

Ballads and Product Placement in the Time of Shakespeare

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DOI:

[10.1093/escrit/cgac023](https://doi.org/10.1093/escrit/cgac023)

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Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (Harvard):

Stern, T 2022, 'Ballads and Product Placement in the Time of Shakespeare', *Essays in Criticism*, vol. 72, no. 3, pp. 269-299. <https://doi.org/10.1093/escrit/cgac023>

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Ballads and Product Placement in the Time of Shakespeare

TIFFANY STERN

IN 1633 FRANCIS QUARLES published a disdainful epigram about the connection between ‘Players’ and ‘Ballad-Mungers’ – traders of ballads – and their products. ‘Our *merry* Ballads, and *lascivious* Playes / Are much alike’, he maintained; ‘T’one *sings*; the other *sayes*; / And both are *Fripp’ries* of anothers Froth’. According to Quarles, then, not only are plays and ballads closely connected: each is the flourish on the other.¹ Plays and ballads, implies Quarles, at the least require one another; and perhaps even, sometimes, bring one another about.

This lecture is about interrelationships between ballads and plays; frippery and froth. It is in three parts. The first considers ballads used, and sometimes authored, by two representative playwrights, Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. The second part is on the ballad-jigs and ballad-‘themes’ performed when plays were over, promoted and maybe authored by clowns. The third concerns the place where theatre ballads were sold and by whom: outside playhouses and by ‘outsiders’ from society. And, as the ballads ‘outside’ plays seem to have consisted of the ‘within’- and ‘after’-play ballads, this lecture asks where conceptually, physically, and geographically plays stop and ballads start; to what extent ballads are crucial paratexts to performed plays and vice versa; and what play-ballads can contribute to our understanding of authorship, on the one hand, and genre on the other.

Essays In Criticism Vol. 72 No. 3

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the images is the text itself, printed in black-letter – the alphabet form from which people learned to read: it was familiar, accessible, delightfully childish. At the end of each stanza, however, the ‘burden’ is in Roman type: a ballad’s repeating chorus, when present, was often typographically differentiated, indicating that this was the bit that invited listeners to sing along. Printerly, musical, narrative, communal, decorative, performative, broadsheet ballads combined many art forms on one simple page and naturally appealed to all ranks of society: the illiterate, who bought them to decorate their houses; the publicans, who hung them up to encourage communal sing-alongs; the merchants and gentlepeople, who, like John Selden and Samuel Pepys, collected them like stamps, organised them by type, and bound them into books.⁴ To buy a new broadside was to purchase novelty (new words and a new story) and familiarity (old tunes, old pictures, old letter forms) in one. As is to be expected, ballads were a guilty pleasure, looked down on for their childish simplicity and obvious rhymes, and loved for the same reasons.

In terms of content, the ballad above is fairly standard. It opens, as such texts often do, with a reference to its own performance: ‘My Masters and friends and good people draw near’, the first line, allows the ballad-monger to gather listeners through the very words he sings. That same first stanza introduces the subject and, in this instance, the pleasing contradiction that shapes the narrative: the ‘caveat’ is, in the stanzas, addressed to potential victims (‘look to your purses’), and in the repeating chorus, to the cutpurse himself: *‘Youth, youth thou hadst better been starved by thy Nurse / Then live to be hang’d for cutting a purse’*.

The ballad-sheet reproduced here is from 1647. That is not when the text it contains originates, however – and, indeed, ballads themselves are notoriously difficult to date. Broadside ballads were printed in large numbers, lost in large numbers, and, depending on popularity, sometimes reprinted in large numbers regularly thereafter. Though a particular surviving ballad-sheet may itself be datable, then, the text it contains can be from considerably earlier. Nor is the Stationers’ Register (SR) very useful for dating ballads. While stationers would generally opt to have book manuscripts, once

approved, entered into the SR, they did not always bother for ballads. Many ballads therefore leave no SR trace. This lecture will supply the earliest date it can for the ballads it quotes, but that may well not be the date of the actual words.

As ballad-singer/sellers were well-known character types, and ballad-sheets made for easy props, it is only to be expected that broadside ballads appeared regularly in plays. Just two of the many playwrights who staged ballads will be explored here: Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. They have been chosen because they were playwrights who not only quoted ballads, but who also seem to have authored them and encouraged them to circulate as separate print texts. That neither playwright is generally considered in a ballad-writing capacity is a product of the anti-ballad snobbery to which, of course, they also contributed.

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) features a ballad-singer/seller called Nightingale who comes on stage brandishing what he calls a 'spicke and span new' broadsheet ballad. He reveals its title ('What Ballads hast thou? let me see ... A caueat against cutpurses'), names its tune, 'To the tune of Paggington's pound' (i.e. 'Packington's pound'), and promotes its illustrations which will, as he puts it faux-naively, 'pick the pictures out o' your pockets' (i.e. compel you to give over your pictorial coins; though 'pick ... pockets' reveals his own untrustworthy character). Nightingale finally sings his text: the main way a ballad-singer/seller could promote his wares. Amongst his engrossed listeners is the foolish Bartholomew Cokes:

- NIG. My masters and friends, and good people draw neere,
And looke to your purses, for that I doe say;
- COK. Ha, ha, this chimes! good counsell at first dash.
- NIG. *And though little money, in them you doe beare.
 It cost more to get, then to lose in a day....
 Youth, youth, thou hadst better bin staru'd by
 thy Nurse,
 Then liue to be hanged for cutting a purse.*

Cokes, having heard two stanzas, '*sings the burden with him*', as the stage direction has it – which, in performance,

probably encouraged the theatregoers to do likewise. So captivated is he by the song that he eventually chooses to buy it and the rest of the ballads in Nightingale's 'bundle'. When he reaches for his money, however, he finds 'my purse is gone, my purse, my purse, &c.'⁵ Nightingale has used his *Caveat* to distract listeners while the cutpurse with whom he works, Edgeworth, practises his art. In the fiction of the play, then, the song ironically brings about what it warns against. But beyond the fiction is a further irony. The ballad that Nightingale sings is a real one – its descendant is [Figure 1](#) above – and while Nightingale markets his text by singing it to the dupe Cokes, he also, it seems, markets an actual broadsheet to the real audience. Jonson, always keen to exploit the tension between fleeting performance and fixed, printed text, seems here to have used a fictional ballad-singer/seller to endorse a real ballad broadsheet – and, as a result, make potentially genuine a ballad sale that also renders us all Nightingale's (Jonson's?) dupes.

Whether Jonson, for *Bartholomew Fair*, uses an already extant ballad, writes one specially, or does something in between the two – writes some of the stanzas and lets a ballad-writer complete the text for a broadsheet – is open to question. What he does seem to have done is write a play that, long before it reached print in its entirety, was available for print purchase in song terms.⁶ This is of a piece with Jonson's approach to other, more rarefied, texts: masques, which he also regularly sold bits of in ballad form – though a perception that his publication interests were classical and anti-theatrical, queried by the evidence above, means this fact has barely registered.

