

THE EARLY CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF SHAKESPEAREAN  
STAGE MUSIC: VOCALITY, CIRCULATION AND  
REPRESENTATION

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by

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Complete in Three Volumes

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## APPENDIX 1.1

## CHILD AND ADULT SONGS IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

All songs performed by female characters are here classified as child songs. It is assumed that Ariel (*The Tempest*) was played by a child. *Macbeth*'s two witch songs are excluded from the list below on the grounds that they were likely a late interpolation by Thomas Middleton and did not feature in Shakespeare's original play (see Chapter 3). The term 'blank song' describes instances where the performance of a song is indicated but the text or title of the song is not supplied. Dates of authorship of the plays are from *R*; in cases of date ranges, the mid-way point is used for the purposes of figure 1. 'Fragments' are snatches of songs rather than full performances; for the purposes of figure 1, each set of fragments has a collective value of 1. Those songs for which the identity of the singer is unclear are excluded from figure 1.

*Child Songs*

*Love's Labour's Lost* (1595–6)—'Concolinel'; 'When Daisies Pied'<sup>1</sup>

*A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595–6)—'You spotted snakes'

*Henry IV, Part 1* (1596–9)—Blank song

*The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597–1601)—'Fie on sinful fantasy'

*As You Like It* (1598–1600)—'It was a lover and his lass'

*Julius Caesar* (1599)—Blank song

*Hamlet* (1599–1601)—'Walsingham'; 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's Day'; 'They bore him barefaced on the bier'; 'And will he not come again'

*Othello* (1603)—The Willow Song<sup>2</sup>

*Measure for Measure* (1604)—'Take, o take those lips away'<sup>3</sup>

*Antony and Cleopatra* (1606–7)—'Come thou monarch of the vine'

*Pericles* (1608)—Blank song

*The Winter's Tale* (1610–11)—'Get you hence'<sup>4</sup>

*The Tempest* (1610–11)—'Come unto these yellow sands'; 'Full fathom five'; 'While you here do snoring lie'; 'Honour, riches, marriage, blessing'; 'Where the bee sucks'

*Henry VIII* (1613)—'Orpheus with his lute'

*The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613–14)—'Roses their sharp spines being gone'; 'Urns and odours bring away'; 'For I'll cut my green coat a foot above my knee'; 'The George Allow'; other fragments.

*Adult Songs*

*The Taming of the Shrew* (1590–92)—fragments

*Love's Labour's Lost* (1595–6)—'When daisies pied'

<sup>1</sup> Sung by the full company and therefore included in both categories.

<sup>2</sup> Included here despite its absence from *Othello* Q1 since I consider its inclusion in the play to be authorial (see Chapter 3).

<sup>3</sup> Included here despite the controversy surrounding its provenance since I conclude in Chapter 3 that its inclusion in *Measure for Measure* is authorial.

<sup>4</sup> Three part song including a female character and therefore included in both categories.

*Romeo and Juliet* (1595–6)—‘An old hare hoar’  
*A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1595–6)—‘The ousel cock’  
*Henry IV, Part 2* (1596–9)—fragments  
*The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597–1601)—‘To shallow rivers/Whenas I sat in Babylon’  
*Much Ado About Nothing* (1598–9)—‘Sigh no more, ladies; ‘The god of love’; ‘Pardon goddess of the night’  
*As You Like It* (1598–1600)—‘Under the Greenwood Tree’; ‘Blow, blow thou winter wind’; ‘What shall he have that killed the deer?’; ‘Wedding is great Juno’s crown’  
*Hamlet* (1599–1601)— ‘In youth when I did love’  
*Twelfth Night* (1601–2)—‘O mistress mine’; ‘Come away death’; ‘I am gone sir’; ‘When that I was and a little tiny boy’; ‘Hold thy peace’; fragments.  
*Troilus and Cressida* (1602)—‘Love, love, nothing but love’  
*Othello* (1603)—‘And let me the cannikin clink’; ‘King Stephen was and a worthy peer’  
*All’s Well That Ends Well* (1605)—‘Was this fair face the cause, quoth she’  
*King Lear* (1605–6)—‘Fools had ne’er less grace in a year’; ‘Come o’er the burn, Bessie’<sup>5</sup>; ‘When that I had and a little tiny wit’  
*The Winter’s Tale* (1610–11)—‘When daffodils begin to peer’; ‘But shall I go mourn for that my dear’; ‘Jog on’; ‘Lawn as white as driven snow’; ‘Get you hence’; ‘Will you buy any tape?’  
*The Tempest* (1610–11)—‘No more dams I’ll make for fish’; ‘Flout ‘em and scout ‘em’

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<sup>5</sup> Included here despite its omission from *F* on the strength of its presence in Q1 *King Lear*

## APPENDIX 2.1

## EARLY SOURCES FOR SHAKESPEARE SONGS

Appendix 2.1 comprises a key, source list and table of songs. The key uses typographical devices to symbolize secondary sources consulted for the dating and pagination of manuscripts. The key also lists abbreviations used to describe source types; those abbreviations are given in brackets after each entry in the source list. Where some library catalogues describe all personal compilations as commonplace books, they are more specifically described here as verse anthologies or verse and prose anthologies. Commonplace books are here defined as volumes which also contain non-literary entries pertaining to the household such as accounts, recipes or medical notes.

Manuscripts in the source list are listed alphabetically according to library sigla, and then numerically, by shelfmark. Unless otherwise stated, manuscript dates are from the relevant library catalogue. Other sources consulted for dating are listed in the key or in footnotes. Where it has not been possible to consult a manuscript or facsimile, page and folio numbers are taken from secondary sources and referenced accordingly.

Printed publications which appear in the table more than once are given sigla. Other printed sources are listed in the source list and table by surname of author/compiler. Where a publication is anonymous, it is here ascribed where possible to its seller or printer. In cases where the identity of seller and printer is also unknown, the material is assigned a siglum from A1 to A6, even if it appears only once.

In the table, the plays are listed chronologically according to the dates given in *R*. The songs of each play are listed alphabetically and their sources are entered chronologically.

Only the earliest known musical setting of each song is considered, except where more than one musical setting was in circulation during Shakespeare's lifetime. Excepting broadsides, earliest extant prints only are here collated, unless a particular tune or text made its first appearance in a later print or was subject to notable alteration in subsequent prints. All extant prints of a broadside are collated since they are a) valuable records of the circulation and popularity of individual songs, and b) seldom identical. Replications of particular broadsides are omitted, however, where the transmission is textually identical and the original print is accessible; one example is William Chappell's edition of the *Roxburghe Ballads*, since Chappell's reproductions are extremely accurate and all of the relevant broadsides are available digitally.<sup>1</sup>

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints are listed with their STC numbers. Eighteenth-century publications are listed with their ESTC numbers. Broadside are listed in the table by their STC or EBBA numbers; they are referenced in full in the source list, where they are listed chronologically according to their EBBA/STC/Wing numbers. Since broadsides are usually undated, estimated dates of broadsides with an EBBA ID are from the EBBA website; estimated dates of broadsides with STC or Wing numbers are from EEBO. Twentieth-century publications are considered contemporary literature and therefore not included here, with the exception of Andrew Clarke's 1907 edition of the *Shirburn Ballads*; where Clarke is cited, the entry refers to the original broadsides in the Shirburn MS, which are otherwise inaccessible.

Where a song has a check in the 'Tune Direction' column, the song title as given in the table matches the printed tune direction.

Poetical replies to or moralizations of songs used by Shakespeare are not listed as text sources where the original song survives. In cases where the original song does not survive, however, moralizations *are* listed since they help determine the original song's date. They are also

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<sup>1</sup> *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. William Chappell, 9 vols (Hertford: Taylor & Co., 1871–99).

sometimes listed as sources for tune directions where appropriate. Variations and parodies of the songs themselves *are* listed on account of their importance for textual criticism.

Quarto, Folio and printed adaptations of Shakespeare's plays are not included here, the aim being to chart the circulation of the songs outside of their dramatic contexts. Published plays by other playwrights are included.

### Key

- \* page/folio number from *The First line Index* ([www.firstlines.folger.edu](http://www.firstlines.folger.edu))
- † date and, unless otherwise stated, page/folio number from CELM
- ‡ manuscript brought to my attention through private correspondence with Dr Laura Estill
- § date and page/folio number from Julia Craig-McFeely, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630* (D. Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1993)
- ¶ date from DIAMM
- ~ date from *ECCO*

### Source type abbreviations

- B* Broadside
- Ch* Choirbook
- Com* Commonplace book
- Dr* Drama
- GCA* Glee and catch anthology
- Mag* Magazine
- MA* Music anthology
- Mar* Marginalia in printed book
- MIM* Music instruction manual
- MP* Miscellaneous papers
- MT* Musical treatise
- Ps* Psalter
- SA* Song anthology (with music)
- SBA* Song and ballad anthology (text only)
- SIA* Solo instrumental anthology
- VA* Verse anthology
- Vo* Vocal partbook
- VPA* Verse and prose anthology

## List of Manuscript Sources

**D-KL**

4° Ms. Mus. 1081 (lutebook), 1609–11 (SIA)

**F-Pc**

Rés. 1185 (Bull/Cosyn keyboard MS), c. 1652 (SIA)<sup>2</sup>

Rés. 1186 (virginal book), c. 1635–8 (SIA)<sup>†3</sup>

**GB-AB**

Brogynlyn 27 (Brogynlyn Lutebook), c. 1600 (SIA)<sup>§</sup>

**GB-Bc**

Acc. No. 57316, Location No. S747.01, (missing leaves from GB-Eu Dc.1.69), 1660s (Vo)<sup>4</sup>

**GB-CAR**

D&C Music 1 (altus and bassus partbooks compiled by Bishop Thomas Smith of Carlisle), c. 1637 (Vo)<sup>‡</sup>

**GB-Cfm**

MS 782 (John Bull Manuscript), 1610 (MA)

MU.MS.168 (Fitzwilliam Virginal Book), before 1617 (SIA)<sup>5</sup>

**GB-Cjc**

MS.U26 (James 548) (compiler John Cruso (fl.1595-1655), poet and military writer), 1630s (VA)<sup>† ‡</sup>

**GB-Ckc**

MS Rowe 1 (The Lant Roll of Catches), c. 1580 (GCA)<sup>6</sup>

**GB-Ctc**

MS O.2.53, late 15th century (VA)

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<sup>2</sup> Date from Jan W. J. Burgers, Louis Peter Grijp and John H. Robinson, 'A Newly discovered Dutch Lute Book: MS Enkhuizen 1667-1' in *The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht, 30 August 2013*, ed. Jan W. J. Burgers, Tim Crawford and Matthew Spring (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 301–44 (338). Item number for 'Walsingham' from Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 741.

<sup>3</sup> Folio number for 'Hunt's Up' from Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 324; folio number for 'Farewell dear heart' from Peter Holman, 'Two Jacobean Songs', *Early Music*, 6 (1974), 629–31 (629).

<sup>4</sup> Date from *English Song 8: Edinburgh University Library Manuscript MS Dc. 1.69 (Songs in the Hand of Edward Lowe) supplemented by Birmingham Central Library MS. 57316*, ed. Elise Bickford Jorgens (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), p. v.

<sup>5</sup> Date from Ruby Reid Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist: A Legend and an Alternative View', *Music & Letters*, 82 (2001), 1–31 (15). Item numbers for the MS from *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, 2 vols, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1963).

<sup>6</sup> All information from Jill Vlasto, 'An Elizabethan Anthology of Rounds', *The Musical Quarterly*, 40 (1954), 222–34. The song in question is transcribed on p. 208.

**GB-Cu**

- Add. MS 3056 (Cosen's Lutebook), c. 1610 (SIA)§  
 Add. MS 7350, (bifolium of four Medieval carols), c. 1500 (MP)  
 Add. MS 8844 (Trumbull Lutebook), c. 1595 (SIA)§  
 Dd.2.11 (Matthew Holmes lutebook), c. 1585–c. 1595 (SIA)§  
 Dd.3.18 (Matthew Holmes consort books, lute), c. 1585–1600 (MA)§  
 Dd.4.23 (Matthew Holmes's Cittern Book), c. 1610 (SIA)†<sup>7</sup>  
 Dd.5.20 (Matthew Holmes consort books, bass viol), c. 1595 (MA)<sup>8</sup>  
 Dd.5.78.3 (Matthew Holmes lutebook), c. 1595–1600 (SIA)§  
 Dd.9.33, (Matthew Holmes lutebook, including duets), c. 1600–1605 (SIA)§  
 Dd.14.24 (Matthew Holmes consort books, cittern), before 1595 (MA)<sup>9</sup>  
 Nn.6.36 (Matthew Holmes lutebook), c. 1610–15 (MA)§

**GB-En**

- Adv. MS 5.2.14 (Leyden song book), c. 1639 (SA)†  
 MS 5448 (Lady Ann Ker's music book), c. 1630 (SA)†  
 Panmure 10 (Duncan Burnett's virginal book), c. 1615 (SIA)†

**GB-Eu**

- MS Dk.5.14 (Wode partbooks), c. 1562–92 (Vo)¶  
 MS La III. 483 (a) (Wode partbooks), c. 1562–92 (Vo)¶  
 MS La III. 483 (b) (Wode partbooks), c. 1562–92 (Vo)¶  
 MS La III. 483 (c) (Wode partbooks), c. 1562–92 (Vo)¶

**GB-Ge**

- Ms Euing 25 (*olim* R.d.43, Euing Lutebook), c. 1610 and c. 1650 (SIA)§

**GB-Lbl**

- Add. MS 4797 (Milles Collection), 1300–1683 (MP)  
 Add. MS 4900 (Banks Collection), early 17th century (MP)  
 Add. MS 11608 (John Hilton's Manuscript), 1656–9 (SA)  
 Add. MS 15015 (Poems and lyrical pieces, by Robert Davies of Nantglyn), 1801–35 (VPA)  
 Add. MS 15117 (Swarland Lute Book), c. 1615 (MA)§  
 Add. MS 15118 (songs, lute tablature and viol music), early 17th century (MA)†<sup>10</sup>  
 Add. MS 17786 (vocal and instrumental partbooks, vol. 1 of 6), early 17th century (MA)  
 Add. MS 18647 (poems and prose by John Donne), c. 1620s–30s (VPA)\*†  
 Add. MS 19268, c. 1630s (VA)\*†  
 Add. MS 21544, 18th century (MP)  
 Add. MS 22601, c. 1603 (VPA)

<sup>7</sup> Folio number from Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 323.

<sup>8</sup> Date from Warwick Edwards, 'Sources of instrumental ensemble music to 1630' in *Grove Music Online* (2001). Page number for 'Hunt's up' from Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 741.

<sup>9</sup> Date from James Tyler, 'Cittern' in *Grove Music Online* (2001); page number for 'Hunt's up' from Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 323; page number for 'Walsingham' from John M. Ward, 'Apropos "The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 28–86 (79–80).

<sup>10</sup> Folio number from *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, ed. Augustus Hughes-Hughes, 3 vols (William Clowes and Sons, Limited: London, 1907), vol. 3, p. 67.



- Add. MS 23623 (The Messaus-Bull Codex), 1628 (*SIA*)<sup>11</sup>  
 Add. MS 26737 (Collections relating to the county of York), mid-17th century (*VPA*)<sup>12</sup>  
 Add. MS 27879 (Bishop Percy's Manuscript), mid 17th century (*SBA*)  
 Add. MS 29485 (Susanne van Stoldt's Virginal MS), 1599 (*SIA*)  
 Add. MS 30486 (virginal book), c. 1600 (*SIA*)<sup>13</sup>  
 Add. MS 30513 (Mulliner Book), 1545–70 (*SIA*)¶  
 Add. MS 31392 (lutebook), c. 1605 (*SIA*)§  
 Add. MS 31922 (Henry VIII Manuscript), 1510–20 (*MA*)¶  
 Add. MS 32532 (Roger North, 'Some Memorandums concerning Musick'), before 1701 (*MT*)<sup>14</sup>  
 Add. MS 33933 (Wode partbooks), 1562–92 (*Vo*)¶  
 Add. MS 38599 (Shann Family Commonplace Book), c. 1611–32 (*Com*)†  
 Add. MS 5665 (Ritson Manuscript), 15th–16th century (*Ch*)  
 Add. MS 82932 (Shirburn Ballads), 1609–16 (*SBA*)†<sup>15</sup>  
 Cotton MS Vespasian A XXV, c. 1576 (*VPA*)<sup>16</sup>  
 Egerton MS 2046 (Pickering Lutebook), 1616 and c. 1630–50 (*SIA*)§  
 Egerton MS 2421, mid-17th century (*VA*)†  
 Egerton MS 2711, (Poems of sir Thomas Wyatt), c. 1530s (*VA*)†  
 Harley MS 3511, (Verse miscellany of Arthur Capell, 1st Earl of Essex), mid-17th century (*VA*)\*†  
 K.1.e.9 (STC 20759) marginal note on sigs A1v–A2 early 17th century (*Mar*)<sup>17</sup>  
 MS Mus. 1591 (My Lady Nevell's Book), 1591 (*SIA*)  
 R.M.23.L.4 (Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book), 1563–1605 (*SIA*)  
 R.M.24.d.3 (William Forster's Virginal Book), 1624 (*SIA*)  
 Sloane MS 542, c. 1630s (*VPA*)\*†  
 Stowe MS 962, c. 1637 (*VA*)\*†

### ***GB-Lna***

Star Chamber 5, 30/16, (legal document), 1603 (*MP*)

### ***GB-NO***

Mi LM 16 (Willoughby Lutebook), c. 1560–85 (*SIA*)§

### ***GB-Ob***

Ashmole 36, c. 1634 (*VA*)<sup>18</sup>

Ashmole 47, c. 1630s–40s (*VPA*)†

<sup>11</sup> Folio number from Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Date from Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 186.

