, must have offered occasion for fraught social encounters with, or with oblique effect upon, women who might, in this context of social play, become aligned with the 'she' constructed as object or speaker of the songs. It is most likely that women were private readers of the texts too. Printed poetry in lavish format was not likely to be neglected by women who could read and who enjoyed reading poems simply because it had the words 'Songs to the Lute, Voice and Viol' printed on the front. The matter of the songbooks as reading texts, anthologies of poetry as well as music, is important in the assessment of women's response

[15] 'Worthy gentlemen . . . dare not oppose himself face to face against me . . . disparagement . . . brave words . . . imputations . . . ought not to pass unanswered . . . averre before our own faces . . . for the Honor therefore and generall benefit of our Countrie', John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612), 'To The Reader'.

[16] Thomas Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (1618), 'To My Worthy Friend, Mr. John Monson'.

[17] Michael Cavendish, *Ayres made by severall Authors* (1598), 'To the Honourable protection of the Ladie Arbella'.

to the ayres and to our understanding of why and how the composers compiled their songbooks as they did. The verse dedication of the religious section of Campion's 1613 volume explicitly offers the reading option:

> These leaves I offer you, Devotion might
> Her selfe lay open, reade them, or else heare
> How gravely with their tunes they yeeld delight
> To any vertuous, and not curious eare.[18]

and Campion, literary theorist, masque writer, Latinist, inevitably offers the most intense literary focus of the composers of lute-song. There was a wide variety of practice in the presentation of the song texts, suggesting that the option of using the songbooks as reading anthologies was dependent upon the literary awareness of the composer. Campion's songbooks of 1613 print, metrically, the whole of stanzaic lyrics below the set first verse, as does John Danyel's one songbook and both of Coprario's volumes of mourning songs. Campion's, Coprario's, and Danyel's volumes are entirely verse productions, containing lengthy and serious poems quite separate from the songs themselves. Songbooks by Corkine and Mason & Earsden set out complete texts of some, but not all, stanzaic lyrics; those by Greaves and Cavendish print a number of the lyrics separately at the end of the book. These strategies overcome for readers the problem of the repetition and adaptation necessitated by musical setting. Others, less aware of readers, offer the rest of the verses of stanzaic lyric metrically under the set verse, but do not reprint the text of through-composed songs. Even in these songbooks, the printed format of the lyrics offers no more barriers to reading than do the manuscript collections of the time, if slightly more than the printed anthologies. Thus there are no grounds for excluding the books of ayres from discussion of the world of readership in the early seventeenth century. They offered an eclectic collection of contemporary lyric poems, and were probably bought by the same class of readers who bought books of sonnets and playtexts. Their female 'dramatis personae' take their place in the web of messages that results from these rich texts of twenty-one or so different poems set in the highly affective and intensely charged mode of lute-song.

The claim that the songbooks do offer a 'web of messages' receives some support from the fact that to readers the books of ayres often suggest sequence or thematic structure, either by repetition and variation, or by the way that songs appear to answer one another. We may be seeing no more (or less) than that in a good songbook there are reasons why one song is chosen to follow another. Connections between one text and another arise from the meeting of the arranging consciousness and the reader's perceptions, a meeting mediated by the shared language and conventions of the poems themselves. This thematic or dialogic continuity (a kind of dramatic or performative life

[18] Thomas Campion, *Two bookes of Ayres* (1613), 'To The Right Honourable . . . Francis, Earle of Cumberland'.

in the best songbooks) generates cultural meaning, an overall complexity of suggestion. I propose to look in some detail at this process in the songbooks of William Corkine, John Danyel, Thomas Campion, and Robert Jones, the composers who make most use of the female persona.