Yet Jonson's *The Masque of Augurs*, a courtly text put on twice at the Banqueting Hall, Whitefriars – 6 January 1622 and 5 or 6 May 5 1622 – also contains a genuine, and separable, ballad. Though the song itself was probably only performed on the masque's second outing (it is in a section of antimasque new to the second, enlarged, folio version of the text), it seems to have been instantly popular as a separate text. Perhaps its attraction was that it was about a real alehouse, The Three Dancing Bears in St Katharine's, London.⁷ In Jonson's antimasque, the alehouse's sign is sung about, but

also literalised, so that the ballad-singer who enters is a fictional bearward or bear-keeper, 'John Urson' ('ursus' is Latin for 'bear'), accompanied by three actual dancing bears:

Enter John Urson with his Beares singing.

Ballad.

*Though it may seeme rude
For me to intrude,
With these my Beares by chance-a;
'Twere sport for a King,
If they could sing
As well as they can dance-a ...*⁸

That this ballad was sold as a separate broadsheet is revealed by the fact that it is described, sung, and sold in printed form in a play written for Cambridge or Salisbury Court, probably by Thomas Randolph: *The Drinking Academy* (MS text c.1626-31). Like *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Drinking Academy* features a duplicitous ballad-singer/seller, here called Bidstand, who likewise works with a cutpurse, here called Nimmer – the names mean highwayman and thief in thieves' cant – who fool a dupe called, in straightforward English, Simple:

Bid: Come sirs pence a peece here is a new ballat a dainty new ballat newly printed and newly come forth concerning his maiestyes subiects the bears in the palace garden and Vrcen ther reuerend instructor ...

A Ballat.

Bid: Tho it may seme rude for me to intrued
With thes my beares by chance-a
Twere sport for a king if they cold sing
As well as they can dance-a
Enter Simple

...

Sim: Haue they any fine pictures I tro at them?

Bid: Yes of 3 dancing beares an Vrsen.⁹

The play makes clear that the broadsheet was particularly desirable as it contained, excitingly, a 'ballad-specific'

picture: '3 dancing beares an Vrsen'. At this point, however, we apparently hit a brick wall, as there is no SR 'entrance' (as such records were known), and no surviving broadside, for Urson's song with its unique picture.

Or is there? In 1645, a book first published as *Wits recreations* (1640) was republished, expanded, under a new name, *Recreation for ingenious head-peeeces*. One section sunk deep within the volume, 'Fancies and Fantasticks', is filled with pictures: striking, as the 1640 version of the text had contained no illustrations at all, frontispiece aside. It consists of visual puzzles and rebuses followed by 'old' verses, often with their own pictures. As it seems, the person expanding *Wits recreations*, thought to have been John Mennes, had acquired some verses with attendant pictures and added them to the latter end of the book. He had, that is to say, got hold of some old, distributed ballads, and reprinted them.

One verse with accompanying picture new to the book is *The Bearhard* i.e. bearward (when the book was printed again in 1650, it was retitled *The Post of the Signe*, a cross-reference to the alehouse sign that the song celebrates). The woodcut, reproduced as [Figure 2](#), shows three muzzled bears dancing, while their keeper, also dancing, raises a tankard; it is followed by the words of Urson's ballad from *The Masque of Augures*, swelled by one additional stanza.¹⁰ And, given that the picture shows precisely what Bidstand had advertised as being on his ballad-sheet, three dancing bears (the fact that they are muzzled suggesting they are 'real') and their instructor, what we seem to have in this book is the surviving picture – itself a reflection of the performance – for the lost broadside. If so, then this ballad-specific picture suggests that Ben Jonson knew of, and allowed, publication of his ballad as a broadside; he may indeed have encoded that fact in the name of the fictional balladeer, 'John Urson', which homophonically suggests his own name, 'Ben Jonson'.¹¹

Urson and the three dancing bears is not the only 'lost' Jonson ballad preserved inside *Recreation for ingenious head-peeeces* (1645). That same book also contains a song called *The Welshmans praise of Wales* in parodic Welsh accent and diction: 'T's not come here to tauke of *Prut*'

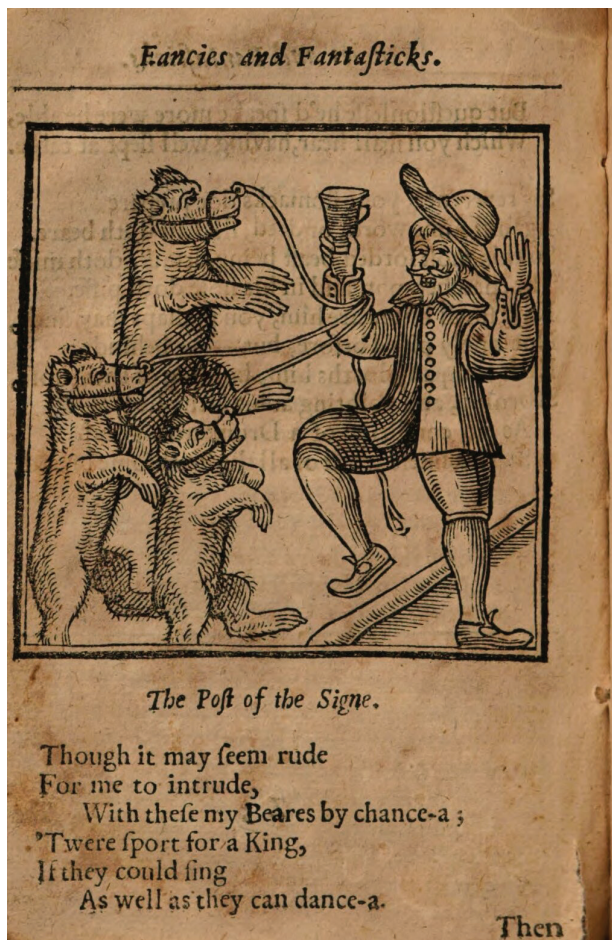


Fig. 2. John Mennes, *Recreation for ingenious Head-peeeces* (1650), Z3^v; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/P.o.angl. 319 m. Reproduced with permission.