<sup>13</sup> Date from *Byrd Studies*, ed. Alan Brown and Richard Turbot (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 165.

<sup>14</sup> Date from *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the years c. 1695–1728*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1959), 361–2.

<sup>15</sup> Folio number from *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 244.

<sup>16</sup> Date and folio number from *Tudor Songs and Ballads from MS Cotton Vespasian A-25*, ed. Peter J. Seng (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. xx and 1..

<sup>17</sup> Date of note from Peter J. Seng, 'An Early Tune for the Fool's Song in *King Lear*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 583–5 (583).

<sup>18</sup> Date from William Chappell, *Popular music of the olden time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1859), vol. 2, p. 541.

Ashmole 48, mid 16th century (*SBA*)†  
 Ashmole 176, late 16th century (*MP*)<sup>19</sup>  
 Ashmole 219 (Simon Forman's Commonplace Book), 1599–1600 (*Com*)\*  
 Ashmole 1486 (Robert Garland's Book), 1596 (*VPA*)\*  
 Don.c.57, 1640s–60s (*SA*)†  
 Eng. poet. e. 97, c. 1630s–40s (*VA*)\*†  
 Eng. poet. e. 99 (poems by John Donne), 1620–33 (*VA*)\*†  
 Eng. poet. f. 9, 1623 (*VA*)\*†  
 MS Malone 12 (Middleton's *The Witch*), 1619–27 (*Dr*)†  
 MS Sancroft 53, (jests and verse compiled by Archbishop Sancroft), c. 1682–91 (*VPA*)†  
 Mus.b.1, (songs by John Wilson), c. 1656 (*SA*)†  
 Mus.d.238 (secundus to the primus *GB-Eu* DC.1.69), 1660s (*Vo*)<sup>20</sup>  
 Mus. F17–19 (Hammond Partbooks), 1655–66 (*Vo*)†  
 Rawl. poet. 85, c. 1586–91 (*VA*)†  
 Rawl. poet. 112, c. 1595–1600s (*VPA*)\*†  
 Rawl. poet. 117 (the Wase MS), mid-17th century (*VA*)\*†  
 Rawl. poet. 148, c. 1590s (*VPA*)\*†

### ***GB-Och***

*GB-Och* MS 150 (1561–2) (Ps)  
 MS Mus. 434, (bass part book containing 4 solo songs by John Wilson), 1650–75 (*SA*)  
 MS Mus. 439, c. 1620 (*MA*)<sup>21</sup>†  
 MSS Mus. 736–8, early to mid 17th century (*Vo*)†  
 MS Mus. 1113 (keyboard anthology), 1620s (*SIA*)

### ***GB-WCr***

44M69, (papers of the Jervoise family of Herriard Park), c. 1600 (*MP*)‡

### ***IRL-Dm***

Z3.2.13 (Marsh Lute Book), c. 1595 (*SIA*)§

### ***IRL-Dtc***

408/1 (Ballet Lutebook), c. 1595 and c. 1610 (*SIA*)§  
 408/2 (bound with the Ballet Lutebook), c. 1605 (*SIA*)§  
 410/1 (Dallis Lutebook and Dublin Virginal Book), 1583–5 (*SIA*)§

### ***NL-Lt***

MS.1666 (Thysius Lutebook), c. 1620 (*SIA*)§

### ***Private Collections***

Board Lutebook, c. 1620 and 1635 (*SIA*)§  
 Mynshall Lutebook, 1597–1600 (*SIA*)§  
 Welde Lutebook, c. 1600 (*SIA*)§

<sup>19</sup> Date from John E. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge, London, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 462.

<sup>20</sup> Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, 462.

<sup>21</sup> Date from EECM, pagination from CELM.

**US-CAh**

- MS Eng. 626, 1630s (VA)\*  
 MS Eng. 628, c. 1620 (VPA)\*  
 MS Eng. 1038.1, c. 1774 (Com)\*<sup>22</sup>  
 MS Eng. 1470, 1873–96 (SBA)\*  
 MS Eng. 1490, c. 1691–early 18th century (VPA)\*†

**US-LAuc**

- MS.1959.003 (The Taitt Manuscript), 1676–89 (Com)

**US-NH**

- MA21, W632 (Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript), c. 1595 (SIA)§  
 Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4 (partbooks containing John Wilson's vocal trios), mid-17th century (Vo)

**US-NHuh**

- Gen MSS Vol 548 (Davenant's *Macbeth*), 17th century (Dr)  
 Osborn MS b. 148, 1622–33 (VPA)\*  
 Osborn MS b. 150, c. 1644 (VPA)\*†  
 Osborn MS b. 356, late 1630s (VA)\*†  
 Osborn Music MS 13 (Osborn Commonplace Book/ Braye Lutebook), c. 1560–70 (Com)  
 Osborn MS c. 362 (Ralph Tinley's commonplace book), late 18th century (Com)\*†

**US-NYp**

- Drexel 4041 (songs, duets and trios for voice and continuo), c. 1640s (SA)†  
 Drexel 4175 (Ann Twice, her Book), c. 1620s–30s (Com)  
 Drexel 4257 (John Gamble's Commonplace Book), 1630s–50s (SA)†  
 Drexel 5612 (keyboard anthology), c. 1620–60 (SIA)<sup>23</sup>

**US-NYpm**

- Rulers of England (Eliz. I), 1600–1610 (MP)\*

**US-OAm**

- Mills College Cittern MS, c. 1600 (SIA)<sup>24</sup>

**US-PHr**

- MS 243/4, c. 1634 (VA)\*†

**US-SM**

- HM 172, c. 1630s (VA)\*†

<sup>22</sup> Date from David Allan, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740–1830* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 254.

<sup>23</sup> Date from Alan Brown, 'Toy' in *Grove Music Online* (2001); page numbers from *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (<[www.opac.rism.info](http://www.opac.rism.info)>).

<sup>24</sup> Dates and page number from Sarah F. Williams, *Damnably Practices: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century Broadside Ballads* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), p. 81, n. 94.

HM 198.1 (the Haslewood Kingsborough MS I), c. 1637 (VA)†  
 HM 198.2 (the Haslewood Kingsborough MS II), c. 1615–18 (VA)\*<sup>25</sup>

**US-TxU**

MS 2287 (Thomas Killigrew Miscellany), late 17th–early 18th century (VA)

**US-Wog**

M1490 M535.A5 (Melville's Book of Roundels), 1612 (GCA)

**US-Ws**

v.a.96 (4), c. 1640 (VA)

v.a.159 (The Lodge Lutebook), 1559–c. 1575 (Com)§

v.a.169 (John Oldham's Book), pt 2, c. 1670 (VPA)

v.a.308, 1690–1730 (VA)

v.a.399 (Charles Shuttleworth's book), c. 1600–c. 1725 (VA)\*

v.a. 409, c. 1625 (GCA)

v.a.411 (leaves excised from John Playford's partbooks, *GB-Ge* MSS Euing R.d.58-61), 1650–67 (Vo)

v.a.437 (musical scrapbook of nine fragments taken from four leaves that originally belonged to three unrelated manuscripts), c. 1675 (Vo)

v.a.438 (Commonplace book of a Somerset clergyman), c. 1570 (Com)

v.b.280 (Folger Dowland Manuscript), c. 1590 (SIA)§

z.e.28 (2), 1572–3 (VPA)\*

List of Printed Sources

*Anonymous printed sources*

- A1 *Windsor-drollery An exact collection of the newest songs, poems, and catches, now in use both in city and countrey* (London: for J. M. 1671; Wing 2203) (VA)
- A2 *Windsor-drollery being a more exact collection of the newest songs, poems, and catches, now in use, both in city and country* (London: for J. M., 1672; Wing W2980) (VA)
- A3 *The new vocal miscellany. Containing near 200 songs* (London: booksellers of London and Westminster, 1750; ESTC T179110) (SBA)
- A4 *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1733). Here viewed in *A collection of old ballads. Corrected from the best and most ancient copies extant* (London: for J. Roberts, 1727; ESTC N000939) (SBA)
- A5 *Choice of inuentions, or Seuerall sorts of the figure of three that are newly compos'd as here you may see* (London: for F. Coles, 1632; STC 5143) (B)
- A6 British Museum 1868,0808.3900, *No Peace for the Wicked: or Wars broke out in the City* (Oxford: 1749) (B)

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<sup>25</sup> Date from Mark Bland, 'Stemmatology and Society in Early Modern England', *Studia Neophilologica*, 86: sup.1 (2014), 29–47 (31).

*Printed Source Abbreviations (for sources which transmit more than one Shakespearean song)*

- Bo Boreman, T., *A complete collection of old and new English and Scotch songs*, 4 vols (London: T. Boreman, 1736; ESTC N028609) (SBA)
- C Thomas Cotes, *Poems: written by Wil. Shakespeare. Gent* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640; STC 22344) (VA)
- Ch W. Chase, *The ladies and gentlemens musical memorandum: or, Norfolk songster* (Norwich: W. Chase, 1770; ESTC T178431) (SBA) ~
- Cha William Chappell (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 vols (Hertford: Taylor & Co., 1871–99) (SBA)
- Cl Andrew Clarke, *The Shirburn ballads, 1585-1616* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907) (SBA)
- Co M. Cooper, *The sports of the muses. Or a minute's mirth for any hour of the day*, 2 vols (London, M. Cooper, 1752; ESTC T085787), vol. 1 (SBA)
- Cor Corkine, William, *The second booke of ayres* (London: Thomas Snodham 1612; STC 5769) (MA)
- D Thomas Deloney, *The garland of good will* (London: for E. B. and Robert Bird, 1628; STC 6553.5) (VA)
- De Thomas Deloney, *The garland of delight* (London: T. H., 1681; Wing D945A) (SBA)
- F John Fletcher, *The bloody brother* (London: R. Bishop, 1639; STC 11064) (Dr)
- G John Gough, *The Academy of complements with many new additions of songs and catches a-la-mode* (London: for R. Parker, 1684; Wing G1406) (SBA)
- H John Heywood, *The rape of Lucrece* (London: E. Alde, 1608; STC 13360) (Dr)
- Hi1 John Hilton, *Catch that catch can*, (London: for John Benson and John Playford, 1652; Wing H2036) (MA)
- Hi2 John Hilton, *Catch that catch can* (London: W. Godbid, 1667; Wing H2039) (MA)
- Ho Anthony Holborne, *The citharn schoole* (London: Peter Short, 1597; STC 13562) (MIM)
- J Johnson, Richard, *The golden garland of princely pleasures and delicate delights* (London: A. Mathewes, 1620; STC 14674) (VPA)
- M Thomas Morley, *The first booke of ayres* (London: William Barley, 1600; STC 18115.5) (MA)
- Mi Thomas Middleton, *A tragi-Coomodie, [sic] called the witch* (London: J. Nichols, 1778; ESTC T002460) (Dr)
- P Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 vols (London: for J. Dodsley, 1765; ESTC T084936), vol. 1 (SBA)
- Pe1 John Playford, *The english dancing master* (London: Thomas Harper, 1651; Wing P2477) (MA)
- Pe2 John Playford, *The dancing master* (London: A. Godbid and J. Playford, 1679; Wing P2472) (MA)
- Pe3 John Playford, *The dancing-master* (London: John Playford, 1686; Wing P2473) (MA)
- Ph Philomusus, *The marrow of complements* (London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1654; Wing M719) (VPA)
- Pl John Playford, *Musick's delight on the cithren* (London: W. G., 1666; Wing P2491) (MA)
- Po Robert Pollard, *Choyce drollery, songs & sonnets* (London: J. G., 1656; Wing C3916) (VA)
- Pr Thomas Proctor, *The gorgious gallery, of gallant inuentions* (London: for Richard Jones, 1578; STC 20402) (SBA)
- R Thomas Robinson, *New citharen lessons* (London: for William Barley, 1609; STC 21127) (MIM)

- Ro Abel Roper, *The theatre of complements: or, A compleat new academy* (London: for Abel Roper, 1689; Wing T844A) (VPA)
- Ry Lacy Ryan, *The cobbler's opera* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1729; ESTC T196891) (Dr)
- S Charles Sackville, *The New academy of complements* (London: for Samuel Speed, 1669; Wing N529) (VPA)
- Sl Slatyer, William, *Psalmes, or songs of Sion* (London: Robert Young, 1631; STC 22635) (Ps)
- T J. Tonson, *The jovial companion; or, new sentimental merry songster* (London: for J. Tonson, A. Millar, E. Dilly and J. Hodges, 1777; ESTC T189263) (SBA)
- W John Wilson, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads* (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908) (SA)

*Other Printed Sources*

- Barley, William, *A new booke of tabliture* (London: for William Barley, 1596; STC 1433) (MIM)
- Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (London: for Walter Burre, 1613; STC 1674) (Dr)
- Belchier, Dabridgcourt, *Hans Beer-Pot his inuisible comedie, of see me, and see me not* (London: Bernard Alsop, 1618; STC 1803) (Dr)
- Bettesworth, A. and C. Hitch, *The Vocal Miscellany*, 2 vols (London: for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1734; ESTC T117222), vol. 2 (SBA)
- Bremner, Robert, *Thirty Scots Songs* (London: R. Bremner, 1757 (MA)<sup>26</sup>
- Bodenham, John, *Englands helicon* (London: I. R., 1600; STC 3191) (VA)
- Bolte, Johannes, *Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten und ihrer Nachrolger in Deutschland, Holland und Skandinavien* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voss., 1893) (MA)
- Bowen, W., *The Nightingale; Being a Choice Collection of the Newest and Most Favourite English Songs* (London: for W. Bowen, 1760; ESTC T116559) (SBA)
- Brome, H, *Westminster Drollery* (London: for H. Brome, 1671–2; Wing 1457) (VA)
- Camphuysen, D. R., *Stichtelyche Rymen* (Amsterdam, 1647) (MA)<sup>27</sup>
- Caslon, T. *The musical miscellany: or songster's pocket companion* (London: for T. Caslon, 1760; ESTC T118512) (SBA)
- Chambers, Robert, *The Songs of Scotland Prior to Burns* (London: W. and R. Chambers, 1862) (MA)
- Chappell, William, *A Collection of National English Airs* (London: Chappell, 1840) (MA)
- Chappell, William, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1855–9), vol. 1 (MA)
- Coles, Francis, *Good and true, fresh and new Christmas carols* (London: E. P. for Francis Coles, 1642; Wing G1036) (SBA)
- Cotton, Charles, *Poems on several occasions* (London: for Tho. Basset, 1689; Wing C6390) (VA)
- Coverdale, Miles, *Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable letters* (London: John Day, 1564; STC 5886) (VPA)
- Craige, Alexander, *The amorse songes, sonets, and elegies: of M. Alexander Craige, Scoto-Britane* (London: William White, 1606; STC 5956) (VA)

<sup>26</sup>Date from F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 156–7.

<sup>27</sup>Page number from Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 741.

