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Hidden Music in Early Elizabethan Tragedy

In modern times, scholars have widely regarded early Elizabethan tragedy, like Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's Gorboduc *(1561/62) and its successors at the Inns of Court, as verbose and unlyrical. Those criticisms may reflect an incomplete understanding of the original performance tradition, however. Like Senecan tragedies from this period, those plays include act-ending choruses, mostly in pentameter and in various stanza configurations. This study proposes that in the English tragedies, at least, those choruses were very likely sung, most probably to tunes from the emerging repertoire of metrical psalms. These findings would significantly affect the character of such plays and how they are perceived by scholars and audiences alike.*

The early Elizabethan tragedy *Gorboduc* is justly famous. Co-authored in 1561 by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville (later Lord Buckhurst), it is the first extant English play to use non-rhyming iambic pentameter (blank verse), the first English tragedy to be divided into five acts, and the first English play to call for a dumbshow.[1] *Gorboduc* is also famous in terms of plot, as an important forerunner of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.[2] It has been loved less in modern times than in its own. Philip Sidney perceived it as 'full of stately speeches and well sounding Phrases', and also 'full of notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfully teach, and so obtayne the very end of Poesie'.[3] But by the late nineteenth century, George Saintsbury would lament the 'inchoate and unpolished condition of the metre in the choruses', and Vita Sackville-West, a descendent of the co-author, found it 'sometimes noble, and always dull'.[4] I hope to show those negative views to be misguided, arguing that unbeknownst to modern critics music originally ennobled and enlivened the choruses.

What is true for *Gorboduc*, I believe, is also true for other tragedies authored over the following decades by men associated with the Inns of Court. *Jocasta*, *Gismond of Salerne*, *The Glass of Government*, and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* all use

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act-ending choruses that seem to share in the tradition established by *Gorboduc*. Even some plays outside of the Inns of Court circle may partake of the 'musical chorus' tradition. Aspects of casting and stage direction, furthermore, appear to shed unexpected light on the musical presentation of the choruses in these plays. But how is it, first of all, that a pivotal play like *Gorboduc* could have been crucially misunderstood for so long?

Gorboduc and the Tragic Chorus

Gorboduc's format owes much to the model of the Roman author Seneca, whose tragedies were just coming into vogue in England with translations by Jasper Heywood and others, starting in 1559. But neither Senecan tragedy nor this new English prototype are thought to have any vocal music. In fact, *Gorboduc* has a great deal of elaborate instrumental music in the form of act preludes by various string and wind ensembles, possibly from the royal band since the play was given for the queen at Whitehall on 18 January 1562.[5] But vocal music there is none. As Frederick Sternfeld observed: 'Norton's and Sackville's *Gorboduc*, acted before Queen Elizabeth in 1562, was the first formal five-act tragedy in blank verse. It is heavily indebted to the Roman model for there are no songs and the moralizing choruses at the end of the acts are verbal, not musical'.[6] My intention here is to unpack Sternfeld's phrase, 'verbal, not musical', and to explore whether in fact *Gorboduc* — and by extension, other tragedies at the Inns of Court in the years that followed — might have contained singing after all.

From a versification standpoint, Sternfeld is right that the pentameter choruses do not look like songs. So, why use the word 'Chorus' for the act-ending passages in *Gorboduc*? They were delivered by a group of 'auncient and Sage men of *Brittayne*', so the play-text specifies their collective aspect in performance. But whence came the idea that choruses were recited rather than sung?[7] Outside of the theatre, we think of a chorus today as equivalent to a choir, of course, but to date scholars have generally accepted that, in the context of these tragedies, choruses were spoken, based on Greek and Roman models. In fact, we know for certain that choruses sang in classical tragedy. Helen Bacon describes the chorus in Greek drama as 'singing with accompanying dance and gesture, occasionally speaking, and always there'.[8] A comment on Seneca's *Thyestes* by Peter J. Davis illustrates Roman and specifically Senecan tragedy: 'Identity of the Chorus: First of all, who then sings them?'[9] This classical conception of singing choruses is congruent with sixteenth-century English definitions of 'chorus'. Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* in 1538, for example, defines a chorus as 'the company of players or dauncers. also

a quyar'; Richard Huloet's *Dictionarie* of 1572 gives 'Chorus' as the definition of 'Quier' and of 'Quere of singers'; and John Dickenson's translation of Aristotle's *Politiques* of 1598 notes that 'The word Chorus, which we translate quier, signi-fieth a company of many persons talking, singing, or dauncing together'.[10]

Nevertheless, English literary historians seem to assume that the choruses were always spoken, even in ancient Rome: 'As in most classical tragedies, Seneca div-ides the acts of *Thyestes* with a chorus, speeches by a group of citizens who are anx-ious about the welfare of their country'.[11] This concept of something spoken spills over into early Elizabethan tragedy, with the same author referring in *Gorboduc* to 'the Chorus's speech'.[12] On the musical side, and using the example of Seneca's *Thyestes* in early translation, Sternfeld justifies that performance approach this way:

> Heywood's *Thyestes* is a tragedy of revenge and blood which proceeds entirely with-out song or instrumental interlude. Its five acts are in iambic heptameters and at the end of each act there is a moralizing chorus in rhymed iambic pentameters. These choruses, extending from fifty-four to ninety-six lines, are too long to be sung, nor are they lyrical by nature.[13]

True, these choruses do not resemble other song lyrics, but is it indisputable that they were spoken, not sung? Does length preclude singing? And what defines a text as not 'lyrical' even if metrical and rhymed? Ironically, the only English precedent for analogous use of chorus in a play before *Gorboduc* is *God's Promises*, a tragedy by the 'radical Protestant agitator' John Bale, published in 1547 but written in 1538 according to Bale's note at the end.[14] Each of the seven acts in the play ends with an 'anthem', as Bale calls it — specifically one of the great 'O' anti-phons of Advent in the Sarum Rite.[15] At the end of act 1 (177–82), for example, Bale calls for the antiphon *O Sapientia* to be sung 'cum organis' — technically 'with instruments', though, in this instance, 'with organ',[16] and with a version of the chant's Latin text given in English as an alternative. In this intriguing situa-tion, a presumably well-known Catholic sacred piece is sung to new text, albeit text that translates the original.

Strikingly, *God's Promises*, this important forerunner of *Gorboduc* as an English tragedy, incontrovertibly used singing at the end of every act. That usage is the only English precedent for the choruses in *Gorboduc*, and Bale even uses the word 'chorus' to describe the group performing the chant. So why would the act-ending choruses in *Gorboduc* not be sung also, as in Bale's play, and possibly also in the Senecan tragedy translations that were the more immediate models? Sternfeld's

answer, as we have seen, was that they were too long and 'not musical'. My contention here is that they were, indeed, sung, and in the absence of any other plausible candidates, they very likely used tunes from a developing repertoire that burst onto the scene in London in the late 1550s and early 1560s: metrical psalmody.

The Metrical Psalter

A short history of metrical psalmody will help to situate this argument.[17] The landmark French psalm translations by Clément Marot, published in 1541, were important models for the English tradition.[18] Marot moved to Geneva before his death in 1544, and over the next few years, the fifty psalms that he translated circulated widely among Protestants and were given various musical settings, sometimes in four voices.[19] These musical settings were mostly published in France, interestingly, although the centre of French psalm-singing remained in Geneva, with other active communities in Wesel, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt.[20] A landmark publication was *Pseavmes octantetrois de Dauid*, printed in Geneva in 1551, whose eighty-three psalms included forty-nine by Marot along with thirty-four new ones by Théodore de Bèze. For that edition, Louis Bourgeois rearranged the tunes that had evolved for the Marot psalms and provided new tunes for the de Bèze psalms. This edition's contents became the core repertoire of the French metrical psalter.[21]

In England, meanwhile, the metrical psalter began with Thomas Sternhold, groom of the king's robes, who published his collection *Certayne Psalmes* some months before his death in 1549, possibly as early as late 1547.[22] Dedicating his collection to the young Edward VI, Sternhold expressed the hope that 'as your grace taketh pleasure to heare them song somtimes of me, so ye wyll also delyghte not onlye to see and reade them your selfe, but also to comaunde them to be song to you of others'.[23] Sternhold could not have anticipated the afterlife his works would have, and though he was ultimately only one of several contributors to the complete English metrical psalter, he was the first in that tradition, and his name is synonymous with the repertoire. The other name partnered with Sternhold's in this context is John Hopkins. By December 1549, Sternhold's publisher Edward Whitchurch had recruited Hopkins to add seven psalms to Sternhold's collection, though he is initially unacknowledged on the title page.

We know very little about the tunes to which Sternhold and Hopkins sang their psalms since no edition up to 1553 includes music, but a musical repertoire was established when Protestants began to flee to the continent after the accession of Mary I to the throne of England that same year.[24] By 1556, under the auspices

of John Calvin, the Anglo-Genevan community had issued *Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments*, its first collection of English metrical psalms with music.[25] Its psalms were largely set to new tunes based on the French repertoire or, in some cases, to the French tunes themselves. As an expansion of the Sternhold and Hopkins compilation, the 1556 *Forme of Prayers* included several new translations by William Whittingham, translator of the Geneva Bible, who also apparently edited the collection. A further expansion of that Anglo-Genevan psalter appeared two years later, in 1558.[26]

Here the history of the metrical psalter becomes complicated because the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 meant that Protestants could and did return to England, but the liturgy they had developed abroad was different from the official one adopted in 1559 for the Church of England under Elizabeth. At this point John Hopkins reappears, writing new translations, presumably at the behest of the publisher John Day, who obtained the patent for printing psalms around 1560.[27] Day continued to print the Anglo-Genevan versions on the one hand, including twenty-five psalms by the former exile William Kethe, for example, in his *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes of Dauid* of 1561,[28] but he also pursued a new series of translations, culminating in the 1562 *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.[29] This work, for the first time, included all 150 psalms in English verse translation. Day (and possibly Hopkins) likely preferred common metre or double common metre,[30] since that is the predominant versification in the 1562 collection, with 133 psalms given that way, including fifty-eight by Hopkins — much expanded from his original seven in 1549.[31] Meanwhile, the Anglo-Genevan tradition found a new home in Scotland after the exiled John Knox, who had been a Protestant leader in Geneva and Frankfurt, returned to Edinburgh in 1559. As a consequence, the completed Anglo-Genevan psalter, still entitled *Forme of Prayers*, was finally printed in Edinburgh in 1564,[32] although some of its psalms actually made appearances in Day publications through at least 1563, after *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* had appeared with replacements for many of them.[33] Scholars regard that 1564 print as the foundation of the Scottish psalter.

Norton and the Psalter

The short history of metrical psalmody above relates to the choruses in early Elizabethan tragedy because Thomas Norton, besides co-authoring *Gorboduc* in 1561, was also involved with John Day in translating and printing metrical psalms. Norton was, in fact, son-in-law to the late archbishop of Canterbury and Protestant martyr, Thomas Cranmer, and subsequently to Sternhold's printer

Edward Whitchurch, who married Cranmer's widow. Ultimately contributing thirty-one translations to the 1562 *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, Norton may have been a collaborator with Day from start to finish on the project.[34] But he was also in touch with the Anglo-Genevan community, having corresponded with John Calvin in 1552, and translated Calvin's *Institutio Christianæ Religionis* as *The Institution of Christian Religion* in 1561, so he would have been entirely familiar with the music of that tradition.[35]

I contend that Norton, a central figure in English metrical psalmody at precisely this time, used various metrical psalms as his models for the choruses in *Gorboduc*. Whether the metrical psalms were models for Jasper Heywood and the early Senecan tragedy translations is a question, since Heywood was a Catholic, and, even though we know Catholics enjoyed and even wrote metrical psalms, his use of them as models would be surprising.[36] Still, a 'librum psalmorum' was one of only five books Heywood took with him when he went to Rome to join the Jesuits in 1562,[37] and further, a prefatory poem in John Studley's *Agamemnon* translation in 1566 says, 'When *Heiwood* did in perfect verse, / and dolfull tune set out',[38] a phrase we might be tempted to interpret as referring to the singing of the choruses. More of a question with the Senecan translations is whether they were intended to be performed at all. Prefatory material frequently refers to 'reading', and scholars have not definitively identified any performances of the translations.[39] Three Senecan tragedies performed at Trinity College, Cambridge around 1560 were almost certainly in the original Latin, since that was the tradition for university performances of Roman authors.[40]

Regardless of whether they were performed, however, the choruses in early Senecan English translations may also have used metrical psalms as models.[41] Intriguingly, one of the choruses in *Thyestes* survives in a 1614 Dutch collection, versified into Dutch, with nine six-line tetrameter stanzas of aabccb and with the heading: 'Chorus *Senecæ* in Thyeste. Op de Stemme 24. Psalm'.[42] The choice of versification is the translator's, Dirck Pietersz Pers, and the tune he calls for to fit his chosen stanza is one from the Dutch metrical psalter. Though some decades after the appearance of Senecan tragedies in English, this example illustrates some important points. First, this early modern Seneca chorus is explicitly directed to be sung. Second, it is versified into a recognizable poetic form within the translated language, and specifically set to a psalm tune that would have been widely known in the culture.