(‘I’ve not come here to talk of Brutus’ – the Trojan, legendary first king of Britain).¹² Its words, however, come from another Jonson masque, *For the Honour of Wales*, performed on Shrove Tuesday 1618.¹³ A broadside ballad of that song is even extant, though only from 1700: its late date, of course, shows how much longer a ballad



Fig. 3. John Mennes, *Recreation for ingenious Head-peeeces* (1650), X8^v. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/P.o. angl. 319 m. Reproduced with permission.

might survive, through repeating reprintings, than the text that contains it (the masque *For the Honour of Wales* was only to be reprinted once in the intervening time, in the next folio of Jonson's *Works* of 1692).¹⁴ On the broadside, but also in the 1645 book, is another seemingly ballad-specific picture, reproduced here in [Figure 3](#). It shows a stereotypical comedy Welshman, so short that his sword

nearly brushes the ground; so warlike that he bears three weapons, one more than he can handle. It may depict one or more of the singers of the song, whose ‘Sherkin frieze’ (frieze jerkin) and ‘Momouth [Monmouth] cap’, shown in the picture, are mentioned in the second stanza; it might, however, simply depict a standard stage Welshman.¹⁵ That picture’s two lives, in the book, and on a later ballad, confirm that the book contains redistributed ballads, while also showing the ease with which pictures could float into, out of, and back into, ballad publications. The fact that a different version of the same picture – with a leek replacing the feather in the Monmouth cap – is to be found elsewhere on a different Welsh parody ballad, *Shinkin’s* [Jenkin’s] *misfortune*, confirms the recyclability of the image – though whether this other picture pre-dated or succeeded Jonson’s is uncertain.¹⁶

Jonson wrote a further two ballads into yet another of his masques, *Gipsies Metamorphosed*, performed on three occasions to celebrate the recent marriage of George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, to Lady Katherine Manners of Rutland: on 3 August 1621 for Buckingham himself, at his new estate, Burghley House; on 5 August 1621 for Buckingham’s father-in-law Francis, Earl of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle; and on 9 September 1621 for King James at Windsor Castle. Two of the masque’s highly risqué ballads seem also, and separately, to have gone into immediate circulation. John Chamberlain acquired one of them, and sent it in a chatty letter (alas, the enclosure is now lost) along with some gossip about the masque in its first and second production. He suggests that the ballad, as much as the masque itself, earned Jonson rare gifts from court:

For lacke of better newes here is ... a ballet ... of Ben Johnsons in the play ... at the Lord Marquis at Burly [*Gipsies Metamorphosed*], and repeated again at Windsor, for which and other goode service ... he hath his pension from a 100 marks increased to 200 li per annum, besides the reversion of the mastership of

the revels. There were other songs and devises of baser alay, but ... this had the vogue and generall applause at court.¹⁷

That the broadside was available to Chamberlain two months after the masque had been performed shows how it was circulating as a memorial – or, for those not present, sample – of the evanescent event.

Which of *Gipsies Metamorphosed*'s many songs Chamberlain enclosed is unclear: it might well have been yet another broadsheet lost-but-not-lost, its picture preserved in a still later version of *Recreation for ingenious head-peeeces*. The 1650 version of that book has a new song added from Jonson's *Gipsies Metamorphosed*, entitled *The Captain sings*, which starts 'From the famous Peak of Derby / And the Devils-arse there hard-by ...' (Figure 4).¹⁸ This was originally sung in the antimasque, in which Buckingham, the bridegroom for whom the masque had been written, played the Captain and singer. His text was loaded. While on one level it was about a famous Derbyshire landmark, the 'Devil's Arse' Peak Cavern, Derbyshire – an acknowledgement of the fact that Buckingham was marrying into a famous Derbyshire family (with a seat at Haddon Hall, near Bakewell) – it was also drawing attention to Buckingham's perceived 'intimacy' with King James.¹⁹ Buying and exchanging this ballad would allow purchasers inside the gossip of the time; singing the song would make them, temporarily, the dangerously attractive Buckingham. The picture, meanwhile, offered a snippet of performance, mirroring Jonson's stage direction for '*the Captaine, with sixe more [gipsies] attendant*' and apparently showing Buckingham, famed for his exuberant and skilful dancing, in action.²⁰

As the Captain in this picture also closely resembles Urson in the earlier picture, his hat at the same jaunty angle, and his right leg and hand similarly raised, the same unknown illustrator seems to have cut the pictures for both songs (and possibly 'I's not come here to tauke of *Prut*' too: the Welshman there has a similarly angled hat and comparable shading). Jonson, apparently, had a connection with a particular

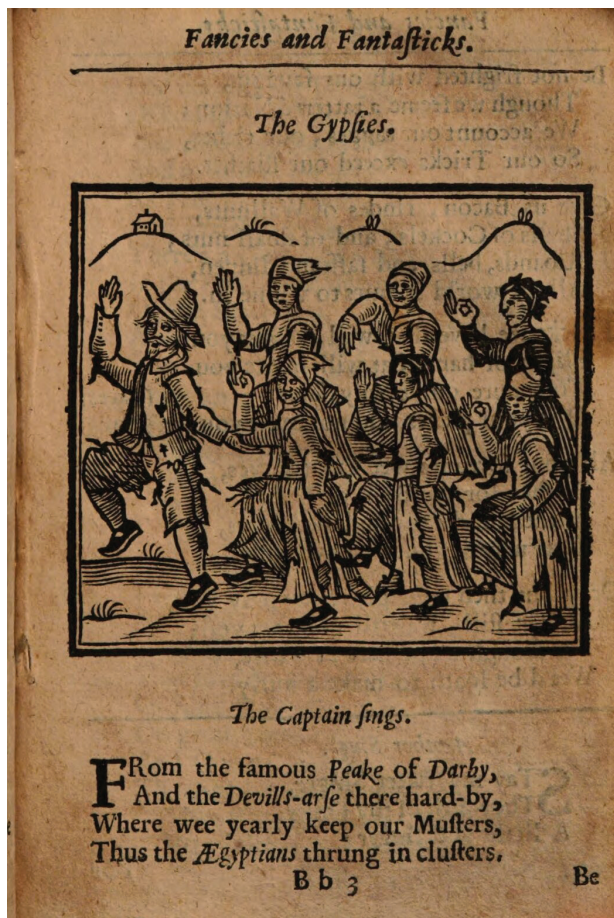


Fig. 4. John Mennes, *Recreation for ingenious Head-peeeces* (1650), 2B3r; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/P.o.angl. 319 m. Reproduced with permission.

illustrator, which itself indicates that he was closely involved in the print production of his ballads. More compellingly, the similarity of the Urson and Captain images may suggest that Buckingham, who also performed in *Masque of Augurs*, though history has not recorded in which part, played Urson as well. If so, the preserved ballad picture also gives additional casting information, as well as swelling the number

of images of Buckingham known to survive.²¹ The woodcuts also apparently supply snapshots of Jonson's masques in performance, adding to the very small number of pictures of productions that survive from the period.²²

A second broadside ballad emanating from *Gipsies Metamorphosed* was so frequently reprinted that it would rank as by far Jonson's most popular print publication, were broadside ballads factored in (they are not). It comes from towards the end of the masque, where 'Cock-lorrell' (a famous leader of rogues) relates how he invited the devil for a cannibalistic dinner and details which types of people were then eaten: Puritan, mayor, usurer, and so forth. This poem, severed from its masque, was sold and sung as *A strange banquet, or, The divels entertainment by Cook Laurell at the Peak in Derbyshire, with a true relation of the severall dishes* – though the Derbyshire placing and coy sexuality of the text link it closely to its masque home. Though published without a ballad-specific picture, it had something equally desirable (and expensive): its own purpose-written tune, 'The tune is, Cook Laurell'.²³ Was it a version of this ballad that Chamberlain enclosed in his letter? Possibly, as the amount of manuscript quoting and parodying of this text up to and beyond the Restoration shows it to have been an instant and lasting hit. But any ballad severed from the masque would have done what Chamberlain wanted: preserve a morsel of an occasion, while also supplying a permanent and enjoyable text in its own right.