- Curtis, I., *The canary bird or, gentlemen and lady's polite amusement* (London: for I. Curtis, 1760) (SBA)
- Deloney, Thomas, *The royal garland of love and delight* (London: E. C., 1674; Wing D967) (VA)
- Deloney, Thomas, *Strange histories, or songs and sonnets* (London: for W. Barley, 1607; STC 6567) (VA)
- Donne, John, *Poems, by J.D. With elegies on the authors death* (London: M. F., 1633; STC 7045) (VA)
- Dorman, Joseph, *The female rake: or, modern fine lady. A ballad comedy* (London: for Joseph Dorman, 1736; ESTC T139075) (Dr)
- Dorman, Joseph, *Pamela: or, virtue rewarded. An opera* (Newcastle: J. White, 1742; ESTC N011200) (Dr)
- Dormer, J., *The court legacy. A new ballad opera* (London: J. Dormer, 1733; ESTC T139154) (Dr)
- Dormer, J. and T., *The Weekly Amusement*, vol. 2 (London: for J. and T. Dormer, 1735) (Mag)
- Goodwill, Jasper, *The Ladies Magazine*, vol. 4 (1752)\* (Mag)
- EBBA 20102 *Frauncis new Iigge* (London: for I. W., 1617) (B)
- EBBA 20167 A Louers complaint being forsaken of his Loue (London: for I. W., 1615) (B)
- EBBA 20229 *The woful Lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore* (London: for J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1684–6) (B)
- EBBA 20234 *An Excellent Ballad, intituled, The Constancy [of] Susanna* (London: for J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1681–4) (B)
- EBBA 20265 *A most sorrowfull Song, setting forth the miserable end of Banister, who betraied the Duke of Buckingham, his Lord and Master* (London: for F. Coules, 1630) (B)
- EBBA 20721 *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield; with Robin Hood, Scarlet, and Iohn* (London: Alex. Milbourne, 1684–95) (B)
- EBBA 21249 *A Courtly New Ballad of the Princely Wooing of the fair maid of London, by King Edward* (London: for I. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1684–86) (B)
- EBBA 21273 *The Fair Maid of Islington* (London: for J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger, 1684–6) (B)
- EBBA 21372 *The Dying Tears of a true lover forsaken, Made on his Death-bed; the Hour before his Death* (London: for I. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1684–6) (B)
- EBBA 21910 *The Beggars Song* (London: for W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1686–8) (B)
- EBBA 3207 *The Ballad of constant Susanna* (London: for H. Gosson, 1624) (B)
- EBBA 30040 *The Complaint of a Lover forsaken of his Love* (London: M. P., 1639) (B)<sup>28</sup>
- EBBA 30042 *A Courtly new Ballad of the Princely wooing of the / faire Maid of London, by King Edward* (London: for Henry Gosson, 1601–40) (B)
- EBBA 30043 *An excellent Ballad Intituled, The Constancy of Susanna* (London: for John Wright, 1602–58) (B)
- EBBA 30101 *The Woful Lamentation of Mrs Jane Shore* (London: A. Milbourn, 1684–95) (B)
- EBBA 30141 *A most excellent Ditty of the Louers promises to his beloued* (London: Thomas Symcock, 1619–29) (B)
- EBBA 30380 *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield, with Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1663–74) (B)
- EBBA 30610 *The dying tears of a true Lover forsaken, Made on his Death-bed; the hour before his Death* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80) (B)

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<sup>28</sup> Date from EEBO.

- EBBA 30851 *The Sailors onely Delight Shewing the brave Fight between the George-Aloe, the Sweep-stake, and certain Frenchmen at Sea* (London: for F. Coles, 1655–8) (B)
- EBBA 31268 *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore* (London: W. O., 1705–1709) (B)
- EBBA 31712 *A Courtly new ballad of the Princely wooing of the / fair Maid of London by King Edward* (for F. Coles, T. Vere and William Gilbertson, 1658–64) (B)
- EBBA 31715 *A Courtly New Ballad of the princely wooing of the fair Maid of London, by King Edward* (1670) (B)
- EBBA 31742 *The dying tears of a true Lover forsaken, Made on his Death-bed; the hour before his Death* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80) (B)
- EBBA 32019 *The Woful Lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere and J. Wright, 1663–74) (B)
- EBBA 32020 *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore* (London: W. O., 1693–5) (B)
- EBBA 32505 *A Courtly New ballad of the Princely Wooing of the Fair Maid of London, by King Edward* (1725–69) (B)
- EBBA 33087 *A Courtly Ballad of the Princely Wooing of the Fair Maid of London, by Renowned King Edward* (date and publisher unknown) (B)
- EBBA 33341 *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield, with Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John* (London: W. O., 1688–1709) (B)
- EBBA 33347 *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield; with Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John* (London: for W. Thackeray, 1689–92) (B)
- EBBA 33840 *An Excellent Ballad, intituled, The Constancy of Susanna* (London: for W. Thackeray, J. Millet, and A. Milbourn, 1689–92) (B)
- EBBA 34008 *The dying tears of a true Lover forsaken, Made on his Death-bed; the hour before his Death* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80) (B)
- EBBA 35138 *The dying tears of a true Lover forsaken, Made on his Death-bed; the hour before his Death* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80) (B)
- EBBA 35457 *A Courtly new Ballad of the Princely Wooing of the fair Maid of London, by King Edward* (London: T. Norris, 1687–1732) (B)
- EBBA 35475 *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore* (London: for C. Brown and T. Norris) (B)
- EBBA 35499 *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield, with Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John* (London: W. O., 1688–1709) (B)
- EBBA 35911 *The dying tears of a true Lover forsaken, Made on his Death-bed; the hour before his Death* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80) (B)
- EBBA 35970 *An Excellent Ballad, intituled, The Constancy of Susanna* (London: for W. Thackeray, J. Millet, and A. Milbourn, 1689–92) (B)
- EBBA 36025 *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Iane Shore* (London: G. P., 1620) (B)
- EBBA 36063 *The dying teares of a true Lover forsaken, made upon his Death-bed the houre before his Death* (London: for E. Wright, 1648) (B)
- EBBA 36091 *Englands Monthly Predictions for this present yeare 1649* (1648–9) (B)
- EBBA 36098 *The Ballad of constant Susanna* (London: Thomas Symcocke, 1628–9) (B)
- EBBA 36301 *A songe betwene the Quenes maiestie and Englande* (London: William Pickeringe, 1564) (B)
- EBBA36400 *An Excellent Ballad, Intituled, The Constancy of Susanna* (Licensed according to order, 1710) (B)



- EBBA 37116 *An Excellent Ballad, intituled, The Constancy of Susanna* (London: for F. Coles, 1663–74) (B)
- EBBA 37272 *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore* (London: W. O., 1701–09) (B)
- EBBA 37341 *An Excellent Ballad, Intituled The Constancy of Susanna* (London: for W. O., 1688–1709) (B)
- EBBA 37364 *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore* (London: W. O., 1693–4) (B)
- Edwards, Richard, *The paradise of daintie deuises* (London: Robert Walde-graue, 1585; STC 7520) (VA)
- Farquhar, George, *The Stage-coach Opera* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1732; ESTC T026049) (Dr)
- Fielding, Henry, *The Author's Farce: With a Puppet-show, Call'd The Pleasures of the Town* (London: J. Watts, 1730; ESTC T89857) (Dr)\*
- Fletcher, John, *The tragedy of Rollo Duke of Normandy* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1640; STC 11065) (Dr)
- Fletcher, John, *Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or, The bloody brother* (London: R. Holt, 1686; Wing F1350) (Dr)
- Fonteyn, Bernard, *Monsieur Sullemans soete vryagi* (Amsterdam: Paulus Matthijsz, 1643) (MA)
- Forrest, Ebenezer, *Momus turn'd fabulist, or, Vulcan's wedding: an opera* (London: for J. Watts, 1729; ESTC T097112) (Dr)
- Fuhrmann, Georg L., *Testudo gallo-germanica* (Nürnberg, 1615) (MA)
- Garnier frères, *L'ancienne chanson populaire en France : 16 et 17 siècle* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1887) (SBA)
- Goodwill, Jasper, *The Ladies Magazine*, vol. 4 (1752)\* (Mag)
- Grieg, John, *Scots Minstrelsie: A National Monument of Scottish Song*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Grange Publishing Works, 1893), vol. 2 (MA)
- Hales, John W. and Frederick J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances*, 3 vols (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867) (SBA)
- Hawkins, John, *A general history of the science and practice of music*, 5 vols (London: for T. Payne and Son, 1776; ESTC T146459), vol. 5 (MA)
- Hicks, Richard, *Oxford drollery being new poems and songs* (Oxford: for J. C., 1671; Wing H1888) (VA)
- Hinton, I., *The Bull-finch* (London: I. Hinton, 1746; ESTC T069574) (SBA)
- Hunt, Henry, *A Collection of some verses out of the Psalms of David suited to several occasions* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1700; Wing H3729A) (Ps)
- Jackson, John, *The vocal medley part the second, being a collection of two hundred and forty one of the most celebrated English and Scotch songs* (York: John Jackson, 1750; ESTC T098510) (SBA)~
- Jacob, Giles, *The poetical register: or, the lives and characters of all the English poets*, 2 vols (London: A. Bettesworth, W. Taylor, and J. Batley, 1723; ESTC T137465), vol. 2 (VA)
- Jaggard, William, *The passionate pilgrime* (London: for W. Jaggard, 1599; STC 22342) (VA)
- Johnson, R., *The crown garland of golden roses* (London: for W. Gilbertson, 1659; Wing J791) (VA)
- Johnson, Samuel and George Steevens (eds), *The Works of Shakespeare with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators*, 2nd edn, 1778. (Dr)<sup>29</sup>
- Jones, Robert, *The first booke of songes & ayres* (London: Peter Short, 1600; STC 14732) (MA)

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<sup>29</sup> I have viewed the musical extract reprinted in the following edition, to which the page number in the table refers: *The plays and poems of William Shakspeare*, ed. E. Malone, 16 vols (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1794; ESTC T138592), vol. 3.

- Keele, Richard, *Christmas carolles newly inprynted*; (London: Richard Keele, 1545; STC 5205.5) (SBA)
- Kirkman, Francis, *The Wits, or, Sport upon sport* (London: for Henry Marsh, 1662; Wing W3218) (VPA)
- de Launay, Adrian, *Non le Tresor ny le Trias ne le Cabinet: moins la beauté, mais plus, la fleur ou l'eslite de tous les chansons amoureuses* (Paris: chez Adrian De Launay, 1602) (SBA)<sup>30</sup>
- Lillo, George, *Britannia and Batavia: a masque* (London: for John Gray, 1740; ESTC T29686) (Dr)
- Maver, Robert, *Maver's Collection of Genuine Scottish Melodies*, 6 vols (London: R. Maver, 1866), vol 1 (MA)
- Melancholicus, Mer., *An antidote against melancholy made up in pills* (London: Mer. Melancholicus, 1661; Wing D66A) (VA)
- Moncur, John, *An Excellent new Ballad, Entituled, Take your ald Cloak about you. To its own Proper Tune* (John Moncur: Edinburgh, 1707; GB-En shelfmark S.302.b.2(052) (B)
- Montague, R., *Bacchus And Venus: Or, A Select Collection Of 200 Of The Most Witty And Diverting Songs And Catches* (London: For R. Montague, 1737; ESTC N031988) (SBA)
- Moore, A., *A New Miscellany* (London: for A. Moore, 1730; ESTC T118873) (VA)
- Morley, Thomas, *The first booke of consort lessons* (London: William Barley, 1599; STC 18131) (MIM)
- Morrice, Bezaleel, *Miscellany in verse and prose* (London: for Bezaleel Morrice, 1739; ESTC T071536) (VPA)
- Munday, Anthony, *A banquet of daintie conceits* (London: I. C., 1588; STC 18260) (VA)
- Musophilus, *The Card of courtship* (London: J. C., 1653; Wing C489) (VPA)
- Nott, George Frederick (ed.), *Songs and Sonnets*, 1814. A unique copy of Nott's edn of *Tottel's Miscellany* (see below) housed in Arundel Castle and containing William Crotch's transcription of a melody for 'I loathe that I did love', copied by Crotch from a marginal gloss in a now lost copy of Tottel's 1557 edn. The source is placed last in the table owing to the date of the publication (VA)<sup>31</sup>
- Oswald, James, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 6 vols (London: James Oswald, 1750/60) (MA)<sup>32</sup>
- Peele, George, *The old wiues tale* (London: John Danter, 1595; STC 19545) (Dr)
- Playford, Henry, *Wit and mirth An antidote against melancholy* (London: J. P., 1684; Wing P2442B) (VA)
- Playford, John, *Musicks recreation on the viol, lyra-way* (London: W. G., 1661; Wing P2495) (MIM)
- Playford, John, *Select musicall ayres and dialogues for one and two voyces to sing to the theorbo lute or basse violl composed by John Wilson* (London: for John Playford, 1652; Wing P2502) (MA)
- Playford, John, *The treasury of musick containing ayres and dialogues to sing to the theorbo-lute or basse-viol* (London: William Godbid, 1669; Wing L645) (SA)
- Poictiers, *Airs de Cour comprenans le trésor des trésors, la fleur des fleurs et eslite des chansons amoureuses* (Poictiers: 1607) (SBA)

<sup>30</sup> Page number from a reprint of the song in *Airs de Covr comprenans le tresors des tresors, la fleur des fleurs, & eslites des Chansons amoureuses* (Paris: Poitiers, 1607), as cited in Ross Duffin, "'Concolinel': Moth's Lost Song Recovered?", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, (Spring, 2015), 89–94 (90).

<sup>31</sup> Crotch's transcription is transmitted in Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 151–2.

<sup>32</sup> Date from Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 156–7.

- Potter, Henry, *The decoy: an opera* (London: T. Osborn, 1733; ESTC T084893) (*Dr*)
- Ramsay, Alan, *The tea-Table miscellany*, 3 vols (London: A. Millar, 1733; ESTC T062726), vol. 1 (*SBA*)
- Ravenscroft, Thomas, *A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) vse of charact'ring the degrees, by their perfection, imperfection, and diminution in measurable musicke* (London: Edward Allde, 1614; STC 20756) (*MIM*)
- Ravenscroft, Thomas, *Deuteromelia*, (London: T. Snodham, 1609; STC 20757) (*GCA*)
- Read, T., *The Musical companion: or, Lady's magazine* (London: for T. Read, 1741; ESTC T179125) (*Mag*)
- Reynolds, T., *The state juggler: or, Sir Politick Ribband. A new excise opera* (London: for T. Reynolds, 1733; ESTC T057134) (*Dr*)
- Ritson, Joseph, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, 3 vols (London: for J. Johnson, 1783), vol. 3 (*MA*)
- Ritson, Joseph, *Scottish Song*, 2 vols (London: for J. Johnson, 1794) (*MA*)
- Rivington, James, *The American mock bird: containing a new collection of the most favourite songs now in vogue* (New York: James Rivington, 1760; ESTC W000403) (*SBA*)
- Roberts, J., *The judgment of Paris; or, the triumph of beauty* (London: for J. Roberts, 1731; ESTC T125711) (*Dr*)
- Robinson, Clement, *A handefull of pleasant delites* (London: Richard Ihones, 1584; STC 21105) (*VA*)
- Robinson, Thomas, *The schoole of musicke* (London: Thomas East, 1603; STC 21128) (*MIM*)
- Ross, J., *The polite songster: a collection of three hundred of the most celebrated English and Scots songs* (London; J. Ross, 1758; ESTC T083731) (*SBA*)
- Simpson, Thomas, *Taffelconsort* (Hamburg, 1621) (*MA*)<sup>33</sup>
- Sidney, Philip, Sir, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: for William Ponsonbie, 1598; STC 22541) (*VPA*)
- Silence, Timothy, *The foundling hospital for wit* (London: for W. Webb, 1743; ESTC T64447) (*VPA*)
- Starter, J. J., *Friesche Lust-Hof* (Amsterdam, 1621) (*MA*)
- Sternhold, T. and J. Hopkins, *The whole booke of Psalmes collected into Englysh metre* (London: John Day, 1562; STC 2430) (*Ps*)
- Stevens, R. and J. Seymour, *The musical companion. A collection of the newest and best songs* (London: for R. Stevens and J. Seymour, 1759; ESTC T179061) (*SBA*)
- Thomson, George, *Thomson's Collection of The Songs of Burns*, 6 vols (London: Preston, 1825) (*MA*)
- Tottel, Richard, *Tottel's Miscellany, or Songes and sonettes* (London: Richard Tottel, 1557; STC 13861) (*VA*)
- Urban, Sylvanus, *The gentleman's magazine, or, Trader's monthly intelligencer*, vol. 9 (London: Edward Cave, 1739) (*Mag*)
- Walker, Thomas, *The Quaker's opera* (London: for J. W., 1728; ESTC T064225) (*Dr*)
- Walton, Izaak, *The compleat angler or, The contemplative man's recreation* (London: T. Maxey, 1653; Wing W661) (*VPA*)
- Wilson, John, *Select ayres and dialogues* (London: W. Godbid, 1659; Wing W2909) (*MA*)
- Wing J895A *The jolly pinder of Wakefield* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere and W. Gilberson, 1658–64) (*B*)
- Yair, J., *The charmer; a choice collection of songs, English and Scots* (Edinburgh: for J. Yair, 1749; ESTC T187927) (*SBA*)

<sup>33</sup> Page numbers from Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 76–7.