Psalms, Tunes, and Lyrics

This line of argument takes us back to Sternfeld's comment about the choruses in these early English-language tragedies being 'unlyrical'. Indeed, while *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* of 1562 relied heavily on common-metre versions, the volume actually uses a dozen different metres throughout. The Anglo-Genevan psalter showed much greater variety, with twenty-nine different metres, some of which originated in the pioneering 1551 French *Pseavmes octantetrois de Dauid*.[43] These psalms were sung, and beloved by many, so the metres that they used cannot be described as 'unlyrical'. In fact, Rivkah Zim's book *English Metrical Psalms* begins: 'The Book of Psalms is a treasury of memorable, lyrical expression'.[44] Admittedly, apart from those in common-metre, these psalms are mostly not in versifications that are usual for popular song. But contemporaries would still have recognized them as singable, especially if they were delivered by a group of people forming a 'chorus' at the end of an act and singing a newly-written lyric to a familiar tune, just as John Bale's chorus had done.[45] And Sternfeld's complaint that the choruses with 'fifty-four to ninety-six lines' are too long to be sung does not consider metrical psalms, some of which are prodigiously long. Psalm 119, for example, *Blessed are they that perfect are*, has nearly ninety stanzas of eight lines each, all meant to be sung![46] Part of the intention of long psalms is to create a communal experience from people singing together, almost hypnotically, on a tune that becomes etched in the mind. That is another reason a playwright might choose to have multiple singers in this circumstance, rather than an individual.

Metrical psalms were in fact universally popular. Henry Machyn's diary for 21 September 1559 preserves the earliest report of metrical psalm-singing in London, for Morning Prayer at St Antholin's, about three hundred yards east of St Paul's Cathedral: '[This day] begane the nuw mornyng prayer at sant Antholyns in Bogerow, after Geneve fassyon, — begyne to rynge at v in the mornyng; men and women all do syng, and boys'.[47] Six months after that experimental beginning, Bishop John Jewel of Salisbury was able to give this report:

> For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even in the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God.[48]

Six thousand men, women, and children, singing together in unison in March 1560, only a few months after the introduction of the metrical psalter into England, is an astonishing demonstration of the popularity and the singability of the repertoire.[49] Lyrics intended to be sung to metrical psalm tunes may not look like other song lyrics, but at that time would easily have been recognized for what they were. *Gorboduc* uses blank verse for its dialogue, but when the choruses suddenly appear with rhyme schemes and stanza organizations, they signal that something different is happening, and the versifications they use resemble those of metrical psalms, which Norton knew intimately.[50]

Using an existing tune to set a new lyric — what is termed 'parody' or 'contrafactum' — is actually common in the Renaissance. As Kerry McCarthy says, 'A surprisingly large percentage of the music circulating in Renaissance Europe was contrafacted in some way'.[51] Even the French and English psalters used tunes for more than one psalm, showing the contrafact process at work. *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, for example, uses only sixty-three tunes for 172 psalms and prayers.[52] Many of the English metrical psalms, of course, are contrafacta of the corresponding French psalms, but sometimes the new English psalm is set to the tune of a different French original, so such parody is not simply a matter of translating the same psalm to the same tune, but writing a new poem in a versification that fits the tune.[53] Extending the process to encompass another lyric of praise, supplication, thanksgiving, or morality seems perfectly reasonable, and this, I propose, is what happened with these early Elizabethan choruses.[54] As I have shown previously, in Shakespeare and other period dramatists we find documentation of play song lyrics frequently being set to existing tunes: matches of versification, along with shared rhyming words or other keywords, make the case conclusively in many instances.[55] The difference here is that the chorus lyrics do not resemble popular songs, which may be why they have not previously been recognized as singable. The only existing tunes from the period that set such versifications, in fact, are those from the metrical psalm repertoire. Possibly, new tunes were composed in 1561 to set the chorus lyrics, but the strength of the contrafact tradition, in both the metrical psalm repertoire and in play songs, suggests that having appropriate tunes at hand would have made composition unnecessary and unlikely and, further, that the chorus lyrics were actually written with metrical psalm tunes in mind, with the gravity, spirit, and sanctity of the psalm texts as a further inducement.

Psalms and psalm tunes quickly developed a life outside the private or communal singing of the psalter. In Thomas Preston's play *Cambises* (ca 1559–61, published 1569), for example, the queen says: 'Yet before I dye some Psalme

to God let me sing'.[56] And George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) includes two songs that seem to be clear parodies of psalms: *With harte and voyce to thee O Lorde* (1.3.6) and *To thee O Lorde with harte and voyce I syng* (2.4.2) were both certainly intended to be sung to psalm tunes.[57] In view of rising puritan hostility to the theatre, it may be surprising to find psalms cited, quoted, or emulated in the midst of a play, but the metrical psalter became so much a part of life in England that it did happen.[58] As Nicholas Temperley observed of the English avidly singing metrical psalms: 'They sang not because they were Puritans, but because they were singers'.[59]

Psalm tunes were specifically called for to set newly written poems as well. One of the most interesting of these is *A Godly Ditty … Against all Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies* (ca 1569), a political broadside by John Awdelay, which prescribes: 'Syng this after the tune of the .cxxxvii. Psalme, which begins *Whenas we sat in Babilon*. Or such lyke'.[60] This use of a psalm tune for a secular lyric outside the psalter is significant, as is the clear indication that other tunes might work as well. I propose psalm tunes for the choruses here because they are the only surviving English tunes from the mid-sixteenth century that fit these versifications, because the choruses are often psalm-like as lyrics of praise or supplication, and because strong circumstantial evidence connects psalms to these plays. Any tunes that fit the lyrics could have been possible, of course, but essentially no secular tunes fit these versifications.[61]

As the great metricist George T. Wright said of pentameter verse, it 'keeps the most highly patterned language from sounding trivial. It can lend gravity, dignity, portentousness, even grandeur to statements and utterances'.[62] This recognition helps to explain why pentameter verse was so suitable for early Elizabethan tragedy. But it also holds a clue as to why the choruses have not previously been recognized as singable. As Wright says, the pentameter is 'in character hostile to the melodic flow: too ponderous, too grave, too stichic. In all of Shakespeare's songs, to go no further, not a single pentameter appears'.[63] Elizabethan songs almost always use tetrameters, trimeters, ballad metre, or poulter's measure. Pentameter lines are long-breathed and therefore harder to sing, and do not fit to common tunes,[64] whether tunes for other songs or for instrumental music such as dances, which tend to be in regular four-square phrases. Why are there no period musical settings of Shakespeare's sonnets, for example?[65] But psalms are sung, and some of them use pentameter verse in various stanza configurations. Those settings succeed in part because of the rests inserted between most of the lines, thus mitigating the difficulty of singing such long phrases.

Two further cautionary considerations arise in proposing that the *Gorboduc* choruses were sung: a first-hand description of the event uses the wording, 'declared by the *chore*', which may seem to suggest speaking.[66] But that is not necessarily the case. Passages like 'With ioyfull voyce declare abrode, / and syng vnto hys prayse', from Sternhold's Psalm 66, confirm that 'declaring' can involve singing.[67] Such usage occurs in the secular repertoire as well, as in the beginning of the ballad of *Shore's Wife*: 'If Rosamond that was so fair / Had cause her sorrows to declare, / Then let Jane Shore with sorrow sing'.[68] The other issue is that the dramatis personæ lists at the beginning of each *Gorboduc* print are headed: 'The names of the Speakers'.[69] The Chorus is listed last in each case, however, and the evidence for the chorus standing apart from the spoken roles is strong, both in *Gorboduc* and in related drama.

The Choruses in *Gorboduc*

To what tune or tunes, then, could the 'moralizing' *Gorboduc* choruses have been sung? Three of the five act-ending choruses are in the same versification: six lines of iambic pentameter in an ababcc rhyme scheme — commonly known today as the 'Venus and Adonis stanza'.[70] In terms of the usual classification of psalms by syllables, the rhythm would be expressed as stanzas of 10.10.10.10.10.10. The closest match in the English psalm repertoire is Psalm 50, which is indeed six lines of iambic pentameter, though with an aabbcc rhyme scheme. Rhymes are not as definitive as the metre and the number and grouping of lines, but they are suggestive of an affinity.[71] The Psalm 50 tune also has a long pedigree, having appeared in the 1551 *Pseavmes octantetrois de Dauid*,[72] and with William Whittingham's English text in the 1558 and 1564 *Forme of Prayers*, as well as Day's prints of 1561 and 1563, and most editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* after the first. Here is the act 1 chorus in parallel with the first stanza of Psalm 50.

The final two lines of the psalm have eleven syllables, rather than ten (10.10.10.10.11.11), so a slight adjustment is necessary, though nothing more than was done frequently in adapting the English psalms to the French tunes.[73] The fourth line of the psalm seems to have eleven syllables also, but 'towarde Sion' in the original print is given only three notes.[74] The act 1 chorus has twenty-four lines in total, so it can be set to the tune with no further adjustment (Example 1).[75]

Whittingham's Psalm 50	*Gorboduc* act 1 Chorus
The mightie God th'eternal hath thus spoke	When settled staie doth holde the royall throne,
And all the world he wil cal and provoke,	In stedfast place by knowen and doubtles right:
Euen from the East & so foorth to the west,	And chiefely whan discent on one alone
From towarde Sion which place him liketh best,	Make single and vnparted reigne to light.
God will appeare in beautie most excellent:	Eche chaunge of course vnioynts the whole estate
Our God wil come before that long time be spent.	And yeldes it thrall to ruyne by debate.

Example 1. *When settled stay,* act 1 chorus from *Gorboduc,* set to Psalm 50

One other psalm originating in the *Pseavmes octantetrois de Dauid* that could fit this chorus is Marot's Psalm 1, *Qui au conseil des malins*, which has a versification of 10.10.11.11.10.10. Its tune was never used in the sixteenth-century English psalter so Psalm 1's use for the chorus seems less likely, though possible (Example 2).[76]

The choruses from act 2 and act 4 are more complicated, though they can still use either of these two tunes. The act 2 chorus has twenty-six lines in total: three stanzas of ababcc pentameters and a final stanza of ababccdd. That final rhyming couplet is best set as a reprise of the previous rhyming couplet for whichever tune is used, repeating the music but with the new words. We know that this sort of repetition took place because of a note in John Day's *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes of Dauid* of 1561, where he specifies the setting of a superfluous closing quatrain in an eight-line stanza for Psalm 133: 'This last verse is sung with the two last clauses' — a 'clause' in this usage being the portion of tune for each couplet.[77] The act 4 chorus is even more complicated, having twenty-eight lines in total, with the second stanza having ten lines instead of six. Again, in stanza 2, lines 5–8 can be sung to a repeat of the last four phrases of the tune.

Example 2. *When settled stay*, act 1 chorus from *Gorboduc,* first stanza set to Marot's Psalm 1

The act 3 chorus stands apart from the other three. It has twenty-two lines with continuous cross rhymes in quatrains, suggesting a four-line stanza instead of a six-line stanza.[78] This organization is slightly unclear because there is no visual separation of stanzas as appears in the other three choruses in the 1565 print.[79] Only two psalms tunes in the repertoire set pentameter quatrains in an abab rhyme scheme: Psalms 110 and 129.[80] Both originated in the 1551 *Pseavmes octantetrois*, but intriguingly, the French Psalm 110 had syllables of 10.11.10.11, converted by the poet John Craig to fit a 10.10.10.10 scheme as found in this chorus.[81] This is the kind of modification previously mentioned to make a new text fit an existing tune.[82] Beyond the versification, the imagery of enemies and retribution in both the psalm and the chorus seems like a good pairing (Example 3). As with the act 2 chorus the final couplet would reprise the last two phrases of music.