William Corkine's strategies offer a useful introduction. He is intermittently conscious of the needs of readers, printing eight of the twelve lyrics in his songbook of 1610 in metrical form under the set version, and giving the whole lyric where space permits. However, no. V, listed in the table of contents as 'Sweet sweet let me goe' is through-composed, and it is left to the editors of *English Madrigal Verse* to print the lyric thus:

> Sweet, let me go! Sweet, let me go!
> What do you mean to vex me so?
> Cease, cease, cease your pleading force.
> Do you think thus to extort remorse?
> Now no more; alas, you over bear me;
> And I would cry, but some would hear, I fear me. (*EMV*, 436)[19]

This degree of editorial intervention rather under-represents the comic impact of this little song, which is set by Corkine and experienced in performance as:

> Sweet sweet sweet, let me go, sweet sweet sweet sweet let me goe, let me goe, What doe you meane to vexe me soe, What doe you meane to vexe me so, cease, cease, cease, Your pleading force, doe you thinke thus, To extort remorce, now, now, now, now, now no more, now no more, alas you over beare me, And I would crie, And I would crie, And I would crie [prolonged orgasmic shriek] But some would heare I fear mee.[20]

Corkine is not the only songwriter to use the female-persona song to create sexual comedy: the treble voice and the fast moving lute accompaniment frequently parody woman's voice and desire. The exponent in 'I pray thee, sweet John, away!' (Greaves, 1604, V–VI, *EMV*, 528) enacts the 'struggle' between seducer and seductee in petulant speech for two through-composed stanzas.

Later in his songbook of 1610, Corkine sets a version of Campion's female-persona poem 'Think'st thou to seduce me then with words which have no meaning?', which Campion himself did not publish until 1618. For Campion's third and fourth stanzas Corkine substitutes just one quite different stanza, which transforms the female speaker. Corkine's maiden mocks her suitor for his unsophisticated wooing and exposes the game of

[19] My quotations from the lyrics are from the modernized texts of Edmund H. Fellowes's *English Madrigal Verse 1588–1632*, rev. Frank W. Sternfeld and David Greer (London, 1967), hereafter *EMV*. The lyrics of the ayres are also available in Edward Doughtie's *Lyrics from English Airs 1596–1622* (Cambridge, MA, 1970), which has an excellent introduction and notes.

[20] William Corkine, *Ayres, to Sing And Play to the Lute and Basse Violl* (1610).

courtship from the perspective of both her need of (his) art of feigning to excuse her falling, and his incompetence in that art:

> If with wit we be deceived, our falls may be excused,
> Seeming good with flattery graced is but of few refused.
> But of all accursed are they that are by fools abused. (*EMV*, 438)

Corkine's speaker thus offers to speak for women, with her 'we' and 'our', in her desire to 'fall', and the need to be deceived, her only inhibition being fear of ridicule. Campion's maiden of his 1618 version is not enrolled in this fantasy: she uses her wit to reject the same unsophisticated suitor, but concludes by appealing to common humanity with a direct address relevant to her particular situation – who would not laugh at such a fellow?

> Ruth, forgive me if I erred from human heart's compassion
> When I laughed sometimes too much to see thy foolish fashion.
> But, alas, who less could do, that found so good occasion? (*EMV*, 415)

We may guess at Campion's insightful perception, less misogynist than Corkine's stereotypical woman speaker (sexually willing while demanding a cover story in order to maintain the pretence of virtue), but we need to recognize the possibility that Campion wrote both texts. The style of the lines set by Corkine strongly suggest Campion. The variants could spring from the author's own rewriting or from both composers' adaptations as their songbooks shape and are shaped by the cumulative effect of one songtext on another. Corkine's two female speakers share the art of specious virtue, whereas the voice of Campion's 'Thinkst thou to seduce me then' shares the wit and honesty of some of his other female speakers in the 1618 songbooks.

In Corkine's 1610 songbook, his two female speakers are both abusers of truth, and they follow songs in which a male speaker appropriates truth and superior awareness. The male speaker of his second song, 'Some can flatter, some can feign' (again a version of one of Campion's)[21] affects ingenuousness – 'Simple truth shall plead for me' – and arrives at persuasion through indirection, affecting to place truth above beauty – 'Truth is even as fair as she' – and thus denying the desirous nature of 'plead' – his 'truth' should rank above other suitors' 'flattery' regardless of the fact that their ends are the same, her 'beauty' with which he wishes to 'close' on 'even terms'. The traditional gendering of 'virtues' is neatly done: he claims truth, strength, and faith, crediting her with beauty and youth, but both have, of course, love. Corkine's third song concludes:

> Easily as the day from night,
> May woman's eyes discover,
> If they frame their minds aright,
> From the false the true lover. (*EMV*, 435)

[21] Campion 1618b, XII, 'Dear, if I with guile would gild a true intent' (*EMV*, 412).