What has been suggested here is that Jonson, a playwright known for carefully planning and overseeing the publication of his plays, also allowed, and probably oversaw, the publication of his own ballads. And, as the ballads were particularly elegant versions of their type, featuring unique pictures or tunes – on which extra money and time will of necessity have been spent – he may also have acquired a source of additional funding for producing these texts (or paid for them himself, in which case, he may have hoped for a share of their takings). What is the case is that Jonson enjoyed the genre-bending possibilities of placing a homely, popular variety of narrative inside an artful and courtly one. But he also, it seems, then genuinely allowed his ballads to circulate as

real ballads, becoming in reality the things that, inside the masque, they mimicked. When Jonson suggests, in his *Every Man in His Humour*, that it would be an undesirable future to ‘troll ballads for Mr. IOHN TRVNDLE’ (John Trundle being the name of a popular ballad printer and publisher), he is therefore being disingenuous.²⁴ Jonson ‘trolled’ in the sense of ‘circulated’, ballads himself, being, it seems, as contradictory about this form of publication as he was about any other. The fact, however, that ballads are texts that both reflect performance and demand new performances – they intend future singing – asks us to rethink the anti-performative, anti-theatrical stance so often claimed for him.

If Jonson, a man linked to several acting companies, used ballads as a way of increasing his influence, and even, perhaps, of making more money, was he unusual? The following section compares him with a very different writer, William Shakespeare. Shakespeare was resident playwright for a single company, in which, over time, he also bought shares. In principle, then, he might have had an even greater interest in letting his plays break down along ballad lines, as ballads could usefully advertise and promote his own playhouse(s) and his company without giving away too much. But did he? And, if so, did he write the ballads that he placed inside his dramas?

One book, *The Passionate Pilgrime*, a 1599 collection of poems, contains what is presented as a ballad by its author – said on the title page to be ‘W. Shakespeare’. The problem is, however, that though the book contains some Shakespeare (including two sonnets plus the poems from *Love’s Labour’s Lost*) it also has lyrics in it that are actually by other writers, including Richard Barnfield and Bartholomew Griffin. *The Passionate Pilgrime* may simply be using Shakespeare’s name to boost sales, and seems to have been published without its putative author’s permission. The Shakespeare authorship of any text in *The Passionate Pilgrime* is therefore a haunting possibility rather than a certainty. Amongst these doubtful poems, in a sub-section called ‘SONNETS To sundry notes of Musicke’, is a poem that begins ‘Live with me and be my Love’.²⁵

Nowadays we think of ‘[Come] live with me and be my love’ as it was presented in what was actually its second publication,

in *England's Helicon* (1600), where it was called *The passionate Sheepleader to his loue* and said to be by 'Chr. Marlow'.²⁶ But its third publication is in a play, *Merry Wives* (published 1602; first performed in 1597) and is again by Shakespeare. In one scene, the Welshman, Sir Hugh Evans, scared that he may have to fight a duel, emboldens himself by singing. Amongst the snatches of popular song he opts for are 'And then she made him bedes of Roses, / And a thousand fragrant poses, / To shallow riueres'.²⁷ But these out-of-order lines are from 'Live with me' which, in its first, W. Shakespeare, printing, reads:

There will we sit ...
By shallow Riuers, by whose fals
Melodious birds sing Madrigals.

There will I make thee a bed of Roses,
With a thousand fragrant poses ...

Here it is worth remarking that Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (published 1633; performed c.1589) also gestures towards this poem, though it does not directly quote it: 'Thou in those Groues, by *Dis* aboute, / Shalt liue with me and be my loue'.²⁸ Both Shakespeare and Marlowe seem to have felt some ownership of 'Live with me', and authorship may be less clear than is thought: not least because, as with the Jonson ballads, the poem accrues extra verses over time, and may be by more than one person. What can more definitely be said is that the musical nature of the poem, often forgotten now, defined it at the time: it is 'to music' in *Passionate Pilgrime*, sung in *Merry Wives*, and was published in 1603 as a broadside ballad (entered into the SR 11 June 1603, it survives in paper form from c.1619-29; no author's name is stated).²⁹ The text, then, joins Jonson's in being at the least a ballad by a playwright; the question is whether that playwright is Shakespeare or Marlowe.

Another ballad that Shakespeare used closely and may have written survives on a broadsheet from about 1615, though it is not in the SR. Called *A Louers complaint being forsaken of his Loue*, it relates the story of a man abandoned by his lover and filled with despair; it mirrors, in reversal, Shakespeare's narrative poem, also called *A Louers complaint*, published at

the end of his sonnets, about a despairing woman abandoned by her lover.³⁰

In the ballad version of *A Louers complaint*, the male lover settles under a sycamore ('sick amour') tree, lamenting; his refrain of 'O willow, willow, willow' refers to the lachrymose drooping fronds of a weeping willow, but also sonically conveys – and passes on, if the listener joins in – the 'oh' sounds of a repeated sigh:

A poore soule sat sighing under a Sycamore tree
O willow, willow, willow,
 With his hand on his bosome, his head on his knee,
O willow, willow, willow.

Shakespeare employs a version of this song in *Othello* in folio (in quarto, the song is prepared for but not then sung, perhaps because Desdemona's voice broke; perhaps because she was replaced by a boy with a poorer singing voice).³¹ It occurs in what is now often called, because of it, 'the willow scene': the scene in which Desdemona reveals her unhappiness to her maid Emilia through singing a song she recalls from her childhood sung by a similarly desolate woman:

DESDEMONA
 My Mother had a Maid call'd *Barbarie*,
 She was in loue: and he she lou'd prou'd mad,
 And did forsake her. She had a Song of Willough,
 An old thing 'twas: but it express'd her Fortune,
 And she dy'd singing it.

...

[Sings.]
The poore Soule sat singing, by a Sicamour tree.
Sing all a greene Willough:
Her hand on her bosome her head on her knee,
Sing Willough, Willough, Willough.
 (TLN 2996-3014)

What is extraordinary here, however, is that the subject of the ballad is now a woman. Indeed, in the play, not only is

the song *about* a woman, it is also *for* women: Desdemona's account of its being sung by her mother's maid 'Barbary' extends the reach of the unhappy ditty over time (it dates back to Desdemona's childhood), over class (it was once sung by her mother's maid and is now sung to the maid Emilia), and over race ('Barbary', whose name recalls the Barbary States in North Africa – and the insulting comparison between Othello and a Barbary horse – is presumably black). A ballad about a man's unhappiness is thus transformed into a song about the universal unhappy lot shared by women. The change of gender, whether instituted in this play or in the broadsheet (which came first is, as usual, hard to date), will have had a striking effect in original performance.³² For an audience who knew or came to know the ballad in male form, the unhappy man existed within and behind the unhappy woman of the ditty, meaning that Othello's sorrow is subliminally present throughout this women's scene.