Whittingham's Psalm 129, *Of Israel this may now be the song*, also has a versification of 10.11.10.11. Introduced in the 1558 *Forme of Prayers*, it was included in the 1562 *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, though without its tune, and did not survive into further editions. Its rhythmic contour resembles that of Example 3, but it is an unusual setting, both because of its high tessitura (vocal range), and because it seems more like a superius (top) part than the tenor of typical psalm settings. Psalm 129's melody is also somewhat odd modally (all of which characteristics may have contributed to its short-lived popularity in the English psalter), but it was current when *Gorboduc* was written and seems worth offering as an alternative for the act 3 chorus (Example 4).

Example 3. *The lust of kingdom*, act 3 chorus from *Gorboduc,* set to Psalm 110

Example 4. *The lust of kingdom*, act 3 chorus from *Gorboduc,* set to Psalm 129

Other Inns of Court Tragedies

Jocasta

Since metrical psalm tunes can work for the choruses in *Gorboduc*, a play by one of the authors of the English metrical psalter, might they also work for chorus passages in related drama, in particular the other Inns of Court tragedies presented over the next several years? Some writers of these works were described as an illustrious group of 'Minerva's men' even before they had begun writing plays — ironically in the preface to the translation of Seneca's *Thyestes,* by Jasper Heywood, which was an immediate forerunner to *Gorboduc*.[83] Indeed, the Inns of Court began producing plays for their own entertainment, sometimes played before the queen, making *Gorboduc* the first in that tradition of English-language tragedies, and an obvious model for those that came after. The next English play I consider in this category, therefore, is George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh's *Jocasta*, printed in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* in 1573, but performed at Gray's Inn in 1566.[84]

Like *Gorboduc*, the tragedy of *Jocasta* includes choruses at the end of each act, although in *Jocasta* the Chorus also participates in the dialogue in places. The dialogue is in blank verse, so it is the act-ending chorus passages, delivered by 'foure Thebane dames' — all played by men, of course — that concern us here. The

predominant chorus versification is a surprise, however, with seven-line stanzas of pentameter in an ababbcc rhyme scheme. This stanza is venerable for poetry in England, made famous by Geoffrey Chaucer's use of it in *Troilus and Cressida* and in some of the *Canterbury Tales.* Gascoigne calls it 'Rithme royall' ('rhyme royal') and says it 'is a verse of tenne sillables and seuen such verses make a staffe'.[85] In other words, each line has ten syllables in pentameter, and seven lines make a stanza. This is not the kind of lyric one would normally expect to see set to music,[86] and yet one psalm tune sets precisely that versification: *Dont vient cela*, Marot's Psalm 10 translation for the 1551 *Pseavmes octantetrois*, and its English contrafact, Psalm 83, *God for thy grace*, a version by the Scottish divine Robert Pont for the 1564 *Forme of Prayers*.[87]

Both French and English psalms used seven lines of pentameter in an ababbcc rhyme scheme, but with eleven syllables in the final couplet. The French version was also unusual in specifying a non-syllabic penultimate syllable (most of the repertoire is syllabic). Marot's psalm was a parody of his own lyric for the chanson *Dont vient cela* by Claudin de Sermisy, first published in 1528 and modernized to *D'où vient cela* by 1538.[88] The fact that Marot kept the earlier version for the psalm is intriguing and may suggest that the psalm translation came from before 1538. The original chanson is also in rhyme royal, and further Scots-language parodies of the song occur in the sixteenth century.[89] Here are the openings of Marot's and Pont's psalms in parallel.
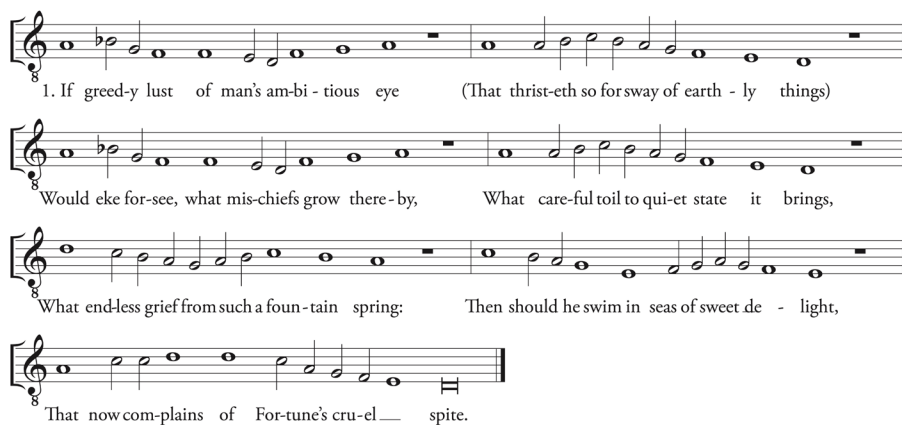
Marot Psalm 10	Pont Psalm 83
Dont vient cela Seigneur, ie te supply	God for thy grace, thou kepe no more silence,
Que loin de nous te tiens les yeus couvers:	Cease not, ô God, nor holde thy peace no more:
Te chaches-tu, pour nous mettre en oubli,	For lo thy foes with cruel violence,
Mesmes au temps qui est dur & divers?	Consedred are, & with an hideous roare.
Par leur orgueil sont ardens les pervers	In this their rage, these rebels bragge & shoare.
A tourmenter l'humble qui peu se prise.	And they that hate thee, moste maliciously,
Fay que sur eus tumbe leur entreprise.	Against thy might their heades haue raysed on hie.

The first two phrases of music are repeated exactly for the third and fourth lines of these lyrics, and the whole fits the rhyme royal choruses of *Jocasta* very well (Example 5), as shown by the setting of the first stanza of the act 1 chorus *If greedy lust*, a lyric which itself recalls *Gorboduc*'s act 4 chorus, *When greedy lust*.

O fierce and furious God (act 2) and *O blissful concord* (act 4) also fit that tune with no special accommodations. The act 3 chorus *When she that rules*, however, is divided into eleven-line stanzas rather than seven. In versification the first seven

Example 5. *If greedy lust*, act 1 chorus from *Jocasta,* first stanza set to Psalm 83.

lines are identical to the other choruses, with an ababbcc rhyme scheme, but each stanza has a final quatrain adding two rhyming couplets to the versification, giving ababbccddee. One solution would be to set the final quatrain to a reprise of the last four phrases of the tune (which also set rhyming couplets). Since the chorus is about Fortune, an alternative would be to set the final quatrain in each stanza to *Fortune my foe*, virtually the only sixteenth-century popular tune to set pentameter lyrics and therefore the only secular tune with a remote possibility of setting any of these lyrics.

The year 1566 is early for *Fortune my foe*, however, which is not explicitly mentioned as a tune until around 1590. Claude Simpson speculated that a 1565/66 ballad entry 'of one complaynynge of ye mutabilite of fortune' may refer to the famous song, though that ballad (perhaps with telltale pentameter quatrains for confirmation) has not survived, and no musical sources are extant from that early date.[90] More recently, in a study devoted to the tune, Christopher Marsh said, 'Its extraordinary prominence began in the 1560s', but simply cited Simpson for his dating.[91] If *Fortune my foe* was indeed extant in the mid-1560s, the strongest candidate for its use would be in setting *Jocasta*'s act 4 chorus, *Example here*, which consists of fourteen lines of continuous cross rhyme in quatrains, ending with a rhyming couplet — in other words, a sonnet. We have no musical settings of a fourteen-line English sonnet from this early date, however. Its abab pentameter quatrains resemble *The lust of kingdom*, the act 3 chorus from *Gorboduc* (Example 3 above), however, so *Example here* would fit to Psalm 110 (with a reprise of the final two phrases for the closing couplet),[92] but it could reasonably fit to *Fortune*

my foe even though the vast majority of lyrics set to the tune are in rhyming coup-
lets rather than cross rhymes.[93] At some point, *Fortune my foe* acquired such a
distinct personality as 'the hanging tune' that it would not have been appropriate
for most of the pentameter chorus quatrains discussed here. For this chorus about
Dame Fortune, however, it may be worth considering as an alternative to Psalm
110 (Example 6).

Example 6. *Example here*, act 4 chorus from *Jocasta,* set to *Fortune my foe*

Gismond of Salerne

The next Inns of Court tragedy to use a chorus was *Gismond of Salerne*, appar-
ently presented to Elizabeth at the Inner Temple in 1567/68.[94] An important
document in confirming that choruses were musical, it survives in manuscript[95]
and in 1591 and 1592 prints entitled *Tancred and Gismund*, where the dedication
is signed by Robert Wilmot. The print copy lists other authors after each act.[96]
Once again, we find act-ending stanzas, presented in this case by '4 gentlemen
of Salerne' (in the manuscript)[97] or 'foure maides that are the Chorus' (in the
print).[98] In the print versions, crucially, the act 2 chorus ends with '*Cantant*',[99]
which confirms that the chorus sings. We find further proof that the chorus does
sing at the end of act 3, scene 2: although no lyrics are given, a stage direction
says: '*After the song, which was by report very sweetely repeated of the* Chorus'.[100] All
four of the choruses — indeed, virtually all the dialogue portions too — are in
pentameter quatrains with abab rhyme schemes, so they fit to Psalm 110, as used
in Example 3 above.[101]

The Glass of Government

After *Gismond of Salerne*, the next Inns of Court tragedy is George Gascoigne's
1575 *The Glass of Government*.[102] He actually calls it a 'tragicall Comedie' but
it fits with the earlier plays by having act-ending choruses, this time presented
by 'four graue Burghers' of Antwerp, where the play is set. Instead of a unity of

versification for the choruses as in *Gismond of Salerne*, the four choruses in Gascoigne's play present a variety of stanza forms, three of which we have encountered already.

When God ordained, the act 1 chorus, is in rhyme royal, so it fits Psalm 83 as did so many of the choruses from Gascoigne's co-authored play *Jocasta*.[103] The act 2 chorus, *Behold, behold*, consists of twenty-six lines in rhyming couplets and apparently grouped in quatrains. Thus, it seems to fit best to Psalm 110, even though that psalm uses cross-rhymed quatrains instead. With the later date and the rhyming couplets, *Fortune my foe* might seem like an attractive possibility, but the lyric's reference to 'our sauiour' and the Gospel of Matthew make the use of that tune extremely unlikely.

The chorus that ends act 3, *The Shed is great*, consists of six pentameter lines in ababcc rhyme, the same versification found in three of the *Gorboduc* choruses. Psalm 50 worked there and would work here as well. But by 1575 an alternative tune was available to set this versification. Thomas Whythorne wrangled with John Day about printing his collections of songs, and this was finally accomplished in 1571. Whythorne complained that the publication was unsuccessful and his songs therefore unknown,[104] but his setting of *For to reclaim to frend a froward foe* does present six lines of pentameter in ababcc rhyme scheme, and conceivably Gascoigne might have known that moralizing song (Example 7).[105] The musical setting differs from most here in placing the melody in the triplex (top) voice.

1. The   Shed is great, & great-er then the show,   Which seems to be, be-tween the good & bad:

For ev'n as weeds, which fast by flowers do grow,   (Al-though they be with come-ly co-lors clad:)

Yet are they found, but _ sel-dom sweet of smell, So _ vi - ces brag, but vir-tue bears the ___ Bell.