Thus, in a consecutive experience of Corkine's 1610 songbook, women speakers emerge as desirous and unreliable creatures, owning no truth, his male speakers as authoritative, if manipulative, setters of the standards of truth.

Corkine is not the only composer of ayres to set variants of Campion's lyrics: so do Jones, Alison, the younger Ferrabosco, and John Dowland. Rosseter complains of such practices on his friend Campion's behalf,[22] but the lutenist composers, like compilers of manuscript collections, are not interested in authorized or authored texts, indeed they add to the usual processes of manuscript transmission the specifically musical reasons for textual change. Campion himself reworks and parodies his own songs from one publication to another, and many of the books of ayres contain at least one version of a poem found in another songbook. The situation is similar to that of manuscript collections, but the two forms of transmission differ in that the overall control by the composer over his book and the commercial drive of publication give more coherence than that of a personal or family anthology compiled over a long period of time and passed from hand to hand. The songbooks are trading posts for lyrics, and in the trading process their female personae are remodelled to fit the cumulative sexual codes of each songbook, with the context (which includes the style of poetry and music, the title, and preface) controlling to a degree both the textual variant chosen and how the song can be received.

A clear demonstration of how this 'packaging' of a whole volume affects the reception of individual song texts is provided by John Danyel in his only published volume of lute-song.

The title page has 'Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice: Composed by I. Danyel, Batchelar in Musicke. 1606. To Mrs Anne Grene.' The first page contains a verse dedication 'To Mrs Anne Grene the worthy Daughter to Sr William Grene of Milton, Knight' over the printed signature of John Danyel. The table of contents appears at the end, following item XXI, the lute solo 'Mrs *Anne Grene* her leaves bee greene.' These are the first lines of the twenty songs:

I	Coy *Daphne* fled from Phoebus' hot pursuit
II	Thou pretty bird, how do I see
III	He whose desires are still abroad, I see
IV	Like as the lute delights or else dislikes [a setting of a sonnet by Samual Daniel, the composer's brother]
V	Dost thou withdraw thy grace
VI	Why canst thou not, as others do
VII	Stay cruel stay
VIII	Time, cruell Time, canst thou subdue that brow [a setting of a sonnet by Samuel Daniel]

[22] 'made in his vacant houres, and privately emparted to his friends, whereby they grew both publike, and (as coine crackt in exchange) corrupted: some of them both words and notes unrespectively challenged by others', Philip Rosseter, *A Boke of Ayres* (1601).

IX–XI	Griefe keepe within and scorn to show but tears [a sequence setting the three stanzas of one poem]
XII	Let not *Cloris* think because
XIII–XV	Can dolefull notes to measured accents set [a sequence setting two, four, and the final two lines of an eight line stanza]
XVI	Eyes look no more, for what hath all the earth that's worth the sight
XVII	If I could shut the gate against my thoughts
XVIII	I die whenas I do not see
XIX	What delight can they enjoy
XX	Now the earth, the skies, the air

Like Campion, Danyel's life had a strong literary focus, thanks to his brother and his own work as manager and censor to one of the boys' theatre companies. His volume is important not only for its very high musical quality, but also for its poetic intensity and interesting use of its dedicatee, Anne Grene, and her symbolic voice in the songs. Danyel's use of female personae demonstrates how a composer with a strong literary bias can manipulate conventional lyric topoi and voicing into an original production. For his first song he sets 'Coy Daphne fled from Phoebus' hot pursuit' as assertion and 'Answer'. This song is part of the 'private harmonie' between John Danyel and Anne Grene, who was the daughter of the household in which he lived as either music tutor or friend.[23]

Coy Daphne fled from Phoebus' hot pursuit,
Careless of passion, senseless of remorse.
Whilst he complained his griefs, she rested mute.
He begged her stay, she still kept on her course.
  But what reward she had for this you see,
  She rests transformed, a winter-beaten tree.
  The Answer
Chaste Daphne fled from Phoebus' hot pursuit,
Knowing men's passions idle and of course.
And though he plained, 'twas fit she should be mute,
And honour would she should keep on her course.
  For which fair deed her glory still we see:
  She rests still *Green*; and so wish I to be. (*EMV*, 447)

Danyel's songbook also contains another song of maiden wit: 'What delights can they enjoy' (XIX), which concludes:

[23] Price lists Danyel's verse dedication to Anne Grene as one of fifty-five dedications of books of music published 1588–1632 'implying a special relationship between Patron and Composer'. *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, Appendix C, 218.