## THE TABLE

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
<i>THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA</i>				
Who is Sylvia?	S, p. 155	✓		
<i>THE TAMING OF THE SHREW</i>				
Come kiss me, Kate	US-Ws v.a.409, p. 18	✓	✓	
It was the friar of orders grey/The friar and the nun	GB-Cu Add. MS 7350	✓		
	Keele, sig. Iiii	✓		
	US-Ws v.b.280, f. 6r		✓	
	GB-Cu Add. MS 8844, f. 6v		✓	
	GB-Lbl Egerton 2046, ff. 34v–35r		✓	
	Pe1, p. 84		✓	
	Pl, no. 41		✓	
	P, vol. 1, pp. 226–30	✓		
Where is the life that late I led?	Pr, sigs Eiiiiir–Fv			✓
	De, sig. F7v			✓
<i>LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST</i>				
Concolinel	de Launay, pp. 549–51	✓		
	Poitiers, pp. 549–51	✓		
	Garnier, pp. 407–8	✓		
<i>ROMEO AND JULIET</i>				
When griping grief/In commendation of music	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513, f. 108v		✓	
	Edwards, sig. H3v	✓		
	GB-AB Brogyntyn 27, p. 125		✓	
	Hawkins, pp. 444–5	✓	✓	
<i>A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM</i>				
You Spotted Snakes	S, pp. 155–6	✓		
<i>THE MERCHANT OF VENICE</i>				

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
Tell Me Where is Fancy Bred	S, p. 156	✓		
<i>HENRY IV, PART 2</i>				
And Robin Hood, Scarlet and John/ The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 27879, f. 8r	✓		
	Wing J895A	✓		
	EBBA 30380	✓		
	EBBA 20721	✓		
	EBBA 33341	✓		
	EBBA 35499	✓		
	EBBA 33347	✓		
A cup of wine	<i>US-Wog</i> M1490 M535.A5, pp. 104–5	✓	✓	
Do me right and dub me knight Monsieur Mingo	<i>IRL-Dtc</i> 410, pp. 78–9		✓	
	<i>GB-AB</i> Brogyntyn 27, p. 134		✓	
	<i>GB-En</i> Panmure 10, ff. 138r–40r		✓	
	<i>GB-Och</i> MS Mus. 439, ff. 37v–38r	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Cjc</i> MS.U26 (James 548), p. 20	✓		
	<i>GB-CAR</i> D&C Music 1, Altus pp. 22–3, Bassus pp. 20–21	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ens</i> Adv. MS 5.2.14, f. 25v	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus. F17–19 Altus vol. 3, ff. 50v–51r Tenor vol. 4, ff. 21v–22r; Bassus vol. 5, ff. 50v–51r	✓	✓	
Fill the cup	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Cotton MS Vespasian A XXV, f. 37	✓		
	<i>GB-Ckc</i> MS Rowe 1, no. 49	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 15015, f. 75r	✓		
When Arthur first in court began	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 219, f. 228	✓		
	H, sig. C1v	✓		
	D, sigs C3r–5v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 27879, f. 16v	✓		

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	Po, pp. 70–72			✓
	A1, pp. 219–20			
	G, p. 256	✓		
	H. Playford, p. 17	✓		
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.308, f. 4	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 21544, f. 145v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 21544, f.173r	✓		
<i>THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR</i>				
Come live with me and be my love	<i>US-Ws</i> z.e.28 (2), f. 100v	✓		
	Cl, p. 120			✓
	Cl, p. 212			✓
	<i>Gb-Ob</i> Ashmole 1486, pt 2, f. 6v	✓		
	Jaggard, sig. D4r	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Rawl. poet. 148, f. 96v	✓		
	Bodenham, sigs Aav–Aa2r	✓		
	<i>US-NYpm</i> Rulers of England (Eliz. I), sig. s.sh	✓		
	Craige, (leaves unnumbered)	✓		
	Deloney, <i>Strange histories</i> , sig. B3v			✓
	Cor, sigs G2v–Hr		✓	
	<i>US-SM</i> HM 198.2, f. 24	✓		
	EBBA 30141	✓		✓
	EBBA 36025			✓
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 18647, f. 57v	✓		
	EBBA 20265			✓
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Eng. poet. e. 99, f. 100v	✓		
	<i>US-NHub</i> Osborn MS b. 148, p. 100	✓		
	<i>Gb-Ob</i> Eng. poet. f. 9, p.93	✓		
	Donne, pp.190–91	✓		

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 19268, f. 19v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Sloane MS 542, f. 17v	✓		
	<i>US-Cah</i> MS Eng. 626, f. 68	✓		
	<i>US-SM</i> HM 172, f. 26	✓		
	<i>US-PHr</i> MS 243/4, p. 47	✓		
	<i>US-NHub</i> Osborn MS b. 356, p. 329	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 47, f. 100v	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Eng. poet. e. 97, p. 183	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Stowe MS 962, f. 130	✓		
	C, sigs K5v–K6r	✓		
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.96 (4), ff. 39v–40v	✓		
	<i>US-NHub</i> Osborn MS b. 150, p.195	✓		
	EBBA 36063			✓
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harley MS 3511, f. 47v	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> . Rawl. poet. 117, f. 204 rev.	✓		
	Walton, pp. 184–6	✓		
	EBBA 35475			✓
	EBBA 32019			✓
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.169, pt 2, f. 2	✓		
	Brome, pp. 16–17	✓		
	EBBA 30610			✓
	EBBA 31742			✓
	EBBA 34008			✓
	EBBA 35138			✓
	EBBA 35911			✓
	De, sig. B6v			✓
	G, p. 375	✓		
	EBBA 20229			✓
	EBBA 21372			✓

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	EBBA 30101			✓
	Cotton, pp. 463–7	✓		
	<i>US-Cah</i> MS Eng. 1490, f. 81v	✓		
	EBBA 37364			✓
	EBBA 32020			✓
	EBBA 37272			✓
	EBBA 31268			✓
	A4, p. 145			✓
	Bo, vol. 4, p80			✓
	Urban, p. 598	✓		
	Morrice, pp. 70–71	✓		
	Hinton, pp. 56–7	✓		
	Jackson, pp. 99–100	✓		
	Goodwill, no. 10	✓		
	Co, p. 1	✓		
	Ross, pp. 60–61	✓		
	Stevens and Seymour, p. 102	✓		
	Rivington, pp. 265–6	✓		
	Curtis, p. 122	✓		
	Bowen, pp. 18–19	✓		
	Caslon, pp. 345–6	✓		
	P, vol. 2, p. 252			✓
	Ch, p. 42	✓		
	<i>US-Cah</i> MS Eng 1038.1, f. 2v	✓		
	T, pp. 83–4	✓		
	Johnson and Steevens, 244	✓	✓	
	Ritson, <i>English Songs</i> , sig. H3r	✓	✓	
	<i>US-NHub</i> Osborn MS c. 362, p. 6	✓		
	Chappell, <i>National English Airs</i> , p. 89	✓	✓	



<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>US-Cah</i> MS Eng. 1470, f. 25v	✓		
Fie on sinful fantasy	Ph, pp. 151–2	✓		
Whenas we sat in Babylon	Sternhold and Hopkins, pp. 350–52	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Och</i> MS 150 , f. 500r–v	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Rawl. poet. 112, f. 31r	✓		
	Wode partbooks	✓	✓	
	Discantus <i>GB-Eu</i> MS Dk.5.14, pp. 118–19			
	Discantus <i>GB-Eu</i> MS La III. 483 (a), pp. 99–100			
	Contra-tenor <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 33933, f. 40			
	Tenor <i>GB-Eu</i> MS La III. 483 (b), pp. 99–100			
	Bassus <i>GB-Eu</i> MS La III. 483 (c), p. 97			
	Hunt, pp. 128–9	✓	✓	
<i>MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING</i>				
Sigh no more ladies	<i>GB-Och</i> MSS Mus. 736–8 vols 1 and 2, ff. 3r–4r vol. 3 f. 3	✓	✓	
	Ph, p. 152	✓		
The god of love that sits above	<i>US-NHub</i> Osborn Music MS 13, f. 55v	✓		
	<i>GB-NO</i> Mi LM 16, ff. 88v–9r		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 29485, f. 17		✓	
	<i>IRL-Dtc</i> 408/2, p. 91		✓	
	C. Robinson, sigs C5v–C6r			✓
<i>AS YOU LIKE IT</i>				
Blow, blow thou winter wind	Ch, pp. 60–61	✓		
It was a lover and his lass	M, sigs B4v–B5r	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ens</i> Adv. MS 5.2.14, f. 18	✓	✓	
O sweet Oliver/Hunt's up/In peascod time	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.159, f. 12r		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> R.M.23.L.4, ff. 85v–88r		✓	
	Munday, sig. f4r			✓

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS Mus. 1591, ff. 46r–52v			✓
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.14.24, f. 11			✓
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.b.280, ff. 3v–4r		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.3.18, ff. 4r–v, 13v		✓	
	<i>IRL-Dm</i> Z3.2.13, ff. 183r–86v			✓
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Add. MS 8844, ff. 1v–2r		✓	
	Ho, sig. C1v–C2r		✓	
	Mynshall Lutebook, f. 5v		✓	
	<i>US-OAm</i> Mills College Cittern MS, no. 32		✓	
	Welde Lutebook, ff. 13r–14r		✓	
	Cl, p. 179			✓
	R, no. 30		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.4.23, f. 4v		✓	
	Ravenscroft, <i>A briefe discourse</i> , vol. 2, sigs A1v–A2r		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 2046, ff. 15v–16r and 32r		✓	
	<i>GB-Cfm</i> MU.MS.168, nos 59 and 276		✓	
	<i>NL-Lt</i> MS.1666, f. 472r		✓	
	Starter, p. 123		✓	
	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 5612, ff. 11v–14r		✓	
	Board Lutebook, ff. 2v–3r		✓	
	<i>F-Pc</i> Rés. 1186, f. 59v		✓	
	Playford, <i>Musicks recreation</i> , p. 95		✓	
	Pl, no. 12		✓	
Under the greenwood tree/Caper and Ferk It/O HowThey Frisk It/ Leathern Apron	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 36, ff. 294v–295r		✓	
	Ph, pp. 153–4	✓		
	S, pp. 156–7	✓		

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	Pe2, p. 168		✓	
	EBBA 21273			✓
	Pe3, p. 168 and sig. T6v		✓	
	EBBA 21910			✓
	Forrest, p. 22		✓	
	Ry, p. 16			✓
	Moore, p. 9			✓
	Farquhar, p. 7			✓
	J. Dormer, p. 43			✓
	Potter, p. 52			✓
	Reynolds, p. 30			✓
	Bettesworth and Hitch, pp. 19, 208–9, 260, 295			✓
	J. and T. Dormer, p. 732			✓
	Bo, vol. 3, part 1, p. 91			✓
	Montague, pp. 33–4			✓
	Dorman, <i>The female rake</i> , p. 25			✓
	<i>B</i> (British Museum)			✓
	Silence, Part VI, pp. 83–6			✓
	Fielding, p. 51			✓
	Lillo, p. 8			✓
	Read, p. 105			✓
	Dorman, <i>Pamela</i> , p. 29			✓
	A3, pp. 22, 88, 102			✓
	Co, pp. 9–10	✓		
	Ch, p. 61	✓		
Wedding is great Juno's crown	S, p. 157	✓		
What shall he have that killed the deer?	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.409, f. 17r	✓	✓	
	Hi1, p. 30	✓	✓	

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	S, p. 157	✓		
	A1, p. 223	✓		
	US-Ws v.a.437, f. 8r	✓	✓	
<i>HAMLET</i>				
For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy/ Robin is to the greenwood gone/ Bonny sweet boy/Fair Angel of England	GB-Cu Dd.3.18, f. 11r		✓	
	GB-Cu Dd.2.11, ff 53r and 66r nos 2 and 3		✓	
	US-Ws v.b.280, f. 16v		✓	
	IRL-Dtc 408/1, pp. 27 and 113		✓	
	Ho, sig. D2r		✓	
	Mynshall Lutebook, f. 8r		✓	
	GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 29v–30r and 82r		✓	
	T. Robinson, sigs. I2v and M2r		✓	
	EBBA 30042			✓
	GB-Lbl Add. MS 31392, f. 25r		✓	
	D-Kl 4° Ms. Mus. 1081, f. 3v		✓	
	GB-Cu Add. MS 3056, f. 32v		✓	
	GB-Ge Ms Euing 25, ff. 31r and 46v–47		✓	
	GB-Cu Nn.6.36, ff. 19v–20r		✓	
	Fuhrmann, sig. K3v		✓	
	GB-Lbl Egerton 2046, ff. 22v and 35r		✓	
	GB-Cfm MU.MS.168, nos 15 and 128		✓	
	GB-Lbl Add. MS 17786, p. 15			✓
	J, sig. D8v			✓
	Board Lutebook, f. 12v		✓	
	US-NYp Drexel 5612, ff. 96v–97r		✓	
	Simpson, no. 24		✓	
	GB-Lbl Add. MS 23623, f. 13v		✓	

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	Sl, table of tunes, no. 25			✓
	Coles, sig. A5r			✓
	EBBA 36091			✓
	<i>F-Pc</i> Rés. 1185, pp. 268–71		✓	
	EBBA 31712			✓
	Johnson, sig. F5v			✓
	EBBA 31715			✓
	Deloney, <i>Royal Garland</i> , sig. B3v			✓
	EBBA 21249			✓
	EBBA 35457			✓
	EBBA 32505			✓
	EBBA 33087			✓
How should I your true love know?/ Walsingham	<i>GB-Lbl</i> R.M.23.L.4, ff. 74r–79v		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.2.11, ff. 29, 82v, 96r, 96v and 98r		✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Rawl. poet. 85, f. 123	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS Mus. 1591, ff. 135r–42v		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.14.24, ff. 45v–46		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.5.20, f. 19		✓	
	<i>US-NH</i> MA21, W632, f. 17r		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.5.78.3, ff. 12, 37 and 50v– 51r		✓	
	Barley, sig. D2		✓	
	Ho, sig. C3v		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 30486, f. 2		✓	
	Welde Lute Book, ff. 9v–10r		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.9.33, ff. 21r, 26v–28r and 67v–68r		✓	
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.399, f. 16v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 82932, f. 216v	✓		

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Add. MS 3056, f. 9v		✓	
	<i>GB-Ge</i> Ms Euing 25, ff. 43v–44r		✓	
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Nn.6.36, ff. 19 and 20v–21r		✓	
	Cor, sigs Hv–H2r		✓	
	Beaumont and Fletcher, sig. E3v	✓		
	<i>GB-Cfm</i> MU.MS.168, nos. 1 and 68		✓	
	EBBA 20102	✓		✓
	Belchier, sig. B3r	✓		
	<i>GB-Och</i> MS Mus. 1113, pp. 203–9		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 15118, f. 32v		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> R.M.24.d.3, ff. 39v–46r		✓	
	D, sigs G5v–G6v	✓		
	Sl, table of tunes, no. 4			✓
	<i>US-SM</i> HM 198.1, f. iv	✓		
	Fonteyn, sig. A3v		✓	
	Camphuysen, p. 100		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 27879, f. 47	✓		
	<i>F-Pc</i> Rés. 1185, no. 58		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 32532 (see list of sources)		✓	
	P, vol. 2, pp.84–7	✓		
	Bolte, p. 180		✓	
In youth when I did love/I loathe that I did love	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 4797, f. 4r	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 48, ff. 23v–24v	✓		
	Tottel, sig. D4r–E1r	✓		
	Pr, sig. C2r			✓
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 38599, ff. 134v–135r	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 4900, f. 62v–63r	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 26737 f. 107v	✓		

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	Kirkman p. 58	✓		
	Co, p. 10	✓		
	P, vol. 1, pp. 161–3	✓		
	T, pp. 122–4	✓		
	Nott, pp. 4–5	✓	✓	
Tomorrow is St Valentine's day	Walker, p. 22		✓	✓
	Ry, p. 20			✓
	Roberts, p. 6			✓
<i>TWELFTH NIGHT</i>				
Come away death	Ph, p. 155	✓		
Farewell dear heart/ Farewell dear love	Jones, sigs D4v–Er	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-WCr</i> 44M69/M4/14/1	✓		
	J, sig. C5r–v	✓		
	<i>NL-Lt</i> Ms.1666 , f. 402v		✓	
	<i>F-Pc</i> Rés. 1186, f. 118		✓	
	<i>GB-Ens</i> Adv. MS 5.2.14, f. 8	✓	✓	
	<i>US-LAuc</i> MS.1959.003, f. 75v Cantus f. 75v Contra, tenor & bass f. 29r		✓	
	P, vol. 1, pp. 188–9	✓		
Hey Robin	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 31922, ff. 53v–54r	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton MS 2711, f. 37v	✓		
Hold thy peace	<i>GB-Ckc</i> MS Rowe 1, no. 32	✓	✓	
	Ravenscroft, <i>Deuteromelia</i> , , no. 10	✓	✓	
	<i>US-Wog</i> M1490 M535.A5,p. 84	✓	✓	
O mistress mine	Morley, no. 19		✓	
	M, sigs C2v–C3r		✓	
	<i>GB-Cfm</i> MU.MS.168, no. 66		✓	
	<i>GB-En</i> MS 5448, f. 14v	✓	✓	