Example 7. *The Shed is great*, act 3 chorus from *The Glass of Government,* first stanza set to Thomas
  Whythorne's *For to reclaim to friend*

The act 4 chorus, *The toiling man which tills*, is different from any we have seen so far: an eight-line stanza with cross rhymes in quatrains but in 'DSM' — double short metre, or double poulter's measure: 3343–3343. Poulter's measure is

a versification that was used in popular song at the time, but is found in the psalm repertoire as well.[106] The most widely printed DSM example is Psalm 25, *I lift mine heart to thee*, which was one of the original Sternhold psalms. Its tune was introduced in the 1558 *Forme of Prayers* and later used by John Day in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (Example 8).[107]
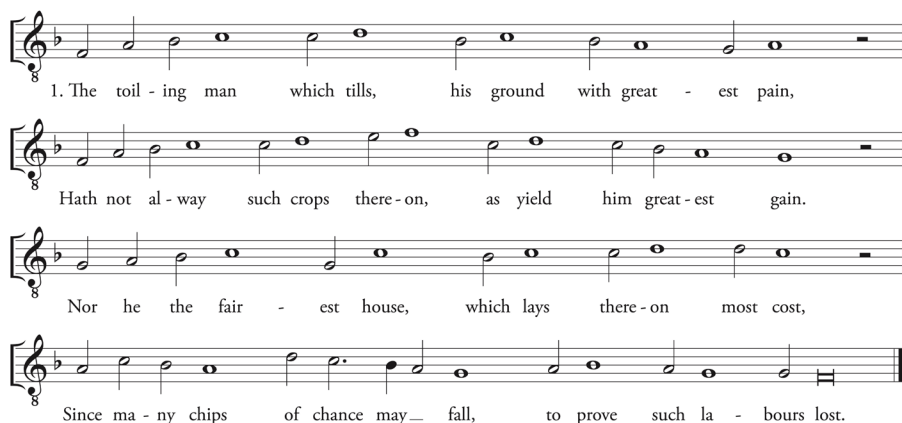

Example 8. *The toiling man which tills*, act 4 chorus from *The Glass of Government,* first stanza set to Psalm 25

By 1575, however, another DSM psalm tune existed that might have been used for this chorus. In 1567, John Day printed Archbishop Matthew Parker's *The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre*, including eight numbered tunes and their harmonizations by Thomas Tallis. The fifth of those tunes is for a DSM psalm, and its lilting triple metre fits Gascoigne's lyric very well (Example 9).[108] Parker's psalter had only a single printing, however, so in spite of the esteemed Tallis's musical contribution, it could not compete in popularity with Sternhold's collection. Nonetheless, the collection was almost certainly known to Gascoigne since his Gray's Inn friend Alexander Neville (also a Seneca translator) was secretary to Parker from ca 1565 until the primate's death in 1575.[109]

The Misfortunes of Arthur
Having jumped a decade to *The Glass of Government*, we need to jump again to the next Inns of Court play with choruses: known as *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, by Thomas Hughes, it was presented to Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich on 28 February 1587 by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn, and printed the same year with the nondescript title *Certayn Devices and Shewes*.[110] There are four act-ending
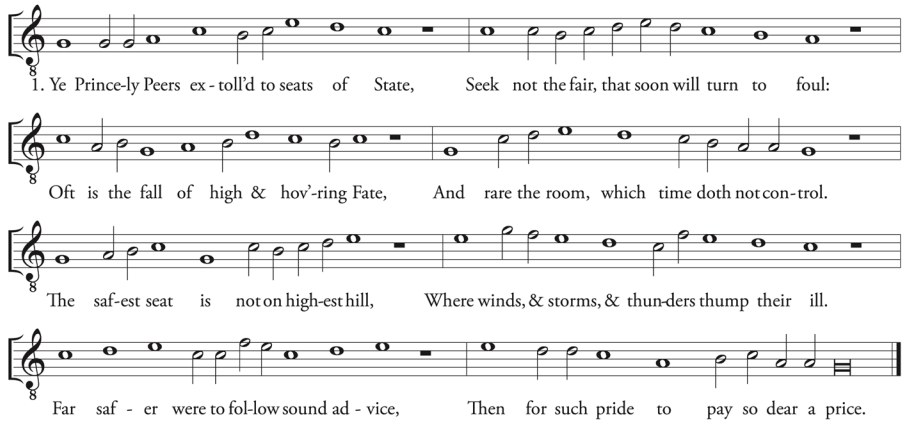
Example 9. *The toiling man which tills*, act 4 chorus from *The Glass of Government,* first stanza set to Tallis's fifth tune

choruses, as in the earlier plays, but only the first two are rhyming — the others are in blank verse. It turns out that a different author wrote the first two choruses, as stated in a note at the end: 'Besides these speaches there was also penned a Chorus for the first act, and an other for the second act, by Maister Frauncis Flower, which were pronounced accordingly'.[111] Flower is most famous as the publisher's dedicatee for Sidney's posthumous *Astrophel and Stella*, to the apparent chagrin of the poet's family.[112]

Flower's first chorus, *See here the drifts*, has numbered stanzas of six pentameter lines in an ababcc rhyme scheme, a versification that we have already seen works well to Psalm 50. His act 2 chorus, *Ye princely peers*, has numbered stanzas of eight pentameter lines in an ababccdd rhyme scheme. A perfect match to this versification is found in *Avec les tiens, Seigneur*, Psalm 85 by Théodore de Bèze from the 1562 French metrical psalter (Example 10).[113]
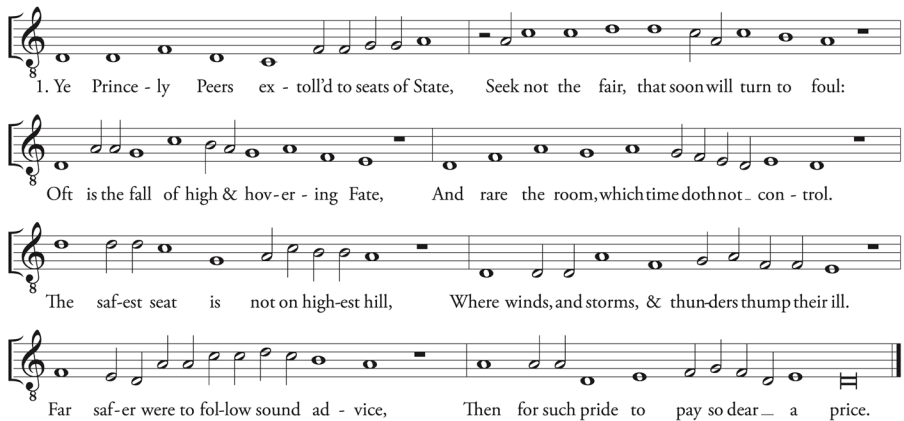
An alternative for this chorus is found in the English psalter, however. William Kethe's Psalm 104, introduced in the 1561 *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes of Dauid* and then taken over into *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, has eight lines of 10.10.11.11.10.10.11.11 syllables.[114] Its tune could easily accommodate eight iambic pentameter lines (as it did for Marot's Psalm 104), although the rhythm of Kethe's psalm is really anapestic tetrameters (Example 11).

The other choruses in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* do not conform to the kinds of poetic patterns we have seen in the above, so perhaps Flower was using the models of earlier Inns of Court choruses while his colleagues were not.[115]

Example 10. *Ye princely peers*, act 2 chorus from *The Misfortunes of Arthur,* first stanza set to de Bèze's Psalm 85

Example 11. *Ye princely peers*, act 2 chorus from *The Misfortunes of Arthur,* first stanza set to Psalm 104

Psalmodic Lyrics Outside the Inns of Court

Abraham's Sacrifice

It is possible to find play songs outside the Inns of Court that may have made use of psalm tunes. I have already mentioned Whetstone's two songs from *Promos and Cassandra*. Others appear in *Abraham's Sacrifice*, a 1575 translation (printed 1577) by Arthur Golding,[116] of *Abraham sacrifiant* by Théodore de Bèze. The

authorship itself is suggestive since de Bèze was one of the primary authors of the French metrical psalter, and he was working on the psalm translations while writing the play: in the 'aux lecteurs' letter at the beginning of the 1550 print, he professed to be 'mesmement en la translation des Pseaumes, que i'ay maintenant en main'.[117] Golding, though most famous for his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1565–7), was a notable puritan, and translated Calvin's commentary on the psalms in 1571, including his own prose translations of Calvin's psalm verses.[118] No labelled choruses are found in *Abraham's Sacrifice*, but two lyrics are delivered by 'A companie of shepherds of Abrahams owne house diuided into two parts', as they are described at the beginning of the play — in other words, a 'chorus'.[119]

The first of the shepherds' lyrics, *O happy is the wight*, has six-line stanzas with an aabccb rhyme scheme and a versification of 334334. That rhyme scheme is fairly common in the secular repertoire but with shorter lines (mostly 223223). The shepherds' first song is, however, a good match for William Kethe's Psalm 122 from the 1561 *Foure Score* collection, also used in the 1564 *Forme of Prayers* and *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*. The 1551 *Pseavmes octantetrois de Dauid* introduced this tune to set Marot's Psalm 3. The psalm's versification is identical to that of the shepherds' song, but the tune sets two stanzas from each lyric (Example 12).[120]

In de Bèze's original French play, intriguingly, that lyric is also in aabccb rhyme scheme, but with trimeter lines throughout.[121] If Golding had that original lyric in mind, he may have been thinking of a setting to Sternhold's Psalm 120 (Example 13), which was based on the tune given for Marot's Psalm 107 in the 1551 French psalter.[122] Psalm 120 has six lines of 333333 in an aabccb rhyme scheme, but that additional foot of 334334 can easily be accommodated by dividing notes in the third and sixth phrases.[123]

The other *Song of the Shepherds* from *Abraham's Sacrifice* is *As huge as is the world*, a lyric of sixty-eight tetrameter lines in rhyming couplets. Stanzas are not divided but it seems to work well in quatrains throughout. The best match is thus the famous Psalm 100 (*Old Hundredth*, as it is generally known), the tune for which appeared originally in the 1551 French psalter as Psalm 134.[124] Both Psalm 100 (*All people that on earth do dwell*) and the shepherds' lyric expansively praise God and his creation ('the world … with all the things that in it be'), but what is especially intriguing is that the first stanza of the shepherds' lyric seems to echo rhymes from the last stanza of Psalm 100 in William Kethe's famous English version.

Example 12. *O happy is the wight, The Song of the Shepherds* (I) from *Abraham's Sacrifice,* first two stanzas set to Psalm 122

Example 13. *O happy is the wight, The Song of the Shepherds* (I) from *Abraham's Sacrifice,* first stanza set to Psalm 120

Psalm 100, last stanza	Song of the Shepherds (II), first stanza
For why? the Lord our God is good,	As howge as is the world we see
his mercy is foreuer sure:	With all the things that in it be,
His truth at al times firmly stood,	Yet nothing is so strong and sure,
And shal from age to age indure.	That can for euer here endure.

The subject matter, the match of tetrameter quatrains, and key rhyming words like 'sure' and 'endure', all reinforce the idea that Golding was thinking of Psalm 100 as a setting for the shepherds' song (Example 14).[125] And such a specific connection between the chorus and the psalm in this instance adds weight to the general concept of using psalm tunes for choruses in these plays.

Example 14. *As huge as is the world, The Song of the Shepherds* (II) from *Abraham's Sacrifice,* first stanza set to Psalm 100

Example 14 is an excellent marriage of text and music, but one other tune in the metrical psalter set tetrameter quatrains, though it was not actually a psalm itself: William Whittingham's version of the Ten Commandments, *Attende my people and giue eare* (Example 15). Based on Marot's French original, it was first introduced in the 1556 *Forme of Prayers* and ultimately included in the 1562 *Whole Booke of Psalmes*. By 1577, it is true, secular tunes existed that might have set the shepherds' tetrameter quatrains, but given the character of the lyrics as communal songs of praise and faith, one of these two tunes from the metrical psalter would likely have been the most appropriate.