And therefore Cloris will not love.
For well I see
How false men be,
And let them pine that lovers prove. (*EMV*, 453)

Cloris is addressed by Song XII: 'Let not Cloris think because / She hath envassalled me', thus further enriching the dialogic texture of a collection which began with a dialogue song. Danyel's songs fit the situation he claims for them in his verse dedication to Anne Grene:

And therefore why had it not been ynow,
That Milton onely heard our melodie?
Where *Baucis* and *Philemon* onely show,
To Gods and men their hospitalitie;
And thereunto a ioyfull eare afford,
In mid'st of their well welcom'd company:
Where wee (as Birds doe to themselves record)
Might entertaine our private harmonie.

It is easy to forget that Danyel's songbook is a commercial publication: the reasoning of his dedication, as he apologises for cashing in on what was private, seems to reveal more than the conventional gestures of disparagement by publication. The lyrics of Danyel's songbook are chaste, witty, and sometimes philosophically serious, registering his relationship with the household, where he was either professional music teacher (and so servant) or friend. He brings his volume to a close with the intense, meditative lute solo *Mrs Anne Grene her leaves bee greene*. Anne Grene is the only dedicatee of a book of ayres to be named on the title page.

The songbook thus sets up the expectation that the female voice represented in the songs is modelled on Anne Grene, and that all the songs could be sung to, or by, Anne herself. Nothing in the book could offend, given such a presumption, whereas the majority of female-persona songs play on roles and sexual codes which would offend if ostensibly connected with a particular lady in this way.

Danyel also sets 'Grief, keep within, and scorn to show but tears' (*EMV*, 449), a mourning song in three through-composed stanzas. The words 'Mrs M.E. her funeral tears for the death of her husband' appear at the head of the sequence. Danyel's initialled lady is unidentifiable, but the heading, comprising dedication and description, suggests an actual patron or friend, and in voicing her mourning Danyel is fulfilling the responsibility of poets and musicians to ventriloquize women's grief. A useful parallel to this sequence of mourning songs by Danyel is provided by Coprario's volume *Funeral Teares*, where the songs are presented as if sung by Penelope Devereux expressing her grief for Charles Blount.[24] Both sets of songs invite performers to impersonate a woman mourning (in Coperario's case, a celebrated court

[24] Giovanni Coprario's *Funeral Teares* (1606).

figure), though such a description would scarcely be recognized by the composers, who perhaps saw themselves as working within the musico-humanist tradition of finding appropriate expression for human grief. Women could not formally appear in society singing, or even speaking their love and grief, and male poets and musicians appropriated their voices and filled out their silence in a way that satisfied the ideological need of Jacobean patriarchy to contain women within the sphere of the erotic. In Danyel's song, Mrs M.E.'s passionate grief, powerful enough to will her own destruction, is expressed in terms of Petrarchan lament: her heart is commanded to 'Pine, fret, consume, swell, burst, and die.' This final line suggests that marital grief is being used as a vehicle for the ardour of love complaint. Similarly, the texts offered by Coperario as the laments of Penelope Devereux are those of a passionate lover deprived of her partner, needing the authoritative consolatory voice of the final song to teach her that 'Man is not flesh but soul.'

Danyel's songbook stands out against a literary and musical background in which pert refusers of courtship, doleful abandoned mistresses, sexually voracious wives, and lamenting widows are traditional constructions with lineage reaching back through the 'chansons de femme' of medieval lyric and beyond that to classical (largely Ovidian) precedents. Out of context, unset and unframed, Danyel's three female-persona lyrics could speak in this way, but the care with which he selects all the lyrics to fit a precise emotional context, and his open commitment to the rights of Anne Grene to the songs, mean that the personae participate in a very different strategy. Danyel's songbook is atypical in many ways, chiefly because of this focus on its female dedicatee. The suggestion of a playful musical, perhaps erotic, relationship goes some way towards holding the book together.