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4257, no. 118		✓	
	Ph, pp. 154–5	✓		
O' the twelfth day of December	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 27879, f. 25v	✓		
	Po, pp. 78–80	✓		
	Hales and Furnivall, vol. 1, pp. 125–6	✓		
There dwelt a man in Babylon/The Constancy of Susanna	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 30513, f. 123r		✓	
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.438, pp. 129–34	✓		
	<i>IRL-Dtc</i> 410, virginal book, no. 13		✓	
	EBBA 30043	✓		
	EBBA 32077	✓		
	EBBA 36098	✓		
	EBBA 37116	✓		
	EBBA 20234	✓		
	EBBA 37341	✓		
	EBBA 33840	✓		
	EBBA 35970	✓		
	EBBA 36400	✓		
	P, vol. 1, p. 187	✓		
Three merry men be we	Peele, sig. A3v	✓		
	F, sigs Gv–G2r	✓		
	Chappell, <i>Popular Music</i> , p. 216	✓	✓	
<i>OTHELLO</i>				
King Stephen was and a worthy peer/Take thy auld cloak about thee Bell my wife/	<i>GB-Lna</i> Star Chamber 5, 30/16	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 27879, ff.291v–292r	✓		
	Moncur	✓		
	Ramsay, pp. 114–15	✓		
	Oswald, p. 29		✓	



<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	Bremner, pp. 14–15	✓	✓	
	P, vol. 1, pp. 172–5	✓		
	Ritson, <i>Scottish Song</i> , pp. 219–22	✓	✓	
	Thomson, no. 4	✓	✓	
	Chambers, pp. 112–15	✓	✓	
	Maver, p. 12	✓	✓	
	Grieg, p. 194–5	✓	✓	
	Hales and Furnivall, vol. 2, pp. 322–4	✓		
The Willow Song	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.159, f. 19r		✓	
	<i>IRL-Dtc</i> 410/1, p. 26		✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 22601, f. 8r–v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 15117, f. 18r	✓	✓	
	EBBA 20167	✓		
	EBBA 30040	✓		
	P, vol. 1, pp. 175–80	✓		
<i>MEASURE FOR MEASURE</i>				
Take, o take those lips away	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 47, f. 130v	✓		
	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4257, no. 16	✓	✓	
	F, sig. H4v	✓		
	Fletcher (1640), pp. 65–66	✓		
	C, sig. K2r	✓		
	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4041, f. 34r	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Och</i> MS Mus. 434, ff. 1r–2v	✓	✓	
	Playford, J., <i>Select musicall ayres</i> , p. 2	✓	✓	
	Musophilus, p. 93	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus.b.1, f. 19v	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 11608, f. 56r	✓	✓	
	Wilson, p. 1	✓	✓	
	Playford, J. <i>The treasury of musick</i> , p. 1	✓	✓	

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	Fletcher (1686), p. 55	✓		
	<i>US-TxU</i> MS 2287, f. 65v	✓		
	Jacob, p. 281	✓		
	Yair, p. 260	✓		
	Co, p. 9	✓		
<i>KING LEAR</i>				
Come o'er the broom Bessie/Blink o'er the burn, sweet Bessy	<i>GB-Ctc</i> MS O.2.53, ff. 55r–56v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 5665, ff. 143v–144r	✓	✓	
	EBBA 36301	✓		
	<i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.2.11, f. 80v		✓	
	Welde Lute Book, f. 6r		✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 176, f. 100	✓		
Then they for sudden joy did weep	Coverdale, pp. 634–8	✓		
	H, sig. C1v	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> K.1.e.9 (STC 20759) marginal note on sigs A1v–A2	✓	✓	
<i>MACBETH</i>				
Black spirits and white	<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Malone 12, pp. 87–8	✓		
	Mi, pp. 103–4	✓		
Come away Hecate	<i>GB-Cfm</i> MS 782, ff. 107v–108r	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Malone 12, pp. 57–9	✓		
	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4175, no. Liiii	✓	✓	
	<i>US-NHub</i> Gen MSS Vol 548, p. 40	✓		
	Ro, pp. 197–8	✓		
	Mi, pp. 71–2	✓		
<i>THE TEMPEST</i>				
Full fathom five	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4041, f. 67v–68r	✓		
	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton MS 2421, f. 6v	✓		

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>US-NH</i> Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4 Cantus primus, 4a, f. 20v Cantus secundus, 4b, f. 14v Cantus bassus, 4c, f. 20r	✓	✓	
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.411, Cantus primus f. 3r Cantus secundus f. 4v Cantus bassus f. 2r Basso continuo f. 1v	✓	✓	
	W Cantus primus pp. 6–7 Cantus secundus p. 5 Cantus bassus p. 5	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Bc</i> Acc. No. 57316, Location No. S747.01, p. 87	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus.d.238, f. 48r	✓	✓	
Honour, riches, marriage, blessing	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 2421, f. 7r	✓		
No more dams I'll make for fish	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 2421, f. 6v	✓		
The master, the swabber, the boatswain and I	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 2421, f. 6v	✓		
	S, p. 152	✓		
	Ro, p. 216	✓		
Where the bee sucks	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 2421, f. 7r	✓		
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Don.c.57, f. 75r	✓	✓	
	<i>US-NH</i> Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4 Cantus primus, 4a, f. 21r Cantus secundus, 4b, f. 15r Cantus bassus, 4c, f. 20v	✓	✓	
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.411 Cantus primus, f. 3v Cantus secundus, f. 5v Cantus bassus, f. 2v Basso continuo, f. 1v	✓	✓	
	W Cantus primus pp. 8–9 Cantus secundus p. 6 Cantus bassus p. 6	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Bc</i> Acc. No. 57316, Location No. S747.01, p. 88 and unnumbered leaf	✓	✓	

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus.d.238, f. 48v	✓	✓	
	Hi2, pp. 126–7	✓	✓	
	S, pp. 154–5	✓		
	A2, p. 59	✓		
	Ro, p. 216	✓		
	<i>US-Txu</i> MS 2287, f. 65v	✓		
<i>THE WINTER'S TALE</i>				
Get you hence	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4175, no. Lix	✓	✓	
	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4041, ff. 131v–132r	✓	✓	
Jog on/Hanskin	<i>GB-Cfm</i> MU.MS.168, no. 297		✓	
	<i>NL-Lt</i> MS.1666, f. 435r		✓	
	Pe1, p. 53		✓	
	Melancholicus, pp. 73–4	✓		
	Hi2, p. 85	✓	✓	
	Hicks, p. 112			✓
	A2, pp. 30–31	✓		
	G, p. 207	✓		
Lawn as white as driven snow	W Cantus primus pp. 64–5 Cantus secundus pp. 46–7 Cantus bassus pp. 46–7	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus.d.238, pp. 114–15	✓	✓	
	S, pp. 184–5	✓		
	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.437, ff. 1–5 (reconstructed as a single sheet)–f. 6	✓	✓	
Will you buy any tape?	S, pp. 184–5	✓		
<i>CYMBELINE</i>				
Fear no more the heat o th' sun	S, p. 185	✓		
Hark, hark the lark	<i>GB-Ob</i> Don.c.57, f. 40v	✓	✓	
	<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Sancroft 53, p. 43	✓		
<i>HENRY VIII</i>				

<i>Song</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Tune Direction</i>
Orpheus with his lute	Hi2, pp. 174–5	✓	✓	
<i>THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN</i>				
O fair, o sweet	Sidney, pp. 474–5	✓		
The George Alow/The scourge of love	EBBA 30851	✓		
	<i>US-CAh</i> MS Eng. 628, f. 169	✓		
There was three fools/There were three men of Gotham	A5	✓		
	Hi2, p. 16	✓	✓	

## APPENDIX 2.2

## BALLAD TUNES ASSOCIATED WITH 'BONNY SWEET ROBIN'

Below is a list of sources bearing tune directions thought by Simpson to be equivalent to 'Bonny Sweet Robin'.<sup>1</sup> Tune titles included in the list are: 'Fair angel of England', 'The poor man's comfort', 'the poor man's counsellor' and 'The tyrant'. This list follows the same methodology and key as appendix 2.1. Simpson's investigation of the song 'Farewell fair Armeda my joy and my grief' concludes that it was certainly sung to its own tune, and that song is therefore excluded here.<sup>2</sup>

*Ballad Anthologies*

- Cha, vol. 3, p. 613 *The Courageous Plow-man...To the Tune of, Dick and Nan, Or, The Tyrant*  
 Cha, vol. 6, p. 40 *Love and honour: Or, The Lover's farewel to Calista...To a new sad air much in request; or, Tune of, Now the Tyrant hath stolen*  
 Cha, vol. 6, p. 67 *Love;s fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To an excellent new tune, or, Fair Angel of England*  
 Cha, vol. 7, p. 147 *The Wonderful praise of a Good husband...Tune of, My Life and my Death; or, The Poor Man's Counsellor*  
 Cha, vol. 8, p. 103 *The Poor Man's Councillor..To the tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort*  
 Cha, vol. 8, p. cxxxiv *Cupid's Power...To the Tune of, Dick and Nan; or, the Tyrant*  
 Cha, vol. 8, p. 796 *The bad Husbands Reformation...To the tune of My Life and my Death; or, The Poor Man's Counsellor*

*Broadsides*

- EBBA 20644 *A Looking-glass for a covetous Miser: Or, Comfort to a Contended minde...to the tune of, the Fair Angel of England; or, the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passinger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)  
 EBBA 20709 *The poor Mans Councillor. Or The Married Mans Guide...To the Tune of, The poor mans Comfort* (London: for I. Clarke, W. Tackeray and T. Passinger, 1684–6)  
 EBBA 21052 *The Shepherds Delight...To a delightful tune, Sung at the Dukes Play-house to the King, and all the Nobility: Or, Now the Tyrant has stoln my dearest away, &c.* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1674–9)  
 EBBA 21108 *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To a delightful new tune, Or, Fair Angel of England* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1884–6)  
 EBBA 21740 *A dainty new Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth...The Tune is, The Tyrant* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, I. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger 1678–80)  
 EBBA 21752 *The wonderful Praise of a Good Husband, Or, The Kind and Careful Mothers Counsel to her Daughter* (London: for J. Deacon, 1685–8)

<sup>1</sup> Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 59–64.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 62–3.

- EBBA 21756 *The Poor Mans Comfort... The Tune is, Fair Angel of England* (London: for J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passenger, 1684–6)
- EBBA 21806 *The Cloath-worker caught in a Trap: Or, A Fool and his Mony soon parted...The Tune is, How now Jocky whither away. Or the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 21853 *The Sea-mans Compass...To the Tune of, The Tyrant hath stoln* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80)
- EBBA 30440 *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To an excellent new Tune; or, Fair Angel of England* (London: for T. Vere, 1644–80)
- EBBA 30551 *The Cloath-worker caught in a Trap: Or, A Fool and his Mony soon parted...The Tune is, How now Jocky whither away. Or the Tyrant* (1666–79)
- EBBA 30557 *The Couragious Plow-man...To the Tune of, Dick and Nan, Or, The Tyrant* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clark, 1674–9)
- EBBA 30566 *A dainty new Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth...The Tune is, The Tyrant* (1670–77)
- EBBA 30722 *The poor Mans Counsellor, Or, The married mans Guide...Tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort* (1680)
- EBBA 30758 *Love and Honour: Or, The Lover's Farewel to Calista...To a New sad Air much in request; Or, Tune of, Now the Tyrant hath stolen* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1672–96)
- EBBA 30776 *Love and Honour: Or, The Lover's Farewel to Calista...To the Tune of, Now the Tyrant hath stolen, &c.* (London: W. O., 1697–1705)
- EBBA 30877 *Love and Gallantry: Or, A Noble Seaman's last adieu to his Mistris...To the Tune of, Farewel my Calista* (London: for Phillip Brooksby, 1672–96)
- EBBA 30880 *Englands Monethly Observations and Predictions, for the Yeare of our Blessed Saviour, 1653...The Tune is, Faire-Angel of England* (London; for W. Gilbertson 1647–65)
- EBBA 31096 *The Poor Man's Counsellor; Or, The Married Man's Guide...To the Tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort, &c* (Newcastle: John White, 1725–69)
- EBBA 31761 *A dainty new Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth...The Tune is, The Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 31930 *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To a delicate new Tune, or, Fair Angel of England* (London: for Tho. Vere, 1644–82)
- EBBA 31990 *The Sea-mans Compass...To the Tune of, The Tyrant hath stoln* (London: for F. G., 1623–61)
- EBBA 32045 *The Young-womans Complaint: Or, A Caveat to all Maids to have a care how they be Married to Old Men...The Tune is, What should a young woman do with an old man, &c. Or, The Tyrant* (London: for W. Gilbertson, 1647–65)
- EBBA 32527 *Love's fierce Desire, and Hopes of Recovery...To the Tune of, Fair Angel of England* (Newcastle: John White, 1725–69)
- EBBA 32814 *The Sea-mans Compass...To the Tune of, The Tyrant hath stoln* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1674–9)
- EBBA 32872 *The Cloath-worker caught in a Trap: Or, A Fool and his Mony soon parted...The Tune is, How now Jocky whither away. Or the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 33089 *Virtue and Beauty in Danger; Or, King Edward's Courting the London Virgin*
- EBBA 33118 *Love and Honour: Or, The Lover's Farewel to Calista...To the Tune of, Now the Tyrant hath stolen, &c.* (London: for E. Brooks, 1696–1715)

- EBBA 33119 *Love and Honour: Or, The Lover's Farewel to Calista...To a New sad Air much in request; Or, Tune of, Now the Tyrant hath stolen* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1672–96)
- EBBA 33179 *The bad Husbands Reformation...To the Tune of, My Life and my Death; Or, The poor mans Counsellour* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1685–8)
- EBBA 33306 *The poor Mans Counsellor, Or, The married mans Guide...Tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1672–96)
- EBBA 33323 *A dainty new Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth...The Tune is, The Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 33385 *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To a delightful new tune, Or, Fair Angel of England* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80)
- EBBA 33461 *A Looking-glass for a covetous Miser: Or, Comfort to a Contended minde...to the tune of, the Fair Angel of England; or, the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passinger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 33643 *The wonderful Praise of a Good Husband...To the Tune of, My Life and my Death; Or, The Poor Man's Counsellor* (London: for J. Deacon, 1685–8)
- EBBA 33785 *The Courageous Plow-man...To the Tune of, Dick and Nan, Or, The Tyrant* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clark, 1674–9)
- EBBA 34037 *Cupid's Power...To the Tune of Dick and Nan: Or, The Tyrant* (London: for Charles Tyus, 1664)
- EBBA 34086 *A Looking-Glass for a Bad Husband...To the Tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort: Or, Digby* (London: for W. Tackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 34979 *Love and Honour: Or, The Lover's Farewel to Calista...To a New sad Air much in request; Or, Tune of, Now the Tyraut hath stolen* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1672–96)
- EBBA 35042 *The Sea-mans Compass...To the Tune of, The Tyrant hath stoln* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1674–9)
- EBBA 35112 *A dainty new Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth...The Tune is, The Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 35233 *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To a delightful new tune, Or, Fair Angel of England* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80)
- EBBA 35240 *A Looking-glass for a covetous Miser,...to the tune of, the Fair Angel of England; or, the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passinger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 35241 *A Looking-Glass for a Bad Husband...To the Tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort: Or, Digby* (London: for W. Tackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 35269 *The Courageous Plow-man...To the Tune of, Dick and Nan, Or, The Tyrant* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clark, 1674–9)
- EBBA 35762 *The Sea-mans Compass...To the Tune of, The Tyrant hath stoln* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1674–9)
- EBBA 35788 *Love and Honour: Or, The Lover's Farewel to Calista...To a New sad Air much in request; Or, Tune of, Now the Tyraut hath stolen* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1672–96)
- EBBA 35801 *The poor Mans Counsellor, Or, The married mans Guide...Tune of, The Poor Man's Comfort* (London: for P. Brooksby, 1672–96)



- EBBA 35946 *A Looking-glass for a covetous Miser...to the tune of, the Fair Angel of England; or, the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passinger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 35955 *Cupid's Power...To the Tune of Dick and Nan: Or, The Tyrant* (London: for Charles Tyus, 1664)
- EBBA35998 *A dainty new Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth...The Tune is, The Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1674–9)
- EBBA 36008 *The Cloath-worker caught in a Trap: Or, A Fool and his Mony soon parted...The Tune is, How now Jocky whither away. Or the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 36423 *The two Jeering Lovers...To a dainty new tune, called, Now the tyrant hath stolen, &c* (London: for William Gilbertson, 1647–65)
- EBBA 36485 *Loves Return, Or, The Maydens Joy...Tune, Now the Tyrant, or, the Maydens sigh* (London: for F. Grove, 1623–61)
- EBBA 36493 *A Looking-glass for a covetous Miser...to the tune of, the Fair Angel of England; or, the Tyrant* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passinger and W. Whitwood, 1678–88)
- EBBA 37107 *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery...To a delightful new tune, Or, Fair Angel of England* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1678–80)
- ESTC R233105 *Good Admonitions, or Wholesome counsel...To the Tune of, Bonny Sweet Robin, Or, Fair Angel of England* (London: for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and W. Whitwood, 1666–79)

## APPENDIX 3.1

‘WHAT SHALL HE HAVE THAT KILLED THE DEER?’ (AS YOU LIKE IT, IV.II)

*Key*

- A Shakespeare’s First Folio (1623)  
 B *US-Ws* v.a. 409 (c.1625)  
 C John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can*, (London: for John Benson and John Playford, 1652; Wing H2036)  
 D *Windsor-drollery An exact collection of the newest songs, poems, and catches, now in use both in city and countrey* (London: for J. M. 1671; Wing 2203)  
 E *US-Ws* v.a. 437 (c.1675)

## 3.1a Variorum Edition: Copy-Text A

What shall he have that killed<sup>1</sup> the deer?  
 His leather skin and horns to wear.  
 Then sing him home, the rest shall bear this<sup>2</sup> burthen<sup>3</sup>  
 Take thou<sup>4</sup> no scorn to wear the<sup>5</sup> horn,  
 It was a crest ere<sup>6</sup> thou wast<sup>7 8</sup> born.  
 Thy father’s father wore<sup>9</sup> it,  
 And thy father bore<sup>10</sup> it.  
 The horn, the horn, the lusty horn,  
 Is not a thing to laugh to scorn.