Example 15. *As huge as is the world, The Song of the Shepherds* (II) from *Abraham's Sacrifice,* first stanza set to the tune for the Ten Commandments

A half century after Golding's play, George Wither published *The Hymnes and Songs of the Chvrch* (1623), a collection of ninety new devotional poems. Although he commissioned seventeen new tunes from the royal musician Orlando Gibbons, Wither acknowledged that some singers might prefer the 'old tunes' 'as haue beene heretofore in vse', specifically mentioning Psalms 25, 51, 100, and the Ten Commandments, among those used for the choruses here.[126] This enduring deference raises the prospect that later plays with act-ending choruses, like *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) by Elizabeth Cary, could have been part of this psalm-chorus tradition as well.[127] But starting in the 1590s, plays occasionally appear with language suggesting that a single character is acting as a chorus. The most famous of these is Ophelia's line from *Hamlet*: 'You are as good as a chorus, my lord' (3.2.173). Yet in this instance, as in most of these, the chorus's function in commenting on the action is portrayed, not the chorus itself. Nonetheless, at some point the tradition of sung choruses was certainly lost, and though ostensibly about classical drama, this 1624 comment by Thomas Heywood may represent a fading awareness of past practice: 'Therefore it was the custome in all the Tragedyes of old, to annexe to the end of euerie act, a Chorus, with some sad and mournfull song'.[128]

The Quartet Question

One further performance practice issue arises from the singing of these chorus lyrics to psalm tunes: they may have been sung, not in unison, but in polyphonic arrangements for four voices.[129] The main reason for this possibility is the consistency of four actors constituting the chorus in these plays: *Gorboduc* has 'foure auncient and Sage men of *Brittayne*'; *Jocasta* has 'foure Thebane dames'; *Gismond of Salerne* has '4 gentlemen of Salerne' or 'foure maides'; *The Glass of Government* has 'four graue Burghers'. Why is this number so consistent? Why are precisely four performers needed to portray the chorus? It may be that four singers in unison was determined to be the minimum number to sound like a 'quire', and I do not wish to diminish the powerful effect of people singing together in unison.[130] But maybe the playwrights knew of the contemporary four-voice arrangements of these same psalm tunes and expected the singers to use them.[131] A particular spoken line in *Gismond of Salerne* seems to support this possibility: immediately before the act 1 chorus, Gismond proposes to depart, 'Leaving thy maidens with their harmonie'.[132] At the very least this line confirms that the chorus sings — fundamental to the notion advanced here — but it further implies that it sings polyphonically.[133] The appendix below contains short scores of the chorus psalms

cited here in harmonizations from the 1560s. In almost all instances the tune is set in the tenor voice, rather than the superius: placing the tune in the top was mostly a later development in England.[134] All of these arrangements, moreover, are singable by a quartet of adult male singers.

The Chorus in Practice

In modern performances the act-ending choruses in early Elizabethan tragedy have never been sung because they were not previously recognized as singable. The historical and analytical evidence presented here confirms, however, that choruses did sing, that their lyrics were not too long to be sung, that their lyrics often fit uniquely to tunes from the metrical psalter, and that authors had access to that repertoire. Music not only lifts the words off the page, but unifies the stanzas by setting them to a repeating tune, and makes them entertaining, memorable, and distinct from the dialogue in a way that recitation does not. Using the four-part settings would add another layer to the colour of the lyrics and help them stand out as communal expressions, conveyed by four fervent actors.[135] But using devotional melodies in itself adds a solemn quality to the proceedings, even without the harmonies, and enhances the moralizing or prayerful verses that, in recitation, may seem 'boring' or 'merely verbal'. Given the lack of other extant tunes suitable for such versifications and the burgeoning interest in metrical psalms in England at precisely the time these plays were written, as well as the moral and often pious character of the chorus lyrics, the shared versifications are probably not a coincidence. More likely, the choruses were conceived to be sung to psalm tunes, confirming that they are not just 'verbal' (pace Sternfeld), not 'dull' (pace Sackville-West), but 'lyrical' after all. Applying this approach in performance, I believe, would significantly alter the character of these plays and fundamentally transform the way modern audiences experience them.

Appendices: Four-Voice Settings of Chorus Psalms Cited Set to Sample Lyrics

Appendix 1. Psalm 1: Claude Goudimel, *Les pseavmes mis en rime françoise* (1565)

1. The toil - ing man which tills, his ground with great - est pain,

Hath not al - way such crops there - on, as yield him great - est gain.

Nor he the fair - est house, which lays there - on most cost,

Since ma - ny chips of chance may fall, to prove such la - bours lost.

Appendix 2. Psalm 25: John Day, *Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes* (1563), setting by William Parsons

Appendix 3. Psalm 50: Day (1563), setting by William Parsons
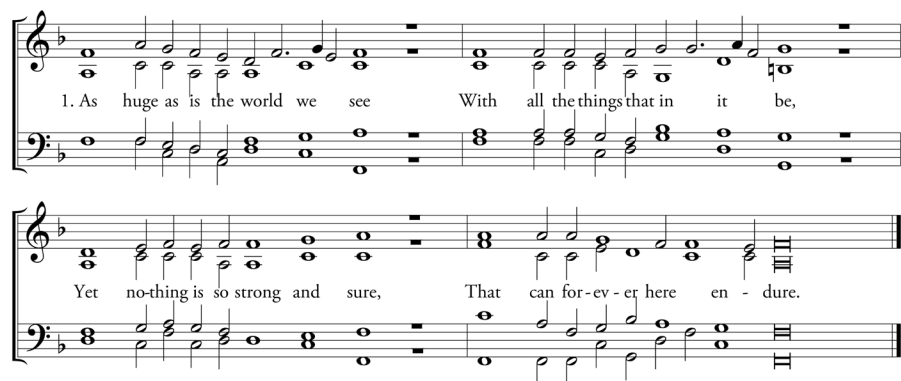
Appendix 4. Psalm 83: Goudimel (1565)

1. Ye Prince-ly Peers ex-toll'd to seats of State, Seek not the fair, that soon will turn to foul:
Oft is the fall of high & hov'ring Fate, And rare the room, which time doth not con-trol.
The saf-est seat is not on high-est hill, Where winds, & storms, & thun-ders thump their ill.
Far saf-er were to fol-low sound ad-vice, Then for such pride to pay so dear a price.

Appendix 5. Psalm 85: Goudimel (1565)

1. As huge as is the world we see With all the things that in it be,
Yet no-thing is so strong and sure, That can for-ev-er here en-dure.

Appendix 6. Psalm 100: Day (1563), setting by William Parsons

Appendix 7. Psalm 104: Day (1563), setting by William Parsons

Appendix 8. Psalm 110: Wode Partbooks (1562–), setting by David Peebles

Appendix 9. Psalm 120: Day (1563); Goudimel (1565)

Appendix 10. Psalm 122: Wode Partbooks (1562–), setting by David Peebles

1. The lust of king-dom knows no sa - cred faith, No rule of rea - son, no re-gard of right, No kind-ly love, no fear of hea - ven's wrath; But with con-tempt of gods & man's de - spite.

Appendix 11. Psalm 129: Goudimel (1565)

1. As huge as is the world we see With all the things that in it be, Yet no-thing is so strong & sure, That can for - ev - er here en - dure.

Appendix 12. Ten Commandments: Day (1563), setting by William Parsons

Appendix 13. Fifth psalm tune: Thomas Tallis, *The Whole Psalter* (1567)

Notes

1 On the dumbshows in *Gorboduc* see Dieter Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumbshow* (Cambridge, MA, 1966), 29–59.

2 Scholars widely regard *Gorboduc*'s portrayal of chaos in the contention between two sons of the former king as a caution to Elizabeth to make her intended succession clear. For a useful summary of the issues surrounding that element, see Jessica Winston, 'Expanding the Political Nation: *Gorboduc* at the Inns of Court and Succession Revisited', *Early Theatre* 8 (2005), 11–34, https://doi.org/10.12745/et.8.1.682. See also Laura Estill, 'New Contexts for Early Tudor Plays: William Briton, an Early Reader of *Gorboduc*', *Early Theatre* 16 (2013), 197–210, https://doi.org/10.12745/et.16.2.12.

3 Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London, 1595; STC: 22534), I4v.

4 George Saintsbury, *A History of Elizabethan Literature* (London, 1887), 59. Vita Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles* (London, 1922), 43. More recently, Harriet Archer, in a 29 December 2016 posting at 'The Gorboduc Project' (https://gorboducproject.com/blog/), reported that early modernists regularly insist 'that *Gorboduc* is THE MOST BORING PLAY IN THE WORLD'. The existence of that project, however, suggests that appreciation of the play is on the rise.

5 Peter Holman points out that the various instrumental ensembles called for in *Gorboduc* 'correspond more or less to the complete resources of the secular royal music'. See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1993), 118.

6 Frederick W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1963), 2.

7 This assumption is evident, for example, when Eric Pudney repeatedly refers to chorus members as 'choric speakers'. See his essay 'Chorus and Stance in Early Modern English Drama' in *Subjectivity and Epistemicity: Corpus, Discourse, and Literary Approaches to Stance*, ed. Dylan Glyn and Mette Sjölin (Lund, 2014), 41–61.

8 Helen H. Bacon, 'The Chorus in Greek Life and Drama', *Arion* 3 (1994–95), 9, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20163562. The chorus is not always onstage in early Elizabethan tragedy since its entrance is sometimes noted in stage directions.

9 See Peter J. Davis, 'The Chorus in Seneca's *Thyestes*', *Classical Quarterly* 39 (1989), 421, http://doi.org/10.1017/s0009838800037496. See also Davis, *Shifting Song: The*

Chorus in Seneca's Tragedies (Hildesheim, 1993). We do not know if Elizabethans were aware that classical choruses were sung, but see n41 below concerning internal evidence as well as Thomas Heywood's comment in 1624.

10   *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elyot, Knyght* (London, 1538; STC: 7659), D1r; *Huloets Dictionarie* (London, 1572; STC: 13941), Ll4r; *Aristotles Politiques or Discourses of Government* (London, 1598; STC: 760), P4r. This last definition does mention speaking but the predominant impression from the three is of dancing or singing to music.

11   Jessica Winston, 'English Seneca: Heywood to Hamlet', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, 2009), 477, http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199205882.013.0029. It may be that classical tragedy performed in Greek and Latin at Oxford and Cambridge during the Renaissance used spoken choruses since the original music was completely unknown, and that 'tradition' was passed on to tragedy in translation as well. I discuss further below whether the choruses were sung in translated Senecan tragedy.

12   Ibid, 483. This usage is simply an expression of the prevailing view. Winston's work on Senecan tragedy and on *Gorboduc* has been excellent and helpful.

13   Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 215.

14   Bale's epithet is from Boyd M. Berry, 'Of the Manner in Which Anne Askew "Noised It"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 96 (1997), 182, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27711480.

15   See E.S. Miller, 'The Antiphons in Bale's Cycle of Christ', *Studies in Philology* 48 (1951), 629–38, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4172986.

16   Elyot, *Dictionary*, Q1r, defines *organa* as 'all instrumentes of musyke'. Bale, however, himself describes a performance of *God's Promises* in Kilkenny, Ireland in 1553: 'The yonge men in the fore none played a Tragedye of God's Promises in the olde lawe at the market crosse with organe plainges and songes very aptely'. See John Bale, *The Vocacyon of Iohan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande* (Wesel?, 1553; STC: 1307), C8v. For this performance the organ must have been small enough to be carried out to the market cross. How the organ functioned is unclear since Sarum-chanting voices in a church setting would not be accompanied by instruments of any sort, and though this is not a church service, the chants are all from the solemn liturgy for Advent. Possibly the organ was meant to elaborate the chant after the singers finished.

17   On the history and background of English metrical psalmody see in particular Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter* (Farnham, 2008); Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c.1547–1640* (Farnham, 2014);

Christopher Marsh, 'Parish Church Music: The Rise of the "singing psalms"', in *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), 391–453; Robin A. Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes: English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–66* (Oxford, 1987); Nicholas Temperley, '"If any of you be mery let hym synge psalmes:" The Culture of Psalms in Church and Home', in *'Noyses, Sounds, and Sweet Aires': Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington, 2006), 90–100; Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2004); Hannibal Hamlin, 'Piety and Poetry: English Psalms from Miles Coverdale to Mary Sidney', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, ed. Pincombe and Shrank, 203–21, http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199205882.013.0013. See also Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 1979).

18   *Trente pseaulmes de David* (Paris, 1541). These were not the first psalm translations in French, but they seem to have been the first metrical translations.

19   See Pierre Certon, *Livre premier contenant XXXI pseaulmes de David* (Paris, 1546); Anthoine de Mornable, *Livre second contenant XVII pseaulmes de David* (Paris, 1546); Louis Bourgeois, *Pseaulmes cinquante de David* (Lyon, 1547); Clément Jannequin, *Premier livre, contenant xxvii pseaulmes de David* (Paris, 1549); Pierre Colin, *Les cinquante pseaulmes de David* (Paris, 1550).