The thread is slight, however, and counteracted by the musical format of the collection: the standard format of cantus, lute, and bass viol is held for eighteen songs; the nineteenth, which is the female-persona song 'What delights can they enjoy', is actually set for four voices and lute, and the twentieth for four voices and two lutes. Quite a crowd for their 'private harmonie'. The songbook is cleverly constructed, with lyric, preface, dedication, and finale forming a fictional framework of intimacy which contains the persona of 'Anne Grene', while operating simultaneously as a competitive showcase of Danyel's professional music skills, a showcase in which actual female voices would be unlikely to be heard.

In thus raising the idea of the musician and the daughter of the house addressing these songs to each other, Danyel is not necessarily airing a personal matter. Ordinarily, as I have suggested, respectable ladies would be unlikely to sing love songs in mixed company, and certainly not to servants, if that was what Danyel was. Yet if Danyel was a friend and not a hired tutor, it is equally unlikely that a real relationship would have been aired quite so commercially. Whatever the situation, Danyel's relationship with the Grene family was early in his career (he took his Mus. Bac. in 1604) and he did not stay long with the

Grenes, moving on to serve Edward Seymour, 7th Earl of Hertford, Sir Thomas Thynne of Longleat, Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and Prince Charles.[25] The Grenes were, according to David Scott,[26] a financially unstable *parvenu* family, and the village of Milton Clevedon in Somerset a long way from court or city, so perhaps manners and expectations were more relaxed. The fact that this is a volume of lute-song from a peak year for such publications, published by a careerist with money to make, suggests that it operates as do the others, releasing a fantasy of erotic possibility, one which Danyel has attached to identities, thus suggesting private relationships in order to engage the readership. This would parallel the situation of Philip Sidney and Penelope Devereux and the circulation of the *Astrophil and Stella* sonnets, where the explicit hints at the pair's identity add yet another fold of wit to the fiction. Danyel shares another strategy with Sidney too, in that a main focus in his choice of lyric is music itself and appropriate musical expression of feeling,[27] just as for Sidney in *Astrophil and Stella* it is the writing of sonnets and the appropriate expression of love.

Campion's songbooks, less musically demanding and so perhaps more professional in terms of commercial marketing than Danyel's, weave their many female personae into an even more sensitive and tonally complex erotic texture. He has two polite Petrarchist female-voiced complaints. The first of these, 'Oft have I sighed for him that hears me not' (*EMV*, 393), fulfils the female perspective on Petrarchism very much as Mary Wroth expressed it in her sonnets,[28] with the male lover mobile, fascinating, indifferent, and the female waiting, unheard, 'constant'. The second, 'O love, where are thy shafts?' focuses on an angrier questioning. The speaker here can envisage mutuality:

> O then we both will sit in some unhaunted shade,
> And heal each other's wound, which Love hath justly made. (*EMV*, 412)

but 'justly' is her theme:'be just and strike him too' . . . 'by right I should not thus complain'. Again, her sighs are 'secret' while he wanders 'at large', but her sense of justice prevents her dissolution into the pathos of the languishing female lover.

The double standard implicit in the conventions of wooing is foregrounded in Campion's 'So many loves have I neglected':

> O happy men whose hopes are licensed
> To discourse their passion,
> While women are confined to silence,
> Losing wished occasion.

[25] Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 106, 127, 130.

[26] David Scott, in the *Reviser's Note* to his revision of Fellowes' edition of the songbook (London, 1968.)

[27] IV 'Like as the lute delights, or else dislikes' (*EMV*, 448), IX–XI 'Grief, keep within' (*EMV*, 449), and XIII–XV 'Can doleful notes' (*EMV*, 451).

[28] *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, appended to *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, 1621. *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts (Baton Rouge and London, 1983).