---

<sup>1</sup> kill (*B*)

<sup>2</sup> his (*D*)

<sup>3</sup> line absent (*B, C, E*)

<sup>4</sup> you (*C, E*)

<sup>5</sup> a (*C, E*)

<sup>6</sup> ‘fore (*B*)

<sup>7</sup> wert (*B*)

<sup>8</sup> was(*C*)

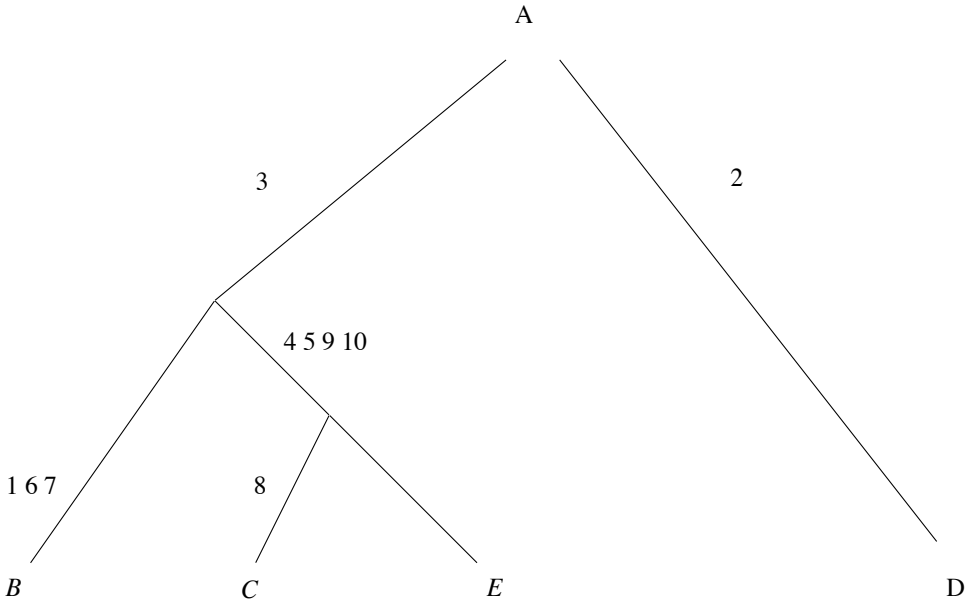
<sup>9</sup> bore (*C, E*)

<sup>10</sup> wore (*C, E*)

3.1b Triangle Matrix

<i>AB</i> 6				
<i>AC</i> 4	<i>BC</i> 2			
<i>AD</i> 9	<i>BD</i> 5	<i>CD</i> 3		
<i>AE</i> 5	<i>BE</i> 3	<i>CE</i> 9	<i>DE</i> 4	

3.1c Stemma



## APPENDIX 3.2

THE WILLOW SONG (*OTHELLO*, IV.III)*Key*

- α Lost exemplar  
 A *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 22601 (c. 1603)  
 B *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15117 (c. 1615)  
 C Broadside, EBBA 20167 (1615)  
 D First Folio, *Othello* IV.iii (1632)  
 E Q2 *Othello* (*The tragedy of Othello the Moore of Venice* (London: A. M., 1630; STC 22306), IV.iii)  
 F Broadside, EBBA 30040 (1639)  
 O. T. Oral tradition

*Methodology*

Shakespeare's gender switch is counted only once and indicated \* thereafter in the reconstruction. Variants in the burden of each version are noted only once, except where the pattern changes in Shakespeare's version.

## 3.2a Conjectural Reconstruction of α

The<sup>1</sup> poor soul sat sighing<sup>2</sup> by<sup>3</sup> a sycamore tree, 1  
 Sing<sup>4</sup> willow, willow, willow,<sup>5 6</sup>  
 With<sup>7</sup> his<sup>8</sup> hand on<sup>9</sup> his\* bosom, his\* head on his\* knee,<sup>10</sup>  
 O<sup>11</sup> willow, willow, willow,  
 O willow, willow, willow,  
 Sing all a<sup>12</sup> green willow shall<sup>13</sup> be my garland.<sup>14 15</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> 'A' (C, F)

<sup>2</sup> 'singing' (D)

<sup>3</sup> 'under' (C)

<sup>4</sup> 'O' (C, F)

<sup>5</sup> 'Sing all a green willow' (D, E)

<sup>6</sup> All refrain lines omitted until the final line ie. lines 2, 4–6, and similar for each verse, omitted (A)

<sup>7</sup> 'with' omitted (D, E, F)

<sup>8</sup> 'Her' — gender switch (D, E)

<sup>9</sup> 'in' (A, B)

<sup>10</sup> 'and his head upon his knee' (B)

<sup>11</sup> 'Sing' (D, E).

<sup>12</sup> 'Sing O the' in the final line of each stanza (C, F)

<sup>13</sup> 'must' (D, E)

<sup>14</sup> '2 extra lines in B—the first is 'Sing all a green willow, willow, willow, willow' (B)

<sup>15</sup> Final line of B's burden is the same as the final line of A—'Aye me the green willow must be my garland' (A, B)

- He sighed in his singing, and after each groan<sup>16</sup> 7  
 Come<sup>17 18</sup> willow, willow, willow.  
 I am dead<sup>19</sup> to all pleasure<sup>20</sup>, my true love [<sup>21</sup>] is gone,<sup>22</sup>  
 O Willow, etc.  
 Sing all a greene willow etc.<sup>23</sup>
- The cold<sup>24</sup> streams ran by him\*, his eyes wept apace,<sup>25</sup> 12  
 O willow, etc.<sup>26</sup>  
 The salt tears fell from him\*, which drowned his face,<sup>27 28 29</sup>  
 O willow, etc.  
 Sing all a green willow etc.
- The mute birds<sup>30</sup> sat by him, [<sup>31</sup>] made tame by his moans,<sup>32</sup> 17  
 O willow, etc.  
 The<sup>33</sup> salt<sup>34</sup> tears fell from him\*, and<sup>35 36</sup> softened<sup>37</sup> the stones.<sup>38</sup>  
 O willow, etc.

---

<sup>16</sup> 'and made a great moan' (*B*)

<sup>17</sup> 'O' (*F*)

<sup>18</sup> 'Sing' (*B*)

<sup>19</sup> 'Adieu' (*F*)

<sup>20</sup> 'joys' (*A*)

<sup>21</sup> 'she' added (*B*)

<sup>22</sup> lines 5–11 omitted (*D, E*)

<sup>23</sup> Two extra stanzas inserted: 'My love she is turned, untrue she doth prove./ She renders me nothing but hate for my love' and 'O pity (cried he) you lovers each one./ Her heart's hard as marble, she rues not my moan' (*C, F*)

<sup>24</sup> 'fresh' (*D, E*)

<sup>25</sup> 'and murmured her moans' (*D, E*)

<sup>26</sup> 'Sing willow etc.' (*D, E*)

<sup>27</sup> lines 14–18 omitted (*D, E*)

<sup>28</sup> Stanza omitted (*B*)

<sup>29</sup> 'with salt water furrowed he drowned his face' (*A*)

<sup>30</sup> 'bird' (*B*)

<sup>31</sup> 'was' added (*B*)

<sup>32</sup> 'moan' (*C, F*)

<sup>33</sup> 'Her' (*D, E*)

<sup>34</sup> 'true' (*A, B*)

<sup>35</sup> 'which' (*C, E, F*)

<sup>36</sup> 'would have' (*B*)

<sup>37</sup> 'melted' (*B*)

<sup>38</sup> 'stone' (*C, F*)

Sing all a green willow etc.<sup>39 40</sup>

Let love no more boast him, in palace nor<sup>41</sup> bower, 22  
 O willow, etc.  
 It buds but it blasteth ere it be a flower,<sup>42 43 44</sup>  
 O willow, etc.  
 Sing all a green willow, etc.

Oh<sup>45</sup> fair and most false one<sup>46</sup> I die with thy wound, 27  
 O willow, etc.  
 Thou hast lost the truest lover that goes on<sup>47</sup> the ground.  
 O willow, etc.  
 Sing all a green willow etc.<sup>48 49 50</sup>

Come all you forsaken, and mourn you<sup>51</sup> with me,<sup>52</sup> 32  
 O willow, etc.  
 Who speak of a false love,<sup>53</sup> mine's fals'er than she. <sup>54 55 56</sup>  
 O willow, etc.  
 Sing all a green willow etc.

---

<sup>39</sup> Lines 32–6 occur here (*B*)

<sup>40</sup> The stanza beginning at line 37 occurs next, followed by an extra stanza: 'O that beauty should harbour a heart that's so hard./ My true love rejecting without all regard.' (C, F)

<sup>41</sup> 'or' (C, F)

<sup>42</sup> 'before it be flower' (A)

<sup>43</sup> 'For women are trothless and fleet in an hour' (C, F)

<sup>44</sup> Stanza omitted (D, E)

<sup>45</sup> 'though' (*B*)

<sup>46</sup> 'one' omitted (*B*)

<sup>47</sup> 'upon' (*B*)

<sup>48</sup> Stanza omitted (C, D, E, F)

<sup>49</sup> Unique stanza inserted after line 31 — 'Thou saidst thou didst love me and could so love me still/ Thy promise was good, thy performance was ill' (A)

<sup>50</sup> Unique stanza inserted — 'But what helps [my (C)] complaining, in vain I complain./ I must patiently suffer her scorn and disdain' (C, F)

<sup>51</sup> 'out' (A)

<sup>52</sup> 'and sit down by me' (C, F)

<sup>53</sup> 'He that plaineth of his false love (C, F)

<sup>54</sup> Unique stanza inserted — 'The willow wreath wear I since my love did fleet / A garland for lovers forsaken most meet' (C, F)

<sup>55</sup> A second part consisting of 11 stanzas follows (C, F)

<sup>56</sup> Stanza omitted (D, E)

Let nobody blame<sup>57</sup> her\*,<sup>58</sup> her scorns I approve,<sup>59</sup> 37  
 O willow, etc.  
 She was born to be false,<sup>60</sup> I to die for her love. <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup>  
 O willow, etc.  
 Sing all a green willow etc.

## 3.2b Triangle Matrix

*AB* 24

*AC* 15

*BC* 9

*AD* 14

*BD* 12

*CD* 11

*AE* 15

*BE* 13

*CE* 13

*DE* 48

*AF* 15

*BF* 9

*CF* 45

*DF* 12

*EF* 15

---

<sup>57</sup> 'chide' (A, B)

<sup>58</sup> 'me' (C, F)

<sup>59</sup> 'do prove' (C, F)

<sup>60</sup> 'faire' (C)

<sup>61</sup> 'and I to die for love' (B)

<sup>62</sup> 'and I die for her love' (C, F)

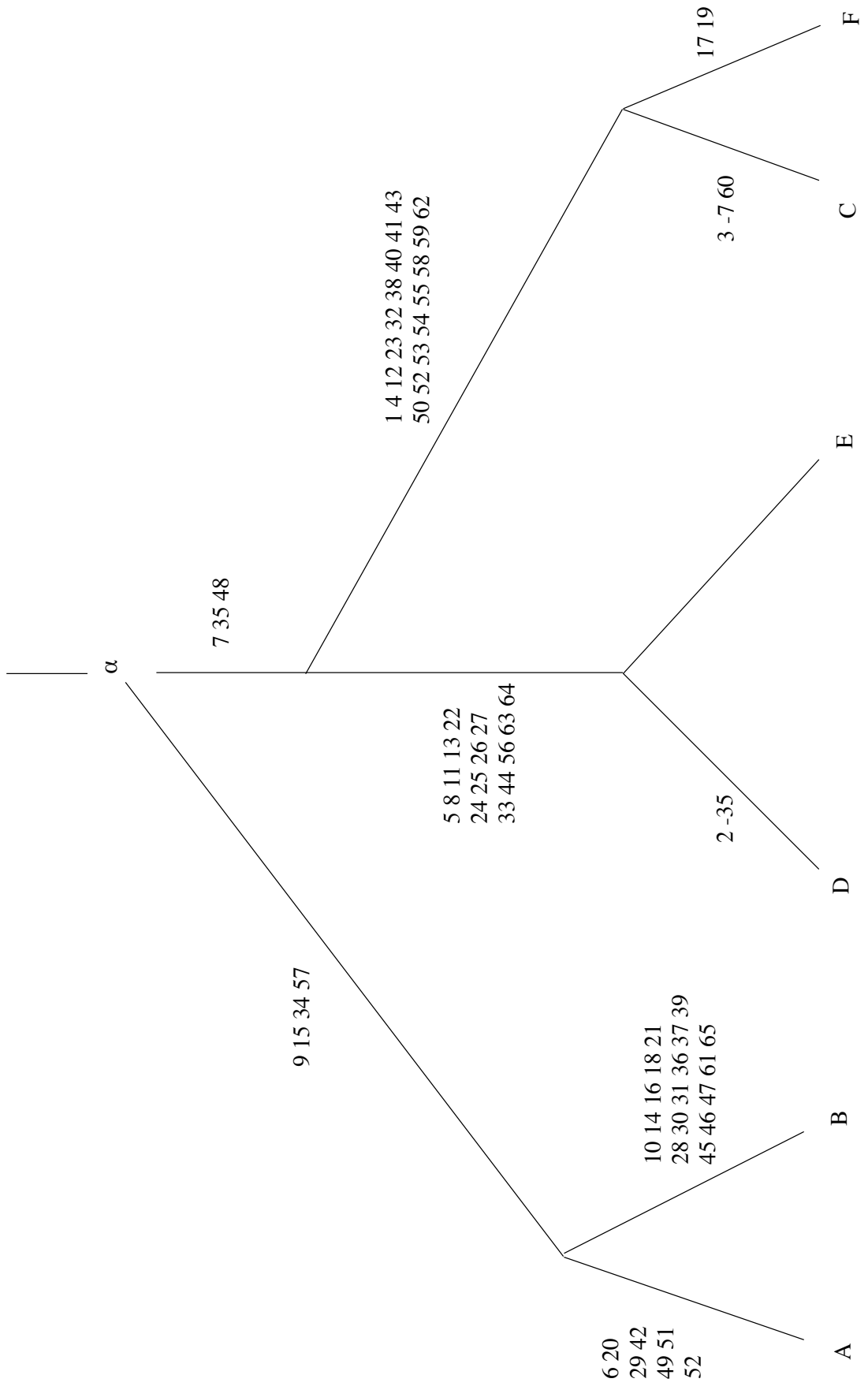
<sup>63</sup> lines 38–41 omitted (D, E)

<sup>64</sup> Alternative final stanza—'I called my love false love: but what said he then?/ Sing Willow etc./ If I court more women, you'll couch with more men' (D, E). NB the last line in the Fourth folio (1663) reads 'If I court no women you'll couch with more men'.