Desdemona sings several verses of the song, but falters as the ballad reaches the seventh stanza: '*Let no body blame him, his scorne I approue. / (Nay that's not next*' [TLN 3021-2]). The only obvious reason to script such a stumble, however, is to encourage the audience or reader to summon up the line that is next: which, taken from the sex-reversed broadside of *A Louers complaint* is 'Let no body blame me, her scornes I do prove / She was borne to be faire, and I die for her love'. Here, to one who knows the ballad, is a prophetic indication that the singer's end is death. Desdemona's fluff thus suggests not simply that Shakespeare was deeply attached to this ballad, but that he hoped or expected at least some of his theatregoers or readers to have enough access to its words to supply for themselves a line never sung onstage – a subject that will be returned to.

In a very different way from Jonson's Nightingale, Desdemona is also, of course, 'selling' this ballad in the play, for she introduces it, sings its tune, and supplies the repeating burden often enough for Emilia to pick it up and repeat it in the death scene. In the willow scene itself, the audience may even have joined in the chorus – mentally, certainly, but possibly in fact too, taking into themselves Desdemona's grief.

That is what readers are encouraged to do by the folio text, where, after the first, full, version of the burden, the folio has ‘*Sing Willough, &c*’, the *&c* making the readers complete this line.

In one play, Shakespeare even drew attention to the same ballad publisher referred to by Ben Jonson: John Trundle. In *The Tempest*, Stephano starts drunkenly singing ‘*Flout ’em, and cout ’em*’, but Trinculo complains ‘that’s not the tune’ (TLN 1477-80). The spirit Ariel then enters and plays the correct tune ‘*on a Tabor and Pipe*’. But Ariel is, in the fiction, invisible – meaning that Stephano and Trinculo do not know where this sudden music has come from:

Ste. What is this same?

Trin. This is the tune of our Catch, plaid by the picture of No-body.

(TLN 1478-84)

What is telling here, however, is that Trinculo does not straightforwardly refer to Ariel’s invisibility, ‘No-body’, but to ‘*the picture of No-body*’ (italics mine). That has a special meaning, for on 8 January 1606 the publisher John Trundle entered ‘The picture of No bodye’ in the Stationers’ Register; three months later, on 12 March 1605/6, he registered the anonymous play *No-body and Some-body* which, when printed, featured the picture of ‘No-body’ on its title page.³³ He even started trading, as the title page of *No-body and Some-body* indicates in the colophon, at ‘the signe of No-body’. The reason for his fascination with the picture was, presumably, the fact that it was a visual joke: No-Body, has no body – just breeches up to his neck (Figure 5).

The Tempest’s reference to the picture of No-body, then, is simultaneously an acknowledgement that Ariel is invisible and a direct reference to John Trundle, presumably printer of the ballad being performed on stage. That makes Ariel, in this instance, the ballad-monger, and reveals a Shakespeare who used ballads to promote his play’s reach over time (anyone humming the tune is re-reminded of the play), in form (a paper ballad now doubles as a material souvenir of the

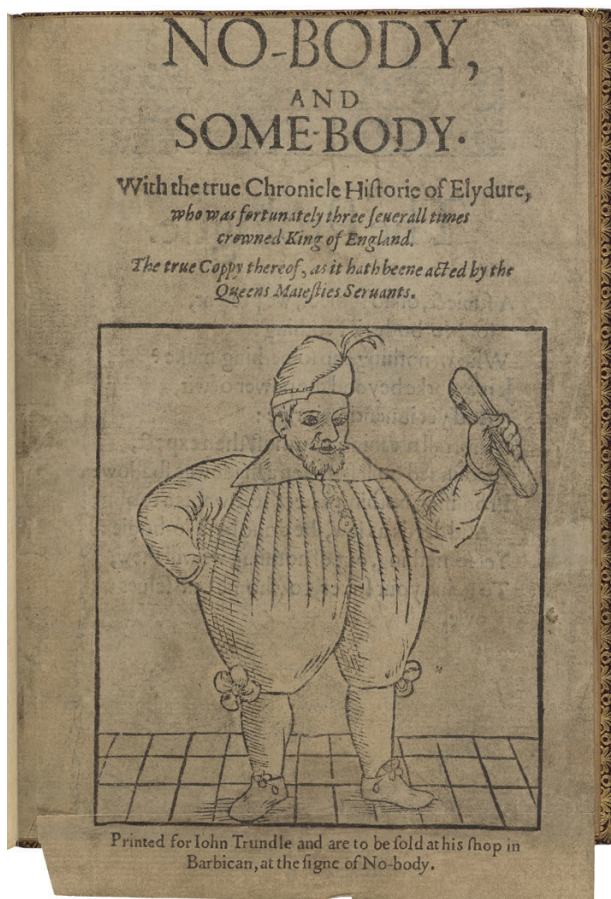


Fig. 5. *No-body, and Some-body* (Printed for John Trundle and are to be sold at his shop in the Barbican, at the signe of No-body, 1606). STC 18597, A2^r, reproduced by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

production), and in cash (someone, Shakespeare, or Trundle, or the theatre, or a ballad-singer, perhaps all of them, will make money from this additional sale).

In *The Winter's Tale* Shakespeare depicts his own version of the ballad-singer/seller and rogue: Autolycus, who may, in fact, have been the inspiration for Jonson's *Nightingale*. Autolycus comes onstage with his 'sheets' (printed ballads)

and advertises his collection to Mopsa, who declares her love of ‘a ballet in print’, and Dorcas. They all join in singing one of his broadsides, *Get you hence, for I must goe* (*Winter’s Tale*, TLN 2082, 2118).

No ballad-sheet for this song is extant, though the facts that its print nature is remarked upon, and that it is a prop in the drama, suggests it once had such an existence. But a tune written especially for *Get you hence* does survive, apparently composed by Robert Johnson, the court composer responsible for much of the company’s music at the time.³⁴ The suggestion is that this ballad was especially composed for the play and taught to the audience with a view to marketing it afterwards. As was argued of Nightingale in *Bartholomew Fair*, then, while Autolycus fictionally sells a printed song to Mopsa and Dorcas, he factually sells it to the theatregoers too.

Ballads will have appealed to playwrights for various reasons: because they brought the atmospheric effects of music into dialogue; because they united listeners in a shared memory of a known tune, or excited them with a new one; and, most suggestively, because they supplied occasions in which the listeners could become participants, breaking down the division between performed play and its watcher. Like clowning, ballads invited collusion with the watchers, reaching out from the drama, while also bringing the spectators inside the play that they are witnessing. It is no surprise that Shakespeare exploits, and sometimes forces, the play–ballad connection; that he wrote some of the ballads he promoted is a strong and haunting possibility.