Yet our tongues then theirs, men say,
  Are apter to be moving.
Women are more dumb than they,
  But in their thoughts more roving. (*EMV*, 387)

The final generalization about women picks up authority from the phrase 'men say' attached to the preceding one; the speaker's insight into male slander having been established, her admission to 'roving thoughts' gains credence. From the poem's opening announcement, as a stock figure making a stage entry, this speaker is confined not to the silence and regret she ostensibly complains of, but to the role of warning to non-pliant females: constructed for desire, they must submit to desire. But the poem's ethics are subtle: Campion doesn't take any one standard direction to its conclusion. Her 'error' which she repents is not chastity, but the ambiguous 'coyness' and 'strangeness'. Nor does she pity all male lovers, but 'men that speak in plainness, / Their true hearts devoting.' The poem ends in this tension; it is false chastity she repents, losing 'what it might enjoy,' . . . 'Maids I see are never blest / That strange be but for fashion'. The poem is tactful in that a stock position is opened up with qualifications, as if for modest hearers, but is also manipulative in that a speaker making an explicit claim to be representative explains female virtue as probable hypocrisy, and does so in terms which contain insight into social repression. Campion's packages often unfold in this multi-layered way: here the ambivalence has its source in the strategy of a female speaker making an intelligent but finally ironic 'defence' of women.

Two other complaint lyrics, 'Good men show if you can tell' (*EMV*, 83) and 'My love hath vowed he will forsake me' (*EMV*, 656) present the more conventional lament of seduced and abandoned girls. On the whole, Campion maintains the expected plaintive style, constructing the girls' voices through simple diction and infantilist pathos, but in each poem the language edges into something sharper and less encouraging to a patronizing response from readers and listeners. The word 'simple' is a key to most of his girls' voices: he has two ironic avowals of simplicity: 'Maids are simple some men say' (*EMV*, 394) and 'Young and simple though I am' (*EMV*, 410). Gail Reitenbach, writing on Campion's female-persona poems, has demonstrated the sophistication of these speakers as they turn their simplicity on the male love codes that use them.[29] I here build on her observations, my additional concern being the social, gendered response to the performance of these songs. In 'Good men show if you can tell' the speaker, who begins with an implicit challenge to her audience by such an address – are you good men? – ends with a further challenge to the familiar response to figures like herself:

[29] Gail Reitenbach, '"Maydes are simple, some men say": Campion's female persona poems', in A. M. Haskelhorn and B. S. Travitsky (eds), *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print* (Amherst, MA, 1990), 82–95.

And not one will rue my case,
But rather my distress deride,
That I think there is no place
Where pity ever yet did bide. (*EMV*, 383)

Listeners ready to deride in the manner of superior amused sympathy (the mocking response that signals a collision between sentiment and sophistication) are here faced with their involvement in a pitiless world, where distress caused by 'falsehood with a smooth disguise' (as the sufferer describes her seducer) is cause for amusement. If the singer is a boy treble sending up the feminine role, the effect would be less complex than reading suggests, but sung words linger, and, however slightly and inwardly, reclaim and re-enact the performance. The range of response is wide, as always to a good song made of a disturbing lyric. In such cases, musical appreciation and the aesthetic responses of educated audiences and performers can operate as a rationalization or evasion of the cultural impact of textual reference.

In marked contrast to these Petrarchist voices of complaint, the speaker of Campion's 'A Secret Love or Two I must confesse' (*EMV*, 389) inhabits an Ovidian world. She confesses and justifies a naturalist, amoral sexuality: aggressive and witty, her insatiable appetite enacts the transgressive nature of the male fantasy that thus writes her nature. She is strongly reminiscent of the Wife of Bath,[50] but less ambiguously poised between insight and exploitation. Campion's Wife is an older version of another of his female personae, the girl speaker of 'Fain would I wed a fair young man, that day and night could please me' (*EMV*, 419). This lyric again uses the ploy of 'men say'. Here it appears as: 'Maids are full of longing thoughts that breed a bloodless sickness. / And that, oft I hear men say, is only cured by quickness.' These amoral voices, the maid-who-would-not-be and the wife-to-many are set in rapid triple time songs, whereas the Petrarchist complaints receive softer, more spacious treatment: this is the musician's decorum, arbitrating between the bawdy and sentimental lyric. Even within the license of comic song, the wife of 'A Secret Love' and the desiring girl of 'Fain would I wed' may have evoked ironic consciousness of whose desires see and celebrate women thus, in a society which denied or controlled women's speech and desire.

Poised between the Petrarchist and Ovidian modes, Campion's speakers of witty reply and challenge make up the most remarkable group of female-persona poems in Jacobean lyric. Gail Reitenbach's claim for these poems – that their 'witty yet subversive' inversion of convention, their 'exposure of sexual double standard' suggests a desire on Campion's part to 'bring the conventions of Renaissance love poetry and the experience of love in Renaissance society into closer balance'[51] – is attractive, but such a desire would be proto-feminist, and does not quite fit with this evasive poet who combined

[50] See my paper 'In the person of womankind: female persona poems by Campion, Donne, Jonson', *Studies in Philology*, XCVII/2 (Spring 2001), 225–50.