20   On the tunes of the French psalter see *Le psautier Huguenot du XVIe siècle: Mélodies et documents*, ed. Pierre Pidoux (Basel, 1962). See also Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562: A Historical Survey and Analysis* (New York, 1939).

21   As in England the French metrical psalter was completed in 1562, with the Geneva publication of *Les pseavmes mis en rime françoise*.

22   *Certayne Psalmes Chose[n] out of the Psalter of Dauid, and Drawe[n] into Englishe Metre* (London, 1549; STC: 2419). See Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 28. As with Marot, others preceded Sternhold as translator of the psalms into English. Foremost among these was Miles Coverdale, whose prose psalm translations became the basis for those in the *Booke of Common Prayer* and who published fourteen others separately in *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (London, ca 1535; STC: 5892). They are mostly based on Lutheran models. See Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes* and Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535–1601* (Cambridge, 1987), 112–13. Also in 1549 appeared Robert Crowley's *The Psalter of Dauid* (London, 1549; STC: 2725), with sometimes awkward metrical translations into English. They were to be sung to psalm recitation tones as in the Sarum Rite.

23   Sternhold, *Certayne Psalmes*, A3r. On the early history of Sternhold's psalter see *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and Others: A Critical Edition of the Texts and Tunes*, ed. Beth Quitslund

and Nicholas Temperley, 2 vols, Renaissance English Text Society 36 (Tempe, AZ, 2018). See also Richard B. Weir, 'Thomas Sternhold and the Beginnings of English Metrical Psalmody', PhD thesis (New York University, 1974).

24   On the earliest tunes for English metrical psalms and the evolution of the musical repertoire in the sixteenth century, see Nicholas Temperley, 'Victims of Compromise: The Elizabethan Psalm Tunes', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 146 (2021), 1–43.

25   *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c, Vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua* (Geneva, 1556; STC: 16561).

26   *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c, Vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua* (Geneva, 1558; STC: 16561a).

27   Day clearly received the patent but no specific documentation has come to light. See C.L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford, 1975), 70. Such evidence may be covered by the more general notice of royal privilege, dated 28 October 1559, printed by Day in William Cuningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse* (London, 1559: STC: 6119), T3r.

28   *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes of Dauid in English Mitre* (London, 1561; STC: 2428).

29   *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Collected into Englysh Metre* (London, 1562; STC: 2430). See Quitslund and Temperley, *The Whole Book of Psalms*. Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 207, notes that the 1561 publication stands strangely aside from Day's other psalters. Even if Day did not print *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes*, that same year he certainly did print Jan Utenhove's collection of Dutch metrical psalms, *Hondert psalmen Dauids … ouerghesett in Nederlanschen dichte* (London, 1561; STC: 2739), with many of the same tunes. On this collection see n82 below.

30   These versifications (8.6.8.6 or 8.6.8.6.8.6.8.6) resemble the secular versification known as ballad metre. In the metrical psalm repertoire and poetic usage generally, 'fourteeners' refers to a couplet of 8.6 syllables, rather than a quatrain. In the secular repertoire where the number of syllables may be highly variable, it can refer to quatrain versification of tetrameter lines alternating with trimeter lines (4343), the whole adding up to fourteen poetic feet. The metre was commonly used in ballads, though the enormous popularity of the metrical psalter may have created the vogue for that versification in ballads, rather than the reverse. See Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596–1622* (Cambridge, MA, 1970), 17; Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 1.26; Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes*, 119; Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 24; and Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 70–1. One further distinction in the metrical psalm repertoire is the rhyme scheme, which in Sternhold's psalms was abcb, and in Hopkins's psalms tended to be abab. Both schemes appear in the secular repertoire.

31 The metre was so strongly associated with metrical psalms that some writers used the term 'Sternhold's Meter'. See William Samuel, *An Abridgement of All the Canonical Books of the Olde Testament, Written in Sternholds Meter* (London, 1569; STC: 21690).

32 *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments &c.* (Edinburgh, 1564; STC: 16577). The printer was Robert Lekprevik.

33 This time discrepancy may be because the psalms for the 1564 *Forme of Prayers* were translated earlier but delayed because of the lack of a music printer in Scotland. See Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody*, 82–5.

34 Quitslund proposes that Norton's earliest psalm translation was Psalm 75 for the coronation of Elizabeth in 1558 (*Reformation in Rhyme*, 221–2). Duguid suggests that Day started planning with Hopkins and Norton as early as 1560, and the fact that Norton's psalms include most of those without tune direction led Duguid to propose that they were added near the final stages of printing in 1562, implying involvement throughout the project (*Metrical Psalmody*, 60–4). On Norton's early work as a psalm translator, see also Steven W. May, 'Anne Lock and Thomas Norton's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*', *Modern Philology* 114 (2017), 793–819, https://doi.org/10.1086/689459. Notably, Day printed the 1570 edition of *Gorboduc*, the first to be sanctioned by its authors.

35 John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion* (London, 1651; STC: 4415). On Norton's correspondence with Calvin, see his letter of 13 November 1552, in *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1846), part 1, 339–42.

36 One Catholic psalmist from this period, whose stated purpose was to extend Sternhold's psalter, was William Forrest. His manuscript collection of forty-nine psalms, 'Certaigne Psalmes of Dauyd', dated 1551 and dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, survives as British Library, Royal MS 17.A.xxi. See Oliver Wort, 'A Cuckoo in the Nest? William Forrest, the Duke of Somerset, and the *Certaigne Psalmes of Dauyd*', *Reformation* 21 (2016), 25–46, https://doi.org/10.1080/13574175.2016.1160564. During this period, Thomas Norton was actually serving as a kind of secretary to Lord Protector Somerset. See Michael A.R. Graves, *Thomas Norton: The Parliament Man* (Oxford, 1994), 24–6. On Catholics and psalms generally see Hannibal Hamlin, '"Very mete to be used of all sortes of people": The Remarkable Popularity of the "Sternhold and Hopkins" Psalter', *Yale University Library Gazette* 75 (2000), 37–51, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40859672. Notably in this regard William Byrd, the renowned composer and Catholic, made musical settings of metrical psalms in 1588 and 1589. On Byrd and metrical psalms in the English recusant community see

Roger Bray, 'William Byrd's English Psalms', in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (Farnham, 2011), 70–1.

37   Dennis Flynn, '"Out of Step": Six Supplementary Notes on Jasper Heywood', in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Oxford, 1996), 181. My thanks to Professor Flynn for sharing a copy of the original document, ARSI Rom. 170, ff 55v–56r; the quoted phrase is on f 55v. For a proposed anti-tyrannical motivation for Heywood and the other Senecan translators, see Linda Woodbridge, 'Resistance Theory Meets Drama: Tudor Seneca', *Renaissance Drama* 38 (2010), 115–39, http://doi.org/10.1353/rnd.2010.0010.

38   John Studley, *Agamemnon* (London, 1566; STC: 22222), ¶8v.

39   In *Troas*, his first translation, Heywood refers to Queen Elizabeth reading Seneca in Latin, and addresses several comments to his 'readers': *Troas* (London, 1559: STC: 22227), A3r–A4v. In the *Thyestes* Preface, he imagines someone being critical 'ere halfe he reade to ende': *Thyestes* (London, 1560; STC: 22226), ✶7r.

40   The three plays were *Oedipus*, *Troas*, and *Medea*. See *REED: Cambridge*, ed. Alan H. Nelson (Toronto, 1989)*, 1.208, 211, 2.968–9, https://archive.org/details/cambridgeREED01nelsuoft/page/n5. See also Jessica Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006), 30, https://doi.org/10.1353/ren.2008.0232. Peter J. Davis, however, has argued that Senecan tragedies in Latin were 'written with the possibility of stage performance in mind.' See *Shifting Song*, 3.

41   Some internal evidence exists that the Senecan choruses were recognized as sung. In Heywood's *Hercules Furens*, the chorus ending act 3 is said to 'prayses syng' to Hercules (London, 1561; STC: 22223), H8r, and in John Studley's *Medea* translation, Medea says of the epithalamium chorus ending act 1: 'The warble note of weddinge songe / resoundeth in myne eare' (London, 1566; STC: 22224), B5v. The singing of Senecan choruses will be explored in my monograph in progress on songs in English tragedy.

42   The lyric, beginning 'Wat dolheyd ist die u bekoort', is a version of the act 2 chorus from *Thyestes*. See Dirck Pietersz Pers, *Bellerophon* (Amsterdam, 1614), I4r. The tune for Dutch Psalm 24, like so many from the English psalter, was originally French, appearing initially in the *Pseavlmes cinquante de David* of 1547, composed by Louis Bourgeois (mislabelled as Psalm 20). It was adopted for Psalm 24 by Utenhove for his 1561 *Hondert psalmen Dauids*, and survived into Datheen's psalter revision in 1566. It was not adopted for an English psalm until 1612, when Henry Ainsworth used it for his Psalm 60, *O God, thou didst away us cast*. See Henry Ainsworth, *The Book of Psalmes* (Amsterdam, 1612; STC: 2407), 154–5.

43   Timothy C. Duguid, 'Sing a New Song: English and Scottish Metrical Psalmody from 1549–1640', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2011), Table 3.2, p 131. Margaret Hannay characterizes the poetic contrast between the repertoires: 'the varied meters and rhymes employed [in the French psalter] are far superior to the thumping monotony of the English psalters'. See Margaret P. Hannay, '"Doo What Men May Sing": Mary Sidney and the Tradition of Admonitory Dedication', in *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Kent, OH, 1985), 162.

44   See *English Metrical Psalms*, 1. Deirdre Serjeantson, furthermore, begins the abstract to her article, 'The Book of Psalms and the Early Modern Sonnet', *Renaissance Studies* 29 (2015), 492, as follows: 'Psalms and sonnets were the most popular lyric genres in early modern English writing', https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12165.

45   After writing *God's Promises* in 1538, Bale himself published four metrical psalm translations in the 1540s, and seems to have been in Geneva around the time that the 1556 *Forme of Prayers* was prepared. This caused one scholar to propose that he co-edited that collection with William Whittingham. See Robin A. Leaver, 'John Bale, Author and Revisor of Sixteenth-Century Metrical Psalms', *Jahrbuch für liturgik und hymnologie* 34 (1992/93), 98–106, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24207756. That idea was disputed by Timothy Duguid in *Metrical Psalmody*, 19–20. Tunes in the metrical psalter frequently set more than one psalm, so the idea of an alternative text for a tune was basic to the genre. See below concerning parody and contrafactum.

46   In church use the 704 lines of Psalm 119 were divided into five sections, from Evening Prayer on the 24th of the month, through Morning and Evening Prayer on the 25th and 26th. Other long psalms, like Psalms 78 (264 lines) and 89 (212 lines) are each delivered complete during a single service, however. See *The Booke of Common Prayer* (London, 1549; STC: 16273), A4r; (London, 1559; STC: 16293), B3v.

47   *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. John Nichols (London, 1848), 212.

48   John Jewel to Peter Martyr, 5 March 1560. The translation from the Latin is in *The Zurich Letters: Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others, with Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842), 1.71. The original Latin is in part 2 of that volume, 40–1.

49   Singing metrical psalms together must have seemed, at last, like a way to fulfill Psalm 148 in Miles Coverdale's standard prose version of the time: 'Yonge men and maydens, olde men and chyldren: prayse the name of the Lorde'. See the Great Bible (London, 1539; STC: 2068), DD3v.

50   Ultimately, the psalms Norton himself translated for Day's 1562 collection were almost all in common metre, but at the time *Gorboduc* was written, Day was still

printing Anglo-Genevan psalms in a greater variety of metres, and, of course, Norton would also have been familiar with the French psalter through his contact with John Calvin.

51 Kerry McCarthy, '"Brought to Speake English with the Rest": Byrd's Motet Contrafacta', *Musical Times* 148 (2007), 51, http://doi.org/10.2307/25434477. See also John Milsom, 'Caustun's Contrafacta', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007), 1–31, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrma/fkl015; Bruce W. Wardropper, 'The Religious Conversion of Profane Poetry', in *Studies in the Continental Background of English Literature: Essays Presented to John L. Lievsay*, ed. Dale B.J. Randall and George Walton Williams (Durham, NC, 1977), 203–21; and Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester, NY, 2001).