Not all plays contained ballads, of course. But nearly all performances did. Up until at least 1612, and long afterwards for some theatres, plays seem typically to have concluded with ballads, either in the form of ‘jigs’ or ‘themes’. Jigs – probably named for something that revolved, as in ‘whirligig’ – as post-play entertainments seem to have been the idea of the great clown Richard Tarlton (1530–88). His jigs were so popular that the court lutenist John Dowland wrote a jig (or reorchestrated one he had encountered on stage) that he called, simply, ‘Tarletons Jig’.³⁵ When Tarlton died, his jigs

were mourned as much as he was – *Tarltons neues out of purgatorie* (1590) has a subtitle *Onely such a jest as his jigge*; the response to that same pamphlet, *The cobler of Caunterburie* (1590), is *A merrier jest then a clownes jigge*. From Tarlton's demise onwards, all playing companies appear to have chosen to end plays with jigs: as homage to Tarlton, perhaps, or because spectators who left after music were more likely to go out in a good mood.

Jigs were sung to a ballad-tunes and, when sold, took broadsheet form. One surviving broadside is *Frauncis new Jigge*: its title, illustrations, and black-letter stanzas have the standard ballad look; the bawdy story it tells – about how Francis wants to sleep with Richard's wife, but ends up with his own by mistake – differs from other ballads only in that, being performed by several characters, it is sung to several popular tunes rather than just one: 'Walsingham', 'The Jewish Dance', 'Bugle Boe', 'Attowell's New Jigg', 'Goe from my window', and 'As I went to Walsingham'.³⁶ This particular broadsheet is, somewhat unusually, signed: it is authored by George Attowell or 'Attewell', and contains, internally, reference to another of his jigs – and he, as we know from *Henslowe's Diary*, was an actor in Lord Strange's and Lord Admiral's players. Some other 'jigs' by or about theatre personnel are recorded in the Stationers' Register, though few now survive. William Kemp, Shakespeare's clown, published some, their titles confirming that jigs were forms of ballads and vice versa: 'a ballad, of master KEMPES *Newe Jigge of the kitchen stufte woman*'; and 'a ballad intituled / *A plesant newe Jigge of the broomeman*'.³⁷ Shakespeare's other main clown, Robert Armin, was also known as a ballad-writer – Thomas Nashe places Armin in a list of 'sons' of the famous ballad-writer William Elderton – and it is likely some of his ballads were jigs too.³⁸ And if theatre ballads and jigs were sometimes, perhaps regularly, sold as broadsheets, that once again suggests that the theatre was invested in marketing broadsides from personnel upwards.

Jigs were the way of ending all plays until October 1612, when, because of complaints about theatre crowding, 'An Order' was published 'for suppressing of Jigges att the ende

of Playes' in playhouses north of the river; the bill did not extend to theatres south of the river in Surrey or in the liberties, however.³⁹ So although there will have been a reduction of post-play jigs in some theatres, Shakespeare's Globe, with its Southwark location, will not have been affected. On the contrary, a Globe play of roughly that period, *Twelfth Night* – the surviving text seems to be from after 1608 (a 'Blackfriars' text), though the play itself was written earlier – apparently preserves a post-play jig.⁴⁰ It concludes with a song, *When that I was and a little tine [sic] boy* (TLN 2560), that tells a short narrative about a clown's life from his childhood through his unhappy marriage to his subsequent life as a drunkard: its repeated chorus of 'hey, ho, the winde and the raine' (TLN 2562) encourages the spectators to join in and, with the singer, shrug off their disappointing lives together with the country's bad weather. That a new stanza for this song is also sung by the Fool in *King Lear*, presumably performed by the same clown, does not help identify its author, but makes the company connection very clear. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Bottom wakes up from his time with Titania and decides that he will 'get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream. It shall be called *Bottomes Dreame* ... and I will sing it in the latter end of a play' (TLN 1742-3). This too seems to gesture towards a jig to be sung (and sold?) at the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; again, potential authorship is left open to question, and again, frustratingly, the actual text does not survive.

Closely linked to jigs/ballads was the other musical way of ending a play, also apparently developed by Richard Tarlton. This was the exchange of 'themes', in which the audience shouted provocative words, phrases, or questions to the clown, who came up with an instant, musical, response. Of Tarlton it was said that 'it was his custome oft to sing extempore of Theams given him', and that 'to singe ... themes he never denied'.⁴¹ Which particular tunes he used for 'themes' is not recorded, but to a ballad-writer, and a promoter of the jig, ballad tunes would make most sense, not least as they would give him a structure to sing to. Robert Armin, famous for his theme exchanges too, and the inheritor of Tarlton's

techniques, presumably did likewise. Though ‘themes’ relied on spontaneity and will not themselves have been sellable as print texts, they may have picked up on tunes also performed in the play or helped create an audience keen to buy other ballads sung to the same music.

Whether a jig or an exchange of themes ended a play, the last performances spectators will have heard and seen before leaving most theatre spaces, and hence the way a production will have ended, was with music, with rhyme, with irreverence – with ballads. Theatregoers will presumably have left playhouses with tunes thrumming in their heads, the whole theatrical occasion therefore functioning as a ballad-monger writ large. Spectators will have been primed to purchase ballads – and, if possible, the actual ballads that had been sung to them – should someone be there to sell to them.

Given the close connection between plays in performance and printed broadsheet ballads – the ballads emerging as something between an adjunct to the plays and an aspect of them – it is only to be expected that the ballad-singers/sellers will have plied their trade in the vicinity of the theatre. But how near to the playhouse were they? And did they trade with the theatre’s tacit acceptance or active encouragement?

What makes answering these questions tricky is the fact that ballads were, in their nature, liminal texts: they were often sold just beyond or outside the places for which they were written. Hence their association with doorways as a location of sale, and as a place where, having been bought, they might be hung: ‘Who makes a ballet for an ale house doore, / Shall liue in future times for euer more’.⁴²

It is no surprise, then, to find references to ballads being sold not in playhouses themselves, but just beyond their perimeters, at their doors. Robert Greene complains of the ‘unsufferable loytring qualitie’ of people ‘singing of Ballets and songs at the doors of such houses where plaies are used’; Wither describes ‘A Curtain Iigge, a Libell, or a Ballet’ – broadsheets for the Curtain Playhouse – as songs for ‘some Rogues with staffe and wallet / To sing at doores’; and William Cartwright in his play *The Ordinary* depicts ‘a Balladmonger’ as someone who has to ‘Stand in a Play-house doore’ to trade.⁴³

Because of that placement, the ballad could be seen as an 'outside' text – except that, on occasion, it related closely to what was going on inside.