[51] Reitenbach, '"Maydes are simple, some men say"', 92.

Chaucerian influence with classical detachment. Her description is, however, most closely fulfilled by four poems in particular: 'Thinkst thou to seduce me then' (*EMV*, 415), 'So quick, so hot, so mad is thy fond suit'(*EMV*, 406), 'Never love unless you can' (*EMV*, 405), and 'If thou longst so much to learn (sweet boy)' (*EMV*, 400).

The first two speakers of this group, by virtue of wit and dramatic life, stand in their genre as Shakespeare's Rosalind and Viola do in romantic comedy. The speaker of 'So quick, so hot, so mad' patiently explains that if 'she' is as 'he' has constructed her in his conventional poetic discourse, meeting of any kind is impossible. 'If thou longst so much to learn' is more aggressively educative: this is Rosalind as Ganymede, and the direction of satire is equally shifting. Love, the speaker claims, is waking dream followed by betrayal, and she firmly foregrounds herself as embodying all that is to be learnt ('Do but fix thy thoughts on me'). The question of whose love convention this is may or may not be apparent in the poem. Performance would point it, as it does for the Rosalind/Ganymede role: 'Fix thy thought on me', but who, in cross-dressed voice, am I?

'Never love unless you can / Bear with all the faults of man' leads to an apologia for male unreliability. As all courtship is feigning, men may be true, despite appearance. Male and female activity is equally trivialized in this ambiguous poem: men hunt and hawk, women want to sit and talk. This is only recognizably a female-persona poem by its reference to men as 'they' and by the tone of belittlement, as of an older woman advising a younger: men 'hang the head as discontent / And speak what straight they will repent.' The ambiguous address of this speaker implicates all readers in its ironies. In these poems Campion places the conventions that construct the traditional female objects of love poetry in the light of reductive satire by the expedient of giving them a literal reply, thus distracting the hearer from recognizing them as male constructs. This 'realism' rightly impresses most readers of Campion, but a combination of the literary influences of Ovid and Catullus and effective readings in Chaucer (where he would hear counterparts of these female voices) does not make him a social radical.

It is worth looking at the sequential experience of Campion's songbooks.[32] His 1618a songbook opens with the female complaint 'Oft have I sighed', moves to male complaint in the second song, and returns to female speech with the third, 'Young and simple though I am.' The first nine lyrics are all informed by Petrarchist love, energized by direct address and narrative suggestion. At X comes generalized misogyny: 'If Love loves Truth, then women do not love', in which women are likened to foxes, their nature deception rather than desire, but as in some of Donne's lyrics, the final illumination in this poem is not of women's nature but of male paradox: 'Yet do we rather wish, whate'er befall, / To have fair women false than none at all.' Two songs later comes a praise of good women as the best possession, the only 'good' of

[32] On sequence in Campion's songbooks, see David Lindley, *Thomas Campion* (Leiden, 1986), 8–25.

men. The female reply to courtship, 'So quick, so hot, so mad' is the penultimate lyric – the songbook ends with a closed narrative: 'But she is changed, and I am free. / Faith failing her, love died in me.' So the songbook builds both multiplicity of voices and continuity, variously open to the demands of the user. The conventions, stock figures, and situations of Renaissance love poetry are in each lyric used and transformed by a complex response, a proliferating analysis resulting in paradox and qualification. The combination of this mode and the published direction of the ayres to the 'worthy gentlemen' skilled in the arts of music and seduction, suggests that the world which these female personae variously challenge and reinforce is the same homosocial world of wit that received Donne's erotic lyrics. Campion's song-lyrics are poised between the reductive sexual constructions that operate in a competitive homosocial culture, and the sympathetic and unorthodox insight that the wit of that same culture produces when conflicting energies are brought into play. His songbooks employ the reader in the same ambiguous responses and alignments of gender loyalties as do the few female-persona poems in Donne's *Songs and Sonets.*[33]