52 See Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody*, 55; and Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 58–9.

53 As Hannibal Hamlin notes, many of these are not meant as literal translations anyway, but as paraphrases. See Hannibal Hamlin, 'The Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford, 2014), 554–6, http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199672806.013.34.

54 John Milsom has pointed out that two of Thomas Caustun's metrical psalm settings are contrafacta of decidedly non-sacred songs by William Cornysh from the time of Henry VIII. See Milsom, 'Caustun's Contrafacta', 29.

55 See Ross W. Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York, 2004) and *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford, 2018).

56 Thomas Preston, *A Lamentable Tragedy Mixed Ful of Pleasant Mirth, Conteyning the Life of Cambises* (London, 1570; STC: 20287), F1v.

57 George Whetstone, *The Right Excellent and Famous Historye, of Promos and Cassandra* (London, 1578; STC: 25347). See Duffin, *Some Other Note*, 532–9.

58 On this issue see Katherine Steele Brokaw, 'Propaganda and Psalms: Early Elizabethan Drama', in *Staging Harmony: Music and Religious Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Drama* (Ithaca, 2016), 122–54. Although puritan opposition to plays reached a crescendo in the 1570s, Bishop William Alley was already decrying 'wanton poemes, songes and plaies' in a St Paul's sermon dated 15 February 1560. See *The Poore Mans Librarie* (London, 1565; STC: 374), f 63v.

59 See Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 1.46.

60 John Awdelay, *A Godly Ditty* (London [1569?]; STC: 995).

61 The sole possible exception is the quatrain pentameter tune *Fortune my foe*, discussed below, though it was very likely not extant in the 1560s and is of questionable 'character'.

62   George T. Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (Berkeley, 1988), 6.

63   George T. Wright, *Hearing the Measures: Shakespeare and Other Inflections* (Madison, 2001), 123.

64   Again, the single exception to this is the tune *Fortune my foe*, discussed below.

65   As George Gascoigne noted 'sonnet' was a flexible poetic term at the time: 'some thinke that all poemes (being short) may be called Sonets, … but yet I can beste allowe to call those Sonets whiche are of fouretene lynes, euery line conteyning tenne syllables'. 'Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English', *The Posies of George Gascoigne* (London, 1575; STC: 11636), U1v. The only unmodified Shakespearean sonnets with period musical settings are 'Praise blindness eies' (1600) and 'My heart and tongue were twinnes' (1612) by John Dowland, 'Like as the Lute delights' (1606) by John Danyel, 'To plead my faith' (1610) by Daniel Batchelar, and William Byrd's 'O god but god howe dare I name that name', an anonymous sacred lyric presented as a lute ayre in British Library Add. MS 15117 (ca 1615).

66   See Norman Jones and Paul Whitfield White, '*Gorboduc* and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer's Report of the Premiere Performance', *English Literary Renaissance* 26 (1996), 4, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6757.1996.tb01481.x. The source is British Library, Add MS 48023, f359v.

67   *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London, 1562; STC: 2430), 151.

68   On this ballad and its tune see Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 355–65.

69   *Gorboduc* (London, 1565; STC: 18684), A2r; (London, 1570; STC: 18685), A2v; (London, 1590; STC: 17029), A2r. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1c) gives this usage as evidence for a 'chorus' as spoken in English dramatic works.

70   See Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Ben Burton, 'Shakespearean Stanzas? *Venus and Adonis, Lucrece*, and Complaint'. *English Literary History* 88 (2021), 1–26, https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2021.0005.

71   To take an example of such rhyme scheme ambivalence from the psalter, the tune for Psalm 36 from the 1564 *Forme of Prayers* is also used for Psalm 132, although the former uses an aabab rhyme scheme and the latter uses ababa. What they share is a stanza of five tetrameter lines. In the secular repertoire, the tune *Greensleeves* is called for in several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ballads with a quatrain rhyme scheme of aaab. But its original *Alas my loue, ye do me wrong* lyric from *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (London, 1584; STC: 21105), B2r–B4r, uses abab, while one later lyric (English British Broadside Ballad Archive [EBBA] 30173) has abac.

72   As with other Marot psalms in that volume, the tune probably appeared earlier — among Louis Bourgeois's four-voice settings in his *Pseaulmes cinquante de David* (1547), for example — but only the Altus partbook of that print survives and the

melody would be in the Tenor voice. In other such collections only the Superius book is extant. It may be surprising that Norton chose pentameter versifications for the choruses when his own psalms are all in common metre, but he may have admired the effect of pentameters in the Senecan choruses that had already appeared.

73   On this point see also the discussion of Psalms 110 and 120 below. The English repertoire contains only one other six-line pentameter psalm: William Kethe's Psalm 138, based on the tune for Marot's Psalm 16. But while both of those psalms feature an ababcc rhyme scheme, they have lines of 10.11.10.11.11.11 syllables, and thus are less easily accommodated to the chorus.

74   For his 1563 four-voice arrangements Day ultimately divides the third note to specify four syllables. See *Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes* (London, 1563; STC: 2431), Tenor partbook, 133.

75   Note that the lyrics in all musical examples have been modernized. In Example 1 the end of the penultimate line with two notes for the accented final syllable deserves comment as an unusual feature. Such syllable underlay occurs explicitly in Miles Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (London, 1535; STC: 5892), where two such line endings are featured in *In the myddest of oure lyvynge* (f 18r–18v), and confirmed by a page break where no other underlay is possible. As for variable numbers of syllables generally, in the Elizabethan secular repertoire we have the evidence of George Attowell's stage farce, *Frauncis New Jigge*, reg. 1595 (EBBA 20102), where the entire dialogue is sung to a succession of ballad tunes, one of which is specified as *Go from my window*. Thus, we know that these verses were sung to *Go from my window*, and yet some stanzas have first lines with as many as twelve syllables, whereas the *Go from my window* lyric itself has only seven.

76   Its earliest use for an English psalm is Psalm 1 in John Standish's *All the French Psalm Tunes with English Words* (London, 1632; STC: 2734), although the tune was used for Psalm 1 in Datheen's Dutch psalter, first published in England as *De CL Psalmen Dauids* (Norwich, 1568; STC: 2741).

77   *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes*, x2v. The same annotation appears for the same psalm in the 1564 *Forme of Prayers* (D1v).

78   The division is given as eight-line stanzas in *Gorboduc*, ed. Irby B. Cauthen (Lincoln, NE, 1970), 44.

79   The 1570 print has no stanza divisions in any of the choruses.

80   One other 10.10.10.10 French psalm could fit: *Dieu est regnant*, Psalm 93 by de Bèze from *Les Pseavmes* (1562), 230–1. Because the tune does not appear before 1562, it seems unlikely for this *Gorboduc* chorus, though it would be possible for choruses in later plays. There are also three quatrain settings in John Hall's *The Court of Vertue* (London, 1565; STC: 12632) with ten syllables per line, though they are in anapestic

tetrameters and do not suit iambic lyrics very well. See *All men that will walk* (f 1r), *Like as the lark* (f 108v), and *All comfortless* (f 109v). Another decasyllabic lyric, *Hope, the medicine* (ff 6v–7r) is in rhyme royal. On this setting see n86 below.

81 A former Dominican monk who converted to Protestantism, John Craig has a dramatic history as a psalmist. While in Rome, he was sentenced by the Inquisition to burn at the stake, but escaped because of the death of Pope Paul IV on 18 August 1559, the eve of the scheduled execution, and the subsequent freeing of all prisoners. See John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1842), 458. On Craig's psalm texts and tunes see Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody*, 97–104.

82 This tune was later specified for a lyric in James Melville's *Ane Fruitfull and Confortable Exhortatioun* (Edinburgh, 1597; STC: 17815.5), 34–6. It was not published with an English text until the 1564 *Forme of Prayers*, although it was well established in the French psalm repertoire and was printed in London by John Day in 1561 for Psalm 110 in Jan Utenhove's Dutch psalm collection, *Hondert psalmen Dauids*. This collection was for the Dutch 'Stranger Church' at Austin Friars, established by Edwardian charter in 1550, closed during Mary's reign, and reopened in 1559. On this and the nearby French church established the same year see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986). Utenhove's tunes drew heavily from the French tradition but also included newly composed melodies as well as Lutheran tunes like *Ein feste Burg* (1529) and *Nun freut euch* (1524). Although not part of the post-1550 English metrical psalter, Lutheran tunes were used extensively by Miles Coverdale in his *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (ca 1535). On tune sources for Utenhove and Coverdale see Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes*.

83 *Thyestes* (1560), ✷7v. On 'Minerva's Men', meaning men of substance and wisdom in the arts and sciences, see Laurie J. Shannon, 'Minerva's Men: Horizontal Nationhood and the Literary Production of Googe, Turbervile, and Gascoigne' in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, 438–54, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199205882.013.0027.

84 *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (London, [1573]; STC: 11635). See Robert S. Miola, 'Euripides at Gray's Inn: Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta*', in *The Female Tragic Hero in Renaissance Drama,* ed. Naomi Conn Liebler (New York, 2002), 33–50, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-04957-5_2. Like *Gorboduc*, *Jocasta* also has interesting musical instrument usage, with the first appearance of what seems to have become a kind of standard theatrical musical ensemble. See Ross W. Duffin, 'Music and the Stage in the Time of Shakespeare', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Oxford, 2016), 748–54, http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199660841.013.41.

85 'Certayne notes of Instruction', U1v. Rhyme royal was also used by Thomas Sack-ville in his 'Induction' to William Baldwin's *A Mirrour for Magistrates* (London, 1563; STC: 1248), P3r–R4v.

86 One rhyme royal lyric with a tune from this time is *Hope, the medicine against dread-ful despair* from Hall's *Court of Vertue*. It has decasyllabic lines but they are in ana-pestic tetrameters and the tune does not fit well to iambic lyrics. There are also six musical settings of rhyme royal lyrics known to me in later sources. The most intriguing of these is an anonymous lutesong setting of Mary Sidney's Psalm 51, *O Lord, whose grace*, preserved in British Library Add MS 15117 (ca 1615), ff 4v–5r, with all eight stanzas given for strophic performance. The other rhyme royal set-tings are: *Sweet nymphs that trip along*, and *Long have the shepherds sung*, a bipartite madrigal for five voices from *Songes of Sundrie Kindes* by Thomas Greaves (London, 1604; STC: 12210), no. 17–18, H1v–I1r; *Whether so fast*, a lutesong with three addi-tional voices from *The Firste Booke of Songes or Ayres* by Francis Pilkington (London, 1605; STC: 19922), no 5, D1v–D2r; *How should I show my love*, a lutesong with three additional voices from *A Musicall Dreame, or the Fourth Booke of Ayres* by Robert Jones (London, 1609; STC: 14734), no 9, F1v–F2; and *Go heavy thoughts*, a continuo song from *The Second Booke of Ayres* by William Corkine (London, 1612; STC: 5769), no 10, D1v. On Mary Sidney's setting of Psalm 51, see Katherine R. Larson, 'A Poetics of Song', in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Ben Burton (Oxford, 2014), 113–18, http://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198702818.003.0007, and Larson, *The Mat-ter of Song in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2019), 50–9.

87 On this psalm see Jamie Reid-Baxter, 'Metrical Psalmody and the Bannatyne Manuscript: Robert Pont's Psalm 83', *Renaissance and Reformation* 30 (2006), 41–62, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43445938. A version of the psalm appears in *Ane Compendeous Buke of Godly Psalmes and Spirituall Sangis* (Edinburgh, 1565; STC: 2996.3), G3r–G4v. Reid-Baxter suspects that Pont's psalm was circulating in the 1550s. Whether Gascoigne is more likely to have known the tune through the French or the Scottish psalm is difficult to say, though a connection between the two cultures may be seen in his sonnet 'vnto a Skotish Dame whom he chose for his Mistresse in the french Court'. See *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 300. A second tune setting Marot's psalm appeared in a series of three psalters published in Strasbourg in 1545 (burnt in 1870), 1548, and 1553. Jan Utenhove used it to set his version of *Waerom romstu*, Psalm 52 from his *Hondert psalmen Dauids*, published by John Day (London, 1561; STC: 2739), and then *Wat romstu dy*, the version from his *De psal-men Dauidis*, his complete metrical psalter (London, 1566; STC: 2740). It dropped out of use thereafter and appears never to have been used for English lyrics.