The 'outsider' nature of ballad sales also makes it hard to establish who organised and ran the trade: did the impetus come from the playhouse, or from authors or publishers, or did it come from ballad-singers/sellers themselves? In Robert Wilson's play *The three lordes and three ladies of London*, Simplicity the ballad-seller (who laments Tarlton's death by singing and selling a ballad on the subject) tells a fellow market trader that 'I paid rent for my standing': he identifies and pays for his own pitch.⁴⁴ Had ballad-singer/sellers been able to acquire pitches outside playhouse doors, they would have been purchasing the right to situate themselves just by the place where spectators queued, bored, and ready to pay for entertainment; and where, too, spectators exited afterwards, their heads filled with the ballad tunes they had been hearing, keen to buy souvenirs or mementos of a good day out. Yet it is for these very same reasons that the theatre itself may have organised the ballad sales. Playhouses ran their own concessions of food and drink from their taphouses, after all; might they likewise have monetised ballads?⁴⁵ Having ballad-singers/sellers entertaining slow-moving queues would help with crowd control, while readying audiences for the music to come (or reminding them of it afterwards). And as a ballad, once bought, might travel around town, so it could usefully continue to advertise and endorse the play that contained it.

A further possibility, and perhaps the most likely given the personal connections between certain playwrights, certain clowns, certain printers, and even, as addressed in this lecture, certain ballads, is that the two forms connected haphazardly. Perhaps some ballad-singers/sellers on some occasions sold some ballads related to some performances – in which case, the instigator might be the singer or author or theatre, depending. Whatever is the case, the 'outside' ballads had a relationship with the 'inside' plays: they might on occasion introduce or reprise a play's music and usefully draw attention to particular words or themes. They could enhance a

play's meaning, if purchased beforehand, and shape the way it was remembered if purchased afterwards.

Just as ballad sales were 'outside', so ballad-singers/sellers were likewise 'outsiders'. Depictions of stereotypical ballad-singers/sellers show them as types fated to be stared at: sometimes visibly poor, sometimes ethnically other, sometimes noticeably disabled. Adriaen van Ostade's *The Ballad Monger* (1635) is a stooped, ragged singer whose hooked nose and pointed chin render him grotesque while hinting that he may be a racial stereotype too; an anonymous etching illustrating 'hearing' (Gehoor) is of a huge, shambolic singer, perhaps deformed, dominating the picture with his gaping mouth (c.1600-1670)⁴⁶. The ballad *Few words are best* has a woodcut that depicts its own sale: it shows an ancient, lame ballad-singer – supported by a long stick – in notable contrast to the finely dressed gentleman who is the purchaser.⁴⁷ At the other extreme is Inigo Jones's drawing of a 'Ballad Singer' for a member of the court to perform in the antimasque to William Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans*. This performer is confident and handsome: drawn from below, his chest and crotch are thrust forward as he sings.⁴⁸ He too is a character to be stared at: that he is attractive may relate to the fact that he is fictional and designed to be played by a member of the nobility.

Most often, the job of ballad-singer/seller attracted the disabled. Davies writes of hearing 'the noselesse Ballad-woman raise / Her snuffling throat'; Lyly considers 'ballads for blinde David and his boy', and Sidney concurs, stating that ballads are usually sung by 'some blinde Crouder'.⁴⁹ Nabbes and Holland both assume a 'one legg'd ballad singer'; Cowley says that ballad texts 'hobble like the fellow with the wooden leg that sings them'; and Brathwaite scoffs at '*Stanza's* which halt and hobble as lamely as [their] one legg'd *Cantor*'.⁵⁰ Indeed, having a noticeable appearance was, surprisingly, of more importance to selling ballads than having a good voice: there are also regular references to second-rate singing in the trade, from the 'foule furd throat of an itchy ballad singer', to the '*ballad-mongers*' who sing with 'as harsh a noyse / As euer Cart-wheele made'.⁵¹

Visually, ballad-singers/sellers often resembled beggars: they might, like beggars, be female or male; young or old; trustworthy or rogues – but they were remarkable for their poverty, and, as illustrated in the plays above, were often thought to work with, or to be, thieves. It is no surprise, then, that they were often lumped together with beggars in proclamations. Those same proclamations, however, often extended their condemnation to actors. As early as 1553, Queen Elizabeth published a proclamation that linked ‘playinge of Interludes’ with ‘pryntyng ... ballettes, rymes and other lewde treatises’; and in the Interregnum Captain Francis Bethan was employed to suppress ‘Stage-playes ... [and] also to seize upon all Ballad singers, and venders of false Malignant Pamphlets’.⁵² In the final instance, ballad-singers/sellers may have been allowed, or financed, or at least tolerated by playhouses because, as far as the law went, they shared equal status with actors: and because there, but for the grace of God ...

When we, these days, consider early modern performance we always start our narrative with one text, the play, in one location, the playhouse. But this lecture has queried that. It has shown another genre, a ballad, performed by other people, ballad-singers/sellers, at a slightly different location, playhouse doors, and at a different time, before and after the plays themselves, as crucial to play and occasion. It has argued that ballads are something between an extension of play and playhouse, and part of the play and playhouse more largely conceived. Go back a step, and a visit to the theatre can be described as framed or bracketed by song so that a text ‘beyond’ the play, and in some ways a reversal of it – sung, rhyming, simplistic – is in other ways a quintessential part of it, just as, this lecture has argued, ballad-singers/sellers were a quintessential if under- or unacknowledged part of a trip to the theatre.

And, once the surrounding ballads are borne in mind, the theatrical performance itself reads differently. It is often the second entertainment paid for after the ballad; often a repetition of songs heard first outside; often unprinted. Seen this way, the ballad has advantages over plays: its nature as a

printed text from the first meant that it could be sung and sold anywhere, not just in the theatre, or only in London; it could be performed by anyone, not just by a licensed few; it could enter houses and taverns as decoration as well as aural texts; it was not confined to the literate. That primacy can in some ways be said to extend to ballad-singers/sellers, who were people of all genders, ages, races, body forms – with, then, a universality that the all-white, all-male, all-able actors of the theatre could never have. Ballad-singers were what actors had to pretend to be, and theatrical performance was, in some ways, not only second to the ballad text, but secondary.

This lecture has throughout maintained that ballads are an unacknowledged paratext to the play. But it has also shown that the paradigm equally works in reverse: plays are paratext to ballads, querying the tightness of the genres ‘play’ and ‘ballad’. If pre-packaged tiny bits of play, ballads, were designed to circulate in print around the country, separately from their playtext, then they were sometimes more than just advertisements or mementos. They were simultaneously a culmination of the play and a rejection of it: they did not always need the theatre the way the theatre needed them.

Professor Stern’s lecture was delivered at Corpus Christi College Oxford on 16 February 2022.

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NOTES

¹ Francis Quarles, *Diuine fancies digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations* (1633), p. 102.

² *A Caveat for Cut-purses* (1647-1665?), British Library: Roxburghe, C.20.f.8.46-47. EBBA 20274. Reproduced in UCSB, English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA), ed. Patricia Fumerton <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>>. All broadsides quoted in this lecture are from this website with EBBA numbers supplied.