In fact, Donne's first published poem appeared in a songbook, as did Philip Sidney's.[34] Songbooks were an acceptable and rather immediate form of publication for single poems. That another man should take and set a poem in circulation could have offered an attractively innocent release from any social inhibition surrounding publication of 'trifles'. More importantly, the performative nature of Ovidian lyrics with their dramatic speakers, male and female, also makes them into 'songs'. It is not a random group of Donne's lyrics that appeared in one manuscript as 'Songs which were made to certaine Aires that were made before'.[35] They are:

The Message, 'Send home my long strayed eyes to me'
Song, 'Sweetest love I do not go'
The Bait, 'Come live with me and be my love'
Song, 'Go and catch a falling star'
Communitie, 'Good we must love and must hate ill'
Confined Love, 'Some man unworthy to be possessor'

This group does not contain either of the published settings. It does, however, contain the female-persona poem *Confined Love.* That, and Corkine's setting of another (*Break of Day*) strongly links the female-persona mode with performed song. The group also contains two of Donne's most Ovidian, misogynist lyrics: *Communitie* and 'Go and catch a falling star.' Campion and

[33] *Confined Love, Break of Day, Sappho to Philaenas.* On this topic see David Blair, 'Inferring gender in Donne's *Songs and Sonets*', *Essays in Criticism*, XLV/3 (1995), 230–249.

[34] Sidney's 'O you that hear this voice' in William Byrd's 1588 volume of partsongs, and Donne's *The Expiration* ('So, so breake off') in Ferrabosco 1609, one of the two lyrics by Donne to be published in his lifetime; the other is *Break of Day* ('Tis true, 'tis day') in Corkine 1612.

[35] Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and its Music*, 146–9 and *John Donne. The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1965), Appendix B, 'Musical Settings of Donne's Poems'.

Donne's female personae find their natural place as performers in song and song-lyric, as do the provocative male Ovidian voices they write.

Far removed from the tradition of learned wit we associate with the Inns of Court men, the songwriter Robert Jones sets lyrics chosen from a stock of coarser conventions, those of earthy pastoral: the Phyllises and Chloes that Donne and Campion would have nothing to do with. Jones' strength as a songwriter (apart from musical considerations) arises from the energy of these popular traditions. He aims his work at a wide market, without social discriminations or ethical disclaimers, and uses the familiar medieval topoi of dream and garden to enclose an amoral space for the reception of his songs. (Interestingly, Campion also defends his inclusion of bawdy material by reference to medieval discourse, using the license of *Canterbury Tales* to cover some lyrics in his 1618b songbook.)[36] Jones offers the following programme for his 1610 songbook, *The Muses Gardin for Delights*:

> In your first entrance into which Garden, you shall meete with Love, Love, and nought but Love, set foorth at large in his colours, by way of decyphering him in his nature. In the midst of it, you shall find Love rejected, upon inconstancie and hard measure of ingratitude: Touching them that are Lovers, I leave them to their owne censure in Loves description. And now for the end, it is variable in another maner, for the delight of the eare to satisfie opinion.

The songbook does not carry out this programme very closely, though the third section coyly referred to contains the bawdiest lyrics (I take his phrase 'to satisfy opinion, only for the delight of the ear' to mean that to deflect censure, they are to be received as pleasing musical sound only). Jones, in presenting coherent collections supported by imaginative titles and maintaining a loose thematic and tonal unity, does shape his volumes, but the shaping is much less literary than in Campion or Danyel, in that he chooses simple, non-ironic lyrics, takes no care to present them as readable texts, and shows no consciousness of differences within the potential readership. He is, rather, a songwriter marketing his work in a recognizable way. The male speakers selected by Jones inhabit an aggressively bucolic world:

> Think'st thou, Kate, to put me down
> With a No or with a frown?
> Since love holds my heart in bands,
> I must do as love commands.
>
> Fools are they that fainting flinch
> For a squeak, a scratch, a pinch.

[36] 'But if any squeamish stomackes shall checke at two or three vaine Ditties in the end of this Booke, let them powre off the clearest, and leave these as dregs in the bottome. Howsoever if they be but conferred with the *Canterbury Tales* of that venerable Poet *Chaucer*, they will then appeare toothsome enough.', *The Third and Fourth Book of Ayres. Part Two*, 'To the Reader'.