88 *Chansons nouvelles en musique à quatre parties* (Paris, 1528), no 14. On this chanson and its early history see Jean Vignes, 'Chanter *l'Adolescence Clémentine*, ou Marot, Attaingnant, Sermisy: la Fabrique de quelques Tubes de la Renaissance', *Babel* (2019), 163–92, http://doi.org/10.4000/babel.5759. The psalm eventually took the modernized opening as well.

89 Helena Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), 41–3. Love song and religious parody versions both begin *For love of one*.

90 See Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966), 225; and Hyder E. Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1924), 174, no 2018. Moreover, *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, first published around 1565, contains many lover's complaints, including some about Fortune, but none that would fit *Fortune my foe*.

91 See Christopher Marsh, '"Fortune My Foe": The Circulation of an English Super-Tune', in *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*, ed. Dieuwke van der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, and Wim van Anrooij (Leiden, 2016), 308, 326.

92 One further possibility would be a setting to the six-line tune of William Kethe's Psalm 126, coming originally from the 1551 French tune for Psalm 90 and appearing first in *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes of Dauid* in 1561. The initial abab section of the tune could be repeated three times for the first three quatrains, and the final couplet set to the last two phrases. This arrangement is congruent with how John Dowland set sonnets to music in the early seventeenth century. See n65 above.

93 Another characteristic of the *Fortune* tune is that the phrases all end with long notes, which can easily be shortened to allow a breath for the singer, just as the pentameter psalms usually insert rests between phrases.

94 See Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London, 1977), 56–8. The dating is from Wilmot's prefatory note about '24 yeres betwixt' the performance and the printing. See *Tancred and Gismund* (London, 1591; STC: 25764), ✶4v.

95 British Library, Hargrave MS 205, ff 9r–22r. A later manuscript was apparently copied from the print: BL Lansdowne MS 786. The Hargrave manuscript was published in an *Old English Drama Student Facsimile Edition* (Amersham, 1912).

96 These include Henry Noel (act 2) and Christopher Hatton (act 4).

97 BL Hargrave 205, f 22r.

98 *Tancred and Gismund*, A4r.

99 Ibid, C3v.

100 Ibid, D1v.

101 In the prints an additional passage is inserted for Chor. 1 at the very end of the act 2 chorus, and it is in rhyme royal. It could, of course, be sung to Psalm 83.

102 Gascoigne, *The Glass of Government* (London, 1575; STC: 11643).

103 It happens that *We live to learn*, the epilogue to the *Glass of Government,* is in rhyme royal as well, so it could also be set to Psalm 83. Unlike the passages labelled 'Chorus', however, nothing in the print suggests that it was sung.

104 See Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures, and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Ashgate, 2008), 142–3.

105 Thomas Whythorne, *Songes for Three, Fower, and Giue Voyces* (London, 1571; STC: 25584), f 7v. As revealed in his autobiography, Whythorne wrote the lyric after unsuccessfully wooing a lady. He apparently became composer to Archbishop Parker ca 1571 and was a pallbearer at his funeral in 1575. See *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford, 1961), 67, 208–11. An edition of all four voices of the song is in *Thomas Whythorne: Songes for Fower Voyces*, ed. Robert McQuillan (Antico Edition AE39) (Newton Abbot, 2004), 1–2. On the possibility of four-voice settings in performance of the tragedies, see below.

106 Popular lyrics in poulter's measure from this period are frequently set to tunes like *Tinternell* or *Jon come kiss me now*. An example from Gascoigne is *In Prime of lusty years* from 'The Aduentures of Master F. I.', in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 223, which was labeled there as sung to *Tyntarnell*. For a brief history of that tune see John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford, 1992), 1.103, n318. See also Gavin Alexander, 'Gascoigne and Practical Music: Playing *Loath to Depart*', *Review of English Studies* 67 (2015), 51–6, https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgv076.

107 An earlier tune for Sternhold's Psalm 25, printed in the 1556 *Forme of Prayers*, was replaced for later publications.

108 By way of example, Tallis sets this tune to Parker's Psalm 42, though he omits the optional parenthetical text in order to regularize the metre. See *The Whole Psalter* (London, 1567; STC: 2729), Y3r and YY1r. On Parker's collection, including the complications of the optional text, see Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 251–9, and Kerry McCarthy, *Tallis* (Oxford, 2020), 147–59. Two slightly later DSM psalm (or psalm-like) settings survive by William Hunnis, member of the Chapel Royal and later master of the choristers there. In that role he had oversight of their play productions, though his device of the *Lady of the Lake* for the Entertainment at Kenilworth (1575, published London, 1587; STC: 11639) is the only script of his that we possess. His *Seuen Sobbes of a Sorrowfull Soule* (London, 1583; STC: 13975) contains musical settings for DSM lyrics, *Within my soul, O Lord* (20–1), and *Give ear, O Lord, to hear* (58–9). On Hunnis see Duffin, *Some Other Note*, 122–6.

109 Gascoigne describes a poetry challenge set for him by Neville at Gray's Inn in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 360. On Neville see *The Histories of Alexander Neville (1544–1614)*, ed. Ingrid Walton, Clive Wilkins-Jones, and Philip Watson (Martlesham, 2019).

110 *Certayn Devices and Shewes* (London, 1587; STC: 13921).

111 Ibid, G2r. The word 'pronounced', like 'declared' (see above), is another verb describing the aural action of the chorus. It was used in a musical context on 17 November 1590 (Accession Day), when Sir Henry Lee retired as Elizabeth's 'Champion' at a court ceremony in the Tiltyard at Whitehall, and 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 for his voice both commendable and admirable'. See William Segar, *Honor, Military, and Civill* (London, 1602; STC: 22164), 198.

112 See Germaine Warkentin, 'Patrons and Profiteers: Thomas Newman and the "Violent Enlargement" of *Astrophil and Stella*', *Book Collector* 34 (1985), 467–8.

113 *Les Pseavmes* (1562), 211–12. Intriguingly, while the tune and this precise versification are not found in the English metrical psalter, the stanza versification of eight decasyllabic lines occurs nine times in the Sidney psalter. See *The Psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke*, ed. J.C.A. Rathmell (New York, 1963), Psalms 5, 45, 50, 58, 68, 78, 94, 98, and 104. Additionally, Psalms 80, 89, and 105 are in pentameters but include various eleven-syllable lines. Unlike Flower's chorus, there is no match for the rhyme scheme among these Sidney psalms, however.

114 Psalm 104 is among the oldest tunes in the French metrical psalter, dating back to *La forme des prières et chantz ecclesiastiques* (Geneva, 1542), g3v–g4r.

115 Of all the play choruses discussed here, the two by Flower for *The Misfortunes of Arthur* are the least psalm-like in terms of subject matter. They seem to be part of that tradition, however, and the versifications certainly fit psalm tunes.

116 *Abraham's Sacrifice* (London, 1577; STC: 2047).

117 *Abraham sacrifiant* (1550), A2v (p 4).

118 *The Psalmes of Dauid and Others, with M. Iohn Caluins Commentaries* (London, 1571; STC: 4395). Golding's standard biography is Louis Thorn Golding, *An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding, the Translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses and also of John Calvin's Sermons* (New York, 1937).

119 *Abraham's Sacrifice*, A7v.

120 Because of the odd number of stanzas, the final stanza would be set to a reprise of the second half of the tune.

121 *Abraham sacrifiant*, B4v–B6v (pp 24–8).

122 This tune was apparently introduced in Bourgeois's *Pseaulmes cinquante de David* of 1547. The French psalm has eight trimeter lines, repeating the first two phrases of the tune, but the tune was first reduced to six lines for Sternhold's version in the 1558 *Forme of Prayers*. An eight-line DCM version was introduced for Psalm 107 in the 1564 *Forme of Prayers*.

123 There was a second tune for Psalm 120, introduced in 1569 then appearing alongside this one, but it has more short notes and cannot accommodate the extra syllables of the third and sixth lines.

124 It first appeared with William Kethe's Psalm 100 translation in *Foure Score and Seuen Psalmes*, of 1561, ff 109r–109v. In the psalm repertoire this versification is known as long metre.

125 On rhyme scheme differences see above. Sixty-eight lines would require seventeen times through the tune, which may seem somewhat repetitive, but it would be at least as interesting as sixty-eight unbroken lines of recitation. Besides, as strophic songs with numerous stanzas, many narrative ballads go far beyond that number. For example, the *Shore's Wife* ballad cited above has thirty-seven six-line stanzas sung over and over to the same tune. In cases like that the listener is simply following the story, not thinking about how little musical material is involved.

126 *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (London, 1623; STC: 25908). Note 'To the Reader', P4r.

127 E.C., *The Tragedie of Mariam* (London, 1613; STC: 4613). I will explore such vestiges in my monograph in progress on songs in English tragedy.

128 Thomas Heywood, *Gynaikeion: or, Nine Bookes of Various History* (London, 1624; STC: 13326), 68. Heywood is speaking of Melpomene, the muse of tragedy.

129 Four-voice settings of the chorus psalms presented here may be found in one or more of the following collections from the 1560s: John Day, *Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes* (1563), with psalm settings by William Parsons, Thomas Caustun, John Hake, Richard Brimley, and Nicholas Southerton, with prayers set by a few others, including Richard Edwards and Thomas Tallis; Claude Goudimel, *Les pseavmes mis en rime françoise* (1565); Matthew Parker, *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre* (1567), with eight tunes by Thomas Tallis; the Wode Partbooks, also known as St Andrew's Psalter (1562–). This manuscript source contains four-voice settings of all 105 of the unique metrical psalm tunes in the 1564 *Forme and Prayers*, composed by David Peebles apparently in the 1560s. The partbooks are now scattered among the British Library, Georgetown University Library, Trinity College Library, Dublin, and Edinburgh University Library. Information about this source, with links to online images, maybe found at http://www.wode.div.ed.ac.uk/, the Wode Psalter Project, hosted by the University of Edinburgh. For earlier French polyphonic

collections see n19 above. The earliest four-voice metrical psalm settings in English are those by Robert Crowley in 1549: although he gave only a single recitation formula to be used for all the psalms, he printed it in four-part harmony. See *The Psalter of Dauid*, ✠✠2v–✠✠3r.

130 *Gismond of Salerne* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* have numbered chorus sections which could be interpreted as indicating individual rather than 'choral' performance. In *Gismond* the earlier manuscript version (BL Hargrave MS 205) shows no such numbered divisions, and the print version simply numbers the chorus sections in order, as if numbering stanzas. The one exception is an additional 'Chor. 1' at the end of the act 2 chorus — a passage which is not in the manuscript version. The choruses in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* all have sections numbered consecutively.

131 Possibly the various instrumental ensembles, which immediately followed the choruses in *Gorboduc*, could have performed some of these quartets instrumentally as echoes of the choruses just heard. Pierre Colin's *Les Cinquante Pseaulmes de David* of 1550 mentions on the title page that its four-voice settings are 'conuenable aus instrumens'. Likewise, Day's *Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes* of 1563 says on its title page that the psalms 'may be song to al musicall instrumentes'.

132 *Tancred and Gismund*, B2r.

133 'Harmony' has a primary musical definition involving two or more parts in concord, but it could figuratively refer to melody alone. For example, in 1538 Elyot, *Dictionary*, I5v, defined 'Harmonia' as 'harmonie or melody'.

134 As composer Thomas Tallis observed concerning his four-voice settings of Matthew Parker's psalms: 'The Tenor of these partes be for the people when they will syng alone, the other parts, put for greater queers, or to suche as will syng or play them priuatelye'. See *The Whole Psalter*, VV4r. Note the reference here also to 'syng or play'. An exception is the tune to Psalm 129, which is set in a higher register than the others, and which is treated as a superius part in polyphony, rather than a tenor. The same is true for Thomas Whythorne's setting for Example 7 above, for which the tune is the top part in a four-voice setting from Whythorne's 1571 publication.

135 Additional variety in the choruses could be created, furthermore, by alternating unison and harmonic stanzas, for example, or by singing mostly in unison but ending with a stanza in harmony.