<sup>65</sup> Extra stanza at end— 'Take this for my farewell and latest adieu/ Write this on my tomb, that in love I was true' (B)

3.2c Stemma

O. T.





## APPENDIX 3.3

‘TAKE, O TAKE THOSE LIPS AWAY’ (*MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, IV.I)

## Key

- A First Folio *Measure for Measure*, IV.i (1623)  
 B Second Folio *Measure for Measure*, IV.i (1632)  
 C John Fletcher, *Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or, The bloody brother* (London: R. Bishop, 1639; STC 11064)  
 D John Fletcher, *The tragedy of Rollo Duke of Normandy* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1640; STC 11065)  
 E *GB-Ob* Ashmole 47 (1630s–40s)  
 F *US-NYp* Drexel 4257 (1630s–50s)  
 G *Poems: written by Wil. Shakespeare. Gent* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640; STC 22344)  
 H *US-NYp* Drexel 4041 (1640s)  
 I *GB-Och* MS Mus. 434  
 J John Playford, *Select musicall ayres and dialogues for one and two voyces to sing to the theorbo lute or basse violl composed by John Wilson* (London: for John Playford, 1652; Wing P2502)  
 K *GB-Ob* Mus.b.1 (c. 1656)  
 L *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 11608 (1656–9)  
 M John Wilson, *Select ayres and dialogues* (London: W. Godbid, 1659; Wing W2909)  
 N Fourth Folio *Measure for Measure*, IV.i (1685)  
 O *US-TxU* MS 2287 (late 17th–early 18th century)  
 P Giles Jacob, *The poetical register: or, the lives and characters of all the English poets*, 2 vols (London: A. Bettesworth, W. Taylor, and J. Batley, 1723; ESTC T137465), vol. 2  
 Q *The sports of the muses. Or a minute's mirth for any hour of the day*, 2 vols (London, M. Cooper, 1752; ESTC T085787), vol. 1

## 3.3a Variorum edition, verse 1: Copy-text A

Take, oh take those lips away.  
 That so<sup>1</sup> sweetly were forsworn,  
 And those eyes, the<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> break of<sup>4</sup> day<sup>5</sup>,  
 Lights that<sup>6</sup> do<sup>7</sup> mislead the morn.  
 But my kisses bring<sup>8</sup> again<sup>9</sup>  
 Seals of love, but<sup>10</sup> seal'd<sup>11</sup> in vain.<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> 'often' inserted above the main text (O)

<sup>2</sup> like (C, D)

<sup>3</sup> that (*I, J, M*)

<sup>4</sup> the (*I*)

<sup>5</sup> days (*J, M*)

<sup>6</sup> which (G, P)

<sup>7</sup> so (*M*)

<sup>8</sup> being (C)

<sup>9</sup> 'bring again' repeated (B, N)

<sup>10</sup> though (C, D, E, *F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, O*)

<sup>11</sup> seals (*J, M*)

<sup>12</sup> 'but seal'd in vain' repeated (B)

<sup>13</sup> Final 2 lines absent (P)

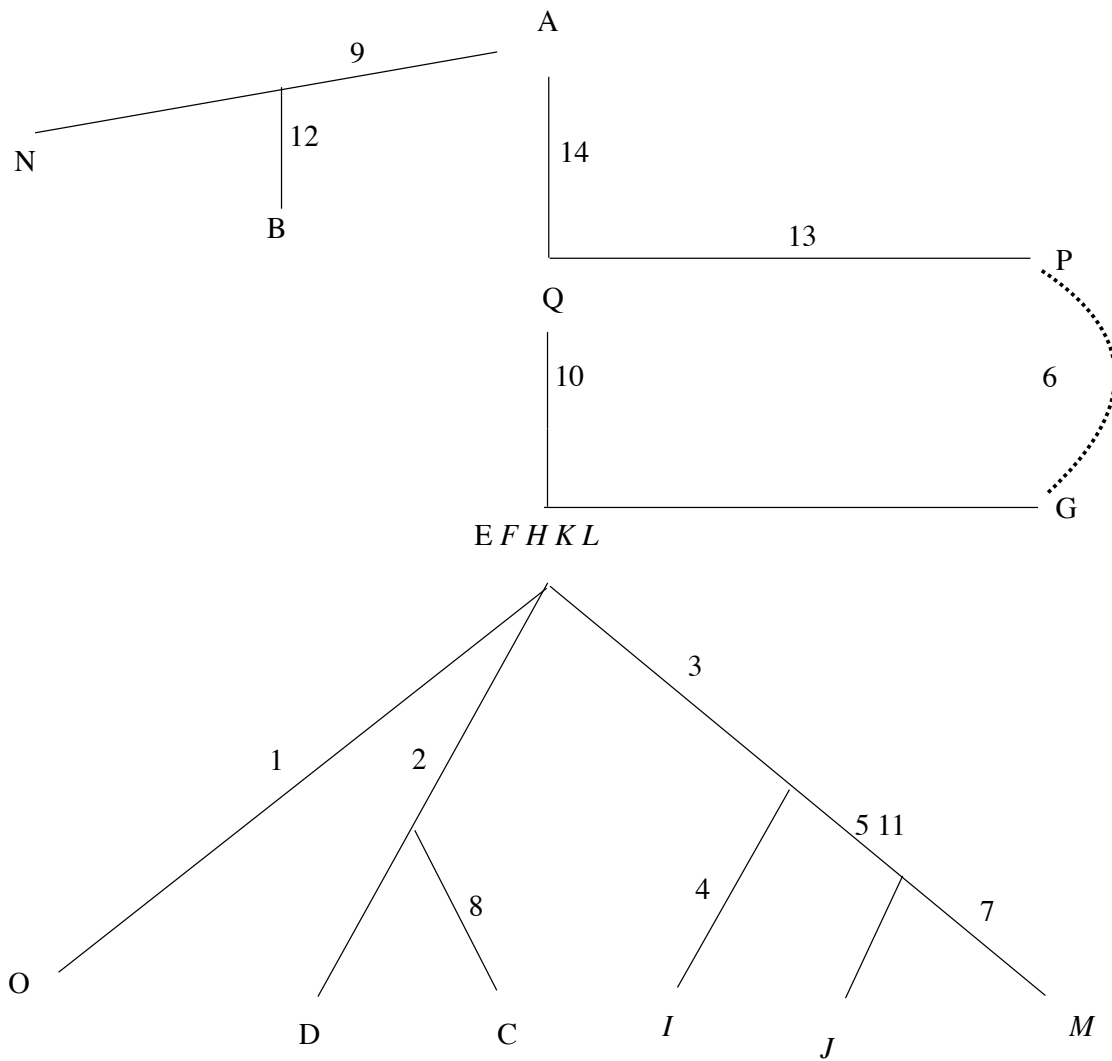
<sup>14</sup> 2nd stanza (C, D, E, *F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, O, P, Q*)

## 3.3b Triangle Matrix

The lowest and highest scoring pairings are marked in bold.

AB 12  
 AC 10 BC 8  
 AD 11 BD 9 CD 13  
 AE 12 BE 10 CE 12 DE 13  
 AF 12 BF 10 CF 12 DF 13 **EF 14**  
 AG 11 BG 9 CG 11 DG 12 EG 13 FG 13  
 AH 12 BH 10 CH 12 DH 13 **EH 14 FH 14 GH 13**  
 AI 10 BI 8 CI 10 DI 11 EI 12 FI 12 GI 11 HI 12  
 AJ 9 BJ 7 CJ 9 DJ 10 EJ 11 FJ 11 GJ 10 HJ 11 IJ 10  
 AK 12 BK 10 CK 11 DK 13 **EK 14 FK 14 GK 13 HK 14 IK 12 JK 11**  
 AL 12 BL 10 CL 12 DL 13 **EL 14 FL 14 GL 13 HL 14 IL 12 JL 11 KL 14**  
 AM 8 **BM 6** CM 8 DM 9 EM 10 FM 10 GM 9 HM 10 IM 10 JM 13 KM 10 LM 10  
 AN 13 BN 12 CN 9 DN 10 EN 10 FN 11 GN 10 HN 11 IN 9 JN 8 KN 11 LN 10 MN 7  
 AO 11 BO 9 CO 11 DO 12 EO 13 FO 13 GO 12 HO 13 IO 11 JO 10 KO 13 LO 12 MO 9 NO 10  
 AP 11 BP 9 CP 9 DP 10 EP 10 FP 11 GP 12 HP 11 IP 9 JP 8 KP 11 LP 11 MP 7 NP 10 OP 10  
 AQ 13 BQ 11 CQ 11 DQ 12 EQ 13 FQ 13 GQ 13 HQ 13 IQ 11 JQ 10 KQ 13 LQ 13 MQ 9 NQ 12 OQ 12 PQ 12

## 3.3c Stemma



## APPENDIX 3.4

'COME AWAY, HECATE' (*MACBETH*, III.v)

## Key

- $\alpha$  Conjectural lost copy of *The Witch* or *Macbeth*  
 A *GB-Ob* Malone MS 12 (1619–27)  
 $\beta$  Conjectural lost copy of the song  
 B *GB-Cfm* MU. MS 782 (1595–1630)  
 C *US-NYp* Drexel 4175 (1620s)  
 D *US-NHub* Gen MSS Vol 548 (c. 1662)  
 E *Macbeth: a tragedy* (William Cademan: London, 1673; Wing S2929)  
 F William Davenant, *Macbeth a tragædy : with all the alterations, amendments, additions, and new songs* (London: for P. C., 1674; Wing S2930)  
 G Thomas Middleton, *A tragi-Coomodie, [sic] called the witch; Long since acted by His Maties Servants at the Black-Friers* (London: J. Nichols, 1778; ESTC T002460)

3.4a Conjectural Reconstruction of  $\alpha$ 

Come away, come away <sup>1</sup>	1
Heccate, Hecate, come away. <sup>2</sup>	
Hec. I come, I come, I come, I come, <sup>3</sup>	
With all the speed I may,	
With all the speed I may. <sup>4 5</sup>	5
Where's Stadling?	
Here.	
Where's Puckle?	
Here,	
And Hoppe <sup>6 7 8</sup> too, and Hellwain <sup>9</sup> too:	10
We lack but you, we lack but you. <sup>10</sup>	
Come away, make up the count.	
Hec. I will but 'noint and then <sup>11</sup> I mount. <sup>12</sup>	

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Come away' only once (D, E, F)

<sup>2</sup> O come away (B, C, D, E, F)

<sup>3</sup> 'I come' only twice (D, E, F)

<sup>4</sup> line omitted (D)

<sup>5</sup> line reads 'I come, I come, with all the speed I may' (E)

<sup>6</sup> Hoppe (A)

<sup>7</sup> Illegible (B)

<sup>8</sup> Hopper (D, E, F)

<sup>9</sup> Helway (B, C, D, E, F)

<sup>10</sup> We want but you, we want but you (D, E, F)

<sup>11</sup> the (F)

<sup>12</sup> line repeated (B, C, D, E, F)

There's<sup>13</sup> one comes down<sup>14 15 16 17</sup> to fetch his dues;<sup>18</sup> 15  
 A kiss, a<sup>19</sup> coll,<sup>20</sup> a sip of blood.  
 And why thou stay'st<sup>21</sup> so long  
   I muse, I muse,<sup>22</sup>  
 Since the air's<sup>23</sup> so sweet<sup>24</sup> and good.  
 Hec. Oh, art thou come, 20  
       What news, what news?<sup>25</sup>  
       All goes still<sup>26</sup> to<sup>27 28</sup> our delight,  
       Either come, or else  
   Refuse, refuse.<sup>29</sup>  
       Now I am<sup>30</sup> furnish'd for the flight. 25  
 Hec. Now I go,<sup>31 32</sup> now I fly,  
       Malkin, my sweet spirit, and I.  
       Oh what a dainty pleasure 'tis<sup>33</sup>  
       To ride<sup>34</sup> in the air  
       When<sup>35 36</sup> the moon shines fair,  
       And sing, and dance, and toy, and kiss,<sup>37 38 39</sup>  
       Over woods, high rocks and mountains,  
       Over seas our mistress fountaines,<sup>40 41 42 43</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Here (B, C, D, E, F)

<sup>14</sup> comes on (B)

<sup>15</sup> comes one down (C)

<sup>16</sup> comes one, it is (E)

<sup>17</sup> comes down one (D, F)

<sup>18</sup> due (E, F)

<sup>19</sup> I'd (E)

<sup>20</sup> cull (C, D, E, F)

<sup>21</sup> stayest (C)

<sup>22</sup> 2nd 'I muse' omitted (D, E, F)

<sup>23</sup> air (D)

<sup>24</sup> fresh (C)

<sup>25</sup> 2nd 'what news' omitted (D, E, F)

<sup>26</sup> well (C)

<sup>27</sup> All goes fair for our delight (E, F)

<sup>28</sup> All goes for our delight (D)

<sup>29</sup> 2nd 'refuse' omitted (D, E, F)

<sup>30</sup> I'm (F)

<sup>31</sup> 'and' inserted (B, D, F)

<sup>32</sup> 'o' inserted (C)

<sup>33</sup> pleasure's this (B, D, E, F), pleasure is this (C)

<sup>34</sup> sail (D, E, F)

<sup>35</sup> where (B)

<sup>36</sup> while (D, E, F)

<sup>37</sup> And feast, and sing, and toy, and kiss (B, C)

<sup>38</sup> To sing, to toy and kiss (E)

<sup>39</sup> To sing, to toy, to dance and kiss (D, F)

<sup>40</sup> Over seas and misty fountains (B)

<sup>41</sup> Over seas [—our] ^ and ^ mistress ^ crystal^ fountains (C)

<sup>42</sup> Over misty hills and fountains (E)

<sup>43</sup> Over hills and misty fountains (D, F)

Over steeples, towers and turrets<sup>44</sup>  
 We fly by night 'mongst troops of spirits.  
 No ring of bells to our ears<sup>45</sup> sounds,  
 No howls<sup>46</sup> of wolves, no<sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> yelps<sup>49</sup> of hounds,  
 No, not<sup>50</sup> the noise of water's breach,  
 Or<sup>51</sup> cannon's throat<sup>52</sup> our height can reach.  
 No ring of bells &c<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Over steep towers and turrets (A, G)

<sup>45</sup> ear (A)

<sup>46</sup> noise (B)

<sup>47</sup> or (B)

<sup>48</sup> nor (C, D, E, F)

<sup>49</sup> elps (B)

<sup>50</sup> nor (B, C, D, E, F)

<sup>51</sup> nor (C, D, E, F)

<sup>52</sup> throats (D, E, F)

<sup>53</sup> line omitted (B, C, D, E, F)

## 3.4b Triangle Matrix

*AB* 20

*AC* 18

*BC* 24

*AD* 9

*BD* 17

*CD* 17

*AE* 9

*BE* 15

*CE* 16

*DE* 29

*AF* 8

*BF* 16

*CF* 16

*DF* 32

*EF* 29

*AG* 36

*BG* 21

*CG* 20

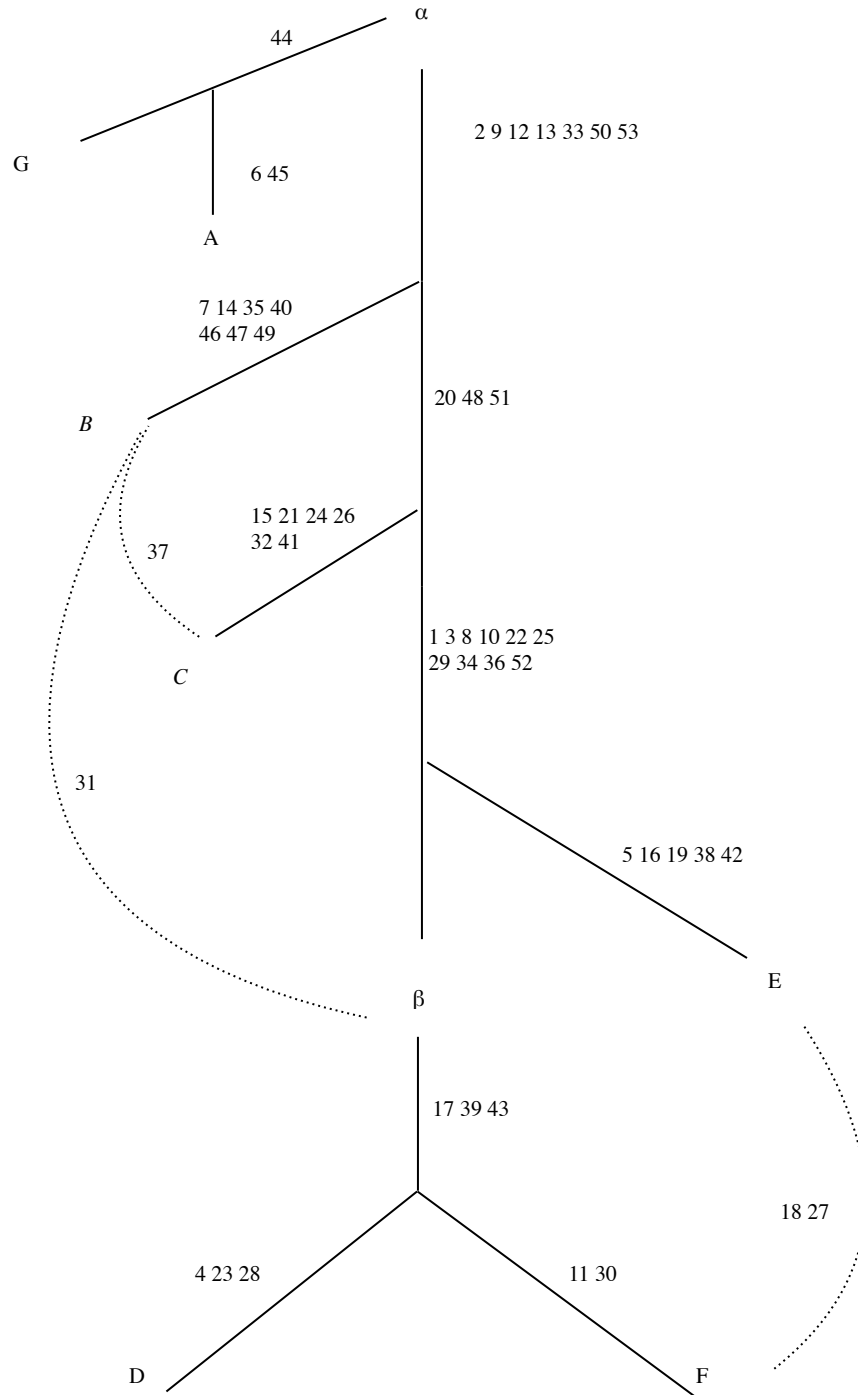
*DG* 10

*EG* 10

*FG* 9



3.4c Stemma



## APPENDIX 3.5

'BLACK SPIRITS AND WHITE' (*MACBETH*, IV.I)

## Key

The sources are assigned the same sigla as in appendix 3.4.

- α Conjectural lost copy of *The Witch* or *Macbeth*  
 A *GB-Ob* Malone MS 12 (transcript of 'The Witch' in Ralph Crane's hand, copied 1619–27)  
 D *US-NHub* Gen MSS Vol 548 (c. 1662)  
 F William Davenant, *Macbeth a tragædy : with all the alterations, amendments, additions, and new songs* (London: for P. C., 1674; Wing S2930)  
 G Thomas Middleton, *A tragi-Coomodie, [sic] called the witch; Long since acted by His Maties Servants at the Black-Friers* (London: J. Nichols, 1778; ESTC T002460)

## 3.5a Conjectural Reconstruction of α

- Black spirits and white, red spirits and grey,  
 Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may.  
 Titty,<sup>1</sup> Tiffin, keep it stiff in,  
 Firedrake, Puckey, make it lucky.  
 Liard,<sup>2 3</sup> Robin, you must bob in.  
 Round, around, around, about, about,<sup>4</sup>  
 All ill come running in, all good keep out.
1. witch Here's the blood of a bat.  
 Hec. Put in that, oh put in that.<sup>5</sup>  
 2. Here's libbard's bane.<sup>6</sup>  
 Hec. Put in again.<sup>7</sup>  
 1. The juice of toad, the oil of adder.<sup>8</sup>  
 2. Those<sup>9</sup> will make the yonker<sup>10</sup> madder.  
 Hec. Put in, there's all, and rid the stench.<sup>11</sup>  
 Fire Nay, here's three ounces of the<sup>12</sup> red-haired wench.  
 Round, around, around &c<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Tiffin (D, F)

<sup>2</sup> Liand (A)

<sup>3</sup> Lyer (D, F)

<sup>4</sup> Around, around, about, about (D, F)

<sup>5</sup> O put in that, put in that (D, F)

<sup>6</sup> lizard's brain (D, F)

<sup>7</sup> Put in a grain (D, F)

<sup>8</sup> Here's juice of toad, here's oil of adder (D, F)

<sup>9</sup> that (D, F)

<sup>10</sup> 'charm grow' in place of 'yonker' (D, F)

<sup>11</sup> Put in all these, 'twill raise the stanch (D, F)

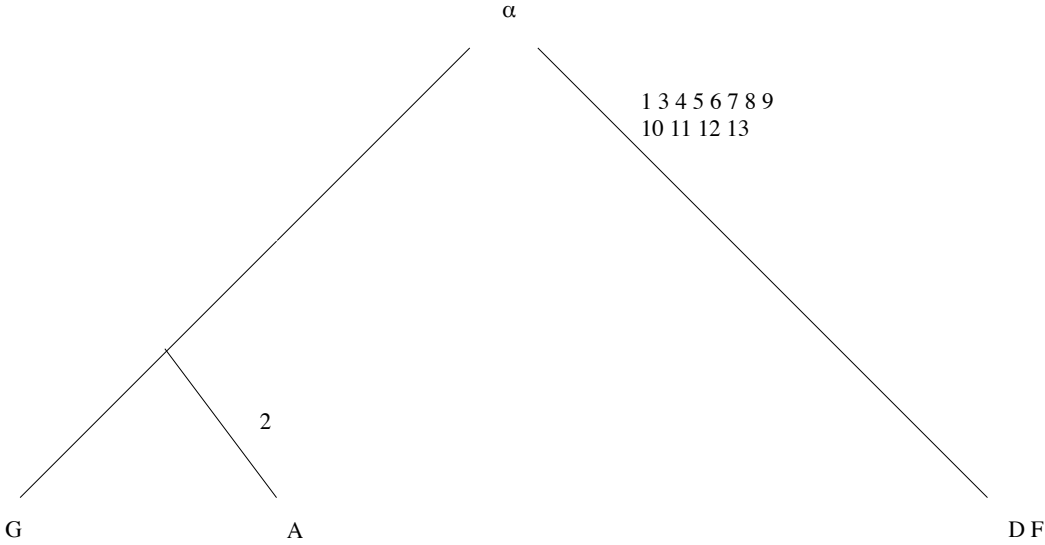
<sup>12</sup> a (D, F)

<sup>13</sup> around, around &c. (D, F)

3.5b Triangle matrix

AD 0  
AF 0      DF 13  
AG 12    DG 0    FG 0

3.5c Stemma



## APPENDIX 3.6

‘WHERE THE BEE SUCKS’ (*THE TEMPEST*, V.vi)*Key*

- A First Folio (1623)  
 B *GB-Ob* Don.c.57 (1640s–60s)  
 C *US-NH* Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4 (mid- 17th century)  
 D Third Folio (1663)  
 E *US-Ws* v.a.411 (1650–67)  
 F John Wilson, John Wilson, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads*, 1659  
 G *GB-Bc* 57316 (1660s)  
 H Abel Roper, *The theatre of complements; or, A compleat new academy*, 1689  
 I *US-Txu* MS 2287 (late 17th–early 18th century)

## 3.6a Variorum Edition: Copy-Text A

Where the bee sucks, there suck I,  
 In a<sup>1</sup> cowslip's<sup>2</sup> bell<sup>3</sup>, I lie,  
 There I couch<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> when owls do cry,  
 On the<sup>6</sup> bat's back I do fly<sup>7</sup>  
 After summer, merrily.  
 Merrily, merrily, shall I<sup>8</sup> live now,  
 Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> the (*B*)

<sup>2</sup> cowslip (*E* cantus primus, *H*)

<sup>3</sup> bed (*H*)

<sup>4</sup> crouch (*D*, *H*)

<sup>5</sup> sit (*I*)

<sup>6</sup> a (*C*, *F* cantus secundus and cantus bassus)

<sup>7</sup> do I fly (*H*)

<sup>8</sup> we (*C* cantus bassus)

<sup>9</sup> 3 extra stanzas (*G*)

## 3.6b Triangle Matrix

*AB 8*

*AC 7 BC 6*

*AD 8 BD 7 CD 6*

*AE 8 BE 7 CE 6 DE 7*

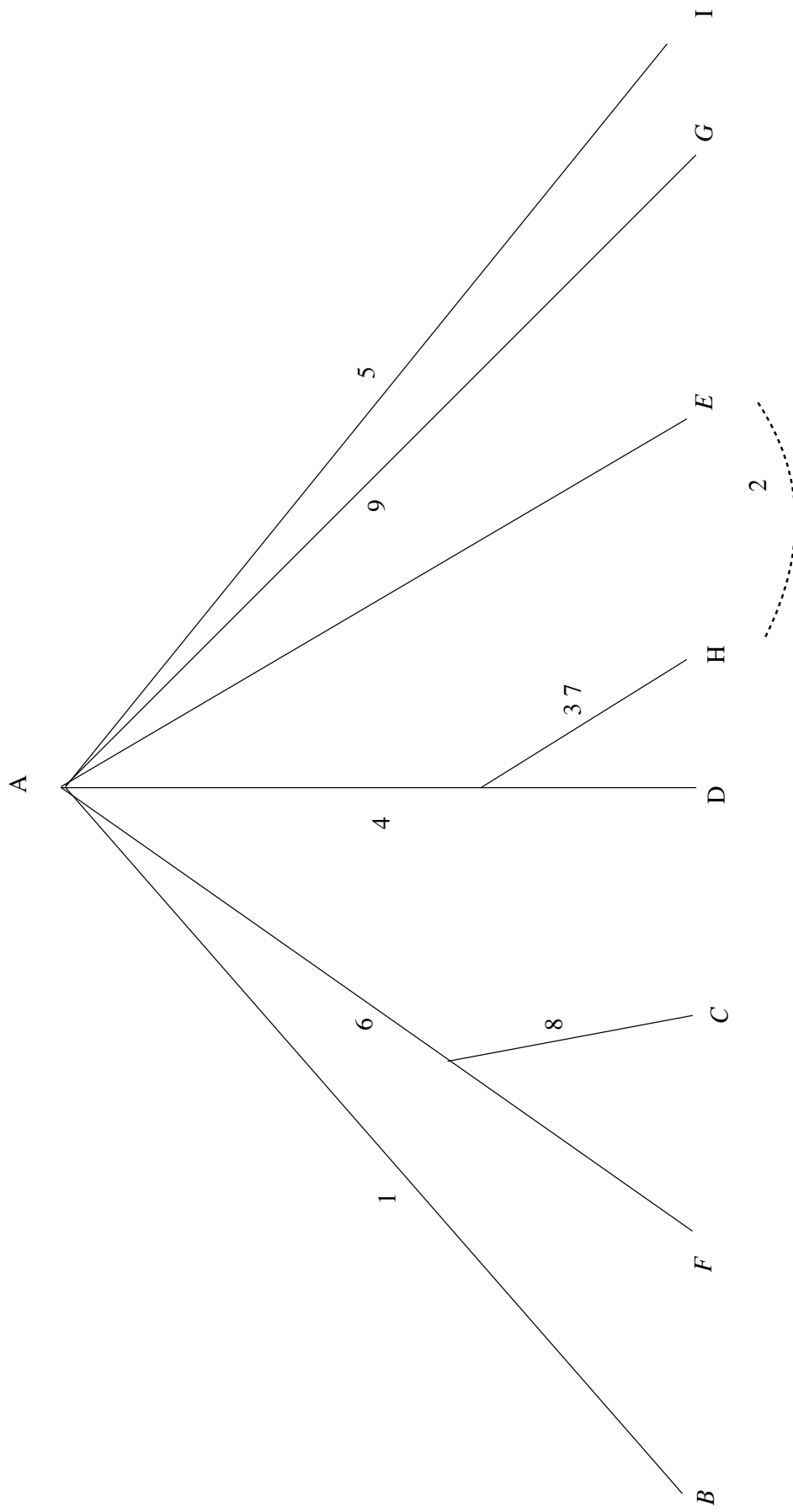
*AF 8 BF 7 CF 8 DF 7 EF 7*

*AG 8 BG 7 CG 6 DG 7 EG 7 FG 7*

*AH 5 BH 4 CH 3 DH 6 EH 6 FH 4 GH 4*

*AI 8 BI 7 CI 6 DI 7 EI 7 FI 7 GI 7 HI 4*

## 3.6c Stemma



## APPENDIX 4.1

## THE MAD MERRY PRANKS OF ROBIN GOODFELLOW

*Key*

- A EEBA 31962 *The mad merry Pranks of Robin Good-fellow* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1663–74)
- B EBBA 30163 *The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow* (London; for H. G., 1601–40)
- C EBBA 31963 *The Mad Merry Pranks of Robin Good-fellow* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger., 1678–80)
- D EBBA 20274 *The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow* (London: for H. G., 1625)

## Conjectural Reconstruction of the Original Ballad

From Obrion<sup>1</sup> in Fairy Land,  
 The king of ghosts and shadows there,  
 Mad Robin I at his command  
 Am sent to view the night sports here.  
 What revel rout  
 Is kept about,  
 In every corner where I go,  
 I will o'ersee  
 And merry be,  
 And make good sport with ho ho ho.

More swift than lightning can I fly  
 And round about this air<sup>2</sup> welkin soon,  
 And in a minute's space descry  
 Each thing that's done beneath the moon.  
 There's not a hag,  
 Nor ghost shall wag,  
 Nor cry goblin where I do go,  
 But Robin I,  
 Their feats will spy,  
 And fear them home with ho ho ho.

If any wanderers I meet,  
 That from their night sports do trudge home,  
 With counterfeiting voice I greet,  
 And cause them on with me to roam;  
 Through woods, through lakes,  
 through bogs, through brakes,  
 o'er bush and brier with them I go,  
 I call upon

---

<sup>1</sup> Oberon (B)

<sup>2</sup> airy (B, D)

Them to come on,  
And wend<sup>3</sup> me laughing, ho ho ho.

Sometimes I meet them like a man,  
Sometimes an ox, sometimes a hound,  
And to a horse I turn me can,  
To trip and trot about them round;  
But if to ride,  
My<sup>4</sup> back they stride,  
More swift than wind away I I go,  
O'er hedge and lands,  
Through pools and ponds,  
I whirry laughing ho ho ho.

When lads and lasses merry be,  
With possets<sup>5</sup> and with junkets fine,  
Unseen of all the company,  
I eat their cakes<sup>6</sup> and sip<sup>7</sup> their<sup>8</sup> wine,  
And to make sport,  
I fart and snort,  
And out the candles I do blow,  
The maids I kiss,  
They shriek 'who's this?'  
I answer nought but ho ho ho.

Yet now and then the maids to please,  
I card at midnight up their wool,  
And while they sleep, snort, fart and sneeze<sup>9</sup>,  
Whit wheel to thread<sup>10</sup> their flax I pull.  
I grind at mill  
Their malt up still,  
I dress their hemp, I spin their tow,  
If any wake<sup>11</sup>  
And would me take,  
I wend me laughing ho ho ho.

The second part<sup>12</sup>, to the same tune<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> went (A)

<sup>4</sup> Me (D)

<sup>5</sup> pessets (A)

<sup>6</sup> cates (B, D)

<sup>7</sup> drink (C)

<sup>8</sup> the (A)

<sup>9</sup> sease/fease (B, D)

<sup>10</sup> threads (B, D)

<sup>11</sup> awake (A)

<sup>12</sup> prat (D)

<sup>13</sup> direction omitted (C)



When house or hearth doth sluttish lie,  
 I pinch the maids there black and blue  
 And from the bed, the bed clothes I  
 Pull off and leave them nak'd<sup>14</sup> to view.  
 Twixt sleep and wake  
 I do them take,  
 And on the key<sup>15</sup>-cold floor<sup>16</sup> them throw.  
 If out they cry  
 Then forth fly<sup>17</sup> I,  
 And loudly laugh I<sup>18</sup> ho ho ho.

When any need to borrow ought,  
 We lend them what they do require,  
 And for the use demand we naught,  
 Our own is all we do desire.  
 I to repay  
 They do delay,  
 Abroad amongst them then I go,  
 And night by night  
 I them affright,  
 With pinching, dreams and ho ho ho.

When lazy queens have nought to do  
 But study how to cog and lie,  
 To make debate and mischief too  
 'Twixt one another secretly.  
 I mark their glose  
 And it<sup>19</sup> disclose  
 To them which<sup>20</sup> they<sup>21</sup> have<sup>22</sup> wronged so.  
 When I have fone,  
 I get me gone,  
 and leave them scolding, ho ho ho.

When men do traps and engines set,  
 In loopholes where the vermin creep,  
 That from their folds and houses set<sup>23</sup>  
 Their ducks and geese, their lambs and sheep,  
 I spy the gin  
 And enter in,

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<sup>14</sup> naked (A, B, D)

<sup>15</sup> kep (A)

<sup>16</sup> flower (C)

<sup>17</sup> five (A)

<sup>18</sup> I omitted (A, C, D)

<sup>19</sup> do (A,B, D)

<sup>20</sup> that (A, B, D)

<sup>21</sup> I (A)

<sup>22</sup> had (A, B, D)

<sup>23</sup> steal (C)

And seems a vermin, taken so,  
 But when hey there  
 Approach me near,  
 I leap out laughing ho ho ho.

By wells and giles in meadows<sup>24</sup> green,  
 We nightly dance our heyday guise,  
 And to our fairy king and queen  
 We chant our moonlight harmonies.  
 When larks 'gin sing,  
 Away we fling,  
 And babes new born steal as we go,  
 An elf in bed  
 We leave instead,  
 And wend us laughing ho ho ho.

From hag-bred<sup>25</sup> Merlin's time have I  
 Thus nightly<sup>26</sup> revelled to and fro,  
 And for my pranks men call me by  
 The name of Robin Goodfellow.  
 Fiends<sup>27</sup>, ghosts and sprites  
 That haunt the nights,  
 The hags and goblins do me know,  
 And beldames old  
 My feats have told,  
 So vale, vale, ho ho ho.

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<sup>24</sup> meadow (A)

<sup>25</sup> hay-bred (A, C)

<sup>26</sup> Mighty (A, C)

<sup>27</sup> Friends (A)