³ The complete picture can be found on the following ballads: *A new Ballad, shewing the great misery sustained by a*

poore man in Essex (1601-40), EBBA 30202; *Money is my Master* (1624-80?), EBBA 30351; *Room for a Joviall Tinker old Brass to mend* (1658-64), EBBA 30872.

⁴ John C. Hirsh, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', *The Modern Language Review*, 106 (2011), 47-62: 47-8.

⁵ Ben Jonson, *The vvorkes of Beniamin Ionson*, 2 vols (1641), i. G1^v-G2^v.

⁶ A much earlier 'ballett intituled of the *Cutt purses*' enters the Stationers' Register between 22 July 1567 and 22 July 1568: see Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 5 vols. (1875-84), i. 166b. The title, though, lacks caveats, and, as the topic is standard, seems to be for a different ballad. If so, this 'Jonson' ballad has no separate SR entry.

⁷ Jonson appears to have had a fondness for the alehouse and its sign: he mentions 'an Alewife in Saint *Katherines*, / At the signe o' the dancing Beares', in his *The Staple of Newes*, in *vvorkes*, i. F1^r.

⁸ Jonson, *The masque of Augures* in *vvorkes*, ii. M2^v-M3^r.

⁹ Thomas Randolph[?], *The Drinking Academy*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, *PMLA*, 39 (1924), 837-71: 856.

¹⁰ *Recreation for ingenious head-peeeces* (1645), Z3^r-Z4^v.

¹¹ John P. Cutts, who draws attention to Mennes's preserved images in his important 'Seventeenth-Century Illustrations of Three Masques by Jonson', *Comparative Drama*, 6 (1972), 125-34, does not follow through the ramifications of his discoveries.

¹² *Recreation for ingenious head-peeeces* (1645), Y4^v-Y5^r.

¹³ Jonson, *vvorkes*, ii. F1^v-F2^r.

¹⁴ *The Welshman's Praise of Wales* (1700-?), EBBA 37620.

¹⁵ Staged Welshmen and their clothes are addressed in Sarah Ann Brown, *Welsh Characters in Renaissance Drama*, Ph.D. thesis, Texas Tech University, 2000, *passim* and p. 137.

¹⁶ *Shinkin's Misfortune* (1672-1702?), EBBA 33646. For more on the nature and use of ballad woodcuts, see Simone Chess, 'Woodcuts: Methods and Meaning of Ballad Illustration', <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts>>.

¹⁷ John Chamberlain, 'Letter to Carleton', 27 Oct. 1621, in *Letters*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939), ii. 404-5.

¹⁸ *Recreation for ingenious Head-peeeces* (1650), 2B3^{r-v}.

¹⁹ For more on the sexually subversive aspect of the masque, see Hannah Smith-Drelich, 'Dining at the Devil's Table: Ben Jonson and the Case of Fiendish Indigestion', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 21 (2014), 264-80.

²⁰ Jonson, *vvorkes*, ii. H2^r. For a spate of masques, including these, designed to give Buckingham a forum for dancing, see Jean Macintyre, 'Buckingham the Masquer', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 22 (1998), 59-81.

²¹ The National Portrait Gallery has a webpage on George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham and the forty-nine portraits, including woodcuts, associated with him. Neither of these images is included. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp00614/george-villiers-1st-duke-of-buckingham>.

²² R. A. Foakes's excellent *Illustrations of the English Stage, 1580-1642* (Stanford, 1985) does not include these images.

²³ There are six different broadsheets of this ballad on EBBA, dated from 1647 onwards, bearing witness to the continued popularity of this text in ballad form.

²⁴ Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, in *The Workes* (1616), A6^v; the line is apparently a revision and is not in the 1601 quarto of the play.

²⁵ William Shakespeare, *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1599), D4^r.

²⁶ *Englands Helicon* (1600), 2a1^v-2a2^r.

²⁷ Intriguingly, in the folio version of the play, a longer snatch of the same song/poem is sung: 'Plesse my soule: *To shallow Ruiers to whose falls: melodious Birds sings Madrigalls: There will we make our Peds of Roses: and a thousand fragrant posies. To shallow: 'Mercie on mee, I haue a great dispositions to cry. Melodious birds sing Madrigalls: --- ... and a thousand vagram Posies. To shallow, &c.*' (TLN 1174-9).

²⁸ Christopher Marlowe, *The famous tragedy of the rich Ieuu of Malta* (1633), H2^r. Colin Burrow, in William Shakespeare, *The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford, 2002), p. 365,

suggests that the Shakespeare quotation in *Merry Wives* could be the source rather than reflection of Jaggard's attribution.

²⁹ Arber, *Transcript*, iii. 97; *A most excellent Ditty of the Louers promises to his beloued* (c.1619-29?), EBBA 30141.

³⁰ *A Louers complaint being forsaken of his Loue* (1615?), EBBA 20167. William Shakespeare, *Shake-speares sonnets* (1609), K1^v-L2^v. Moreover, as the Shakespeare/Marlowe poem, '[Come] live with me' was called, in ballad form, *A Louers promises*, this ballad, *A Louers complaint*, could also be seen as itself a response to that ballad.

³¹ For more on voice-breaks in the early modern theatre and their effect on text, see Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 147.

³² The words and music survive in numerous books and MSS of the period, often from around the date of the play, the most famous being the British Library's Add. MS 15117 dating from c.1614-16. For more on the complicated story of the song and its music, see Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006), pp. 74-9. The fact that the song is presented in the text as old and known may indicate that it came first, and that the audience was expected to have some familiarity with it.

³³ Arber, *Transcript*, iii. 132b, 136b.

³⁴ The text is discussed in 'Music and Song', in *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher (2010), p. 389, and in Ross W. Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York, 2004), p. 166.

³⁵ Reproduced in John Dowland, *The Collected Lute Music*, ed. Diana Poulton and Basil Lam (1978), p. 247.

³⁶ *Frauncis new Jigge* (1617?), EBBA 20102.

³⁷ Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 132, 317.

³⁸ Thomas Nashe, *Strange newes* (1592), D4^v.

³⁹ Roger Clegg and Lucie Skeaping, *Singing Simpkin and Other Bawdy Jigs* (Exeter, 2014), pp. 43-4.

⁴⁰ For the date of this text, rather than this play, see Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare, Malone and the Problems of Chronology* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

⁴¹ Richard Tarlton, *Tarltons Jestes* (1613), C4^r; ‘A pretie new ballad, intituled *willie and peggie*’, reproduced in the appendix to *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1907), pp. 351-2.

⁴² *The returne from Pernassus* (1606), B1^r.

⁴³ Robert Greene, *The third and last part of conny-catching* (1592), B1^v; George Wither, *Abuses stript, and whipt* (1613), R1^v; William Cartwright, *The ordinary* (1651), pp. 51-2.

⁴⁴ Robert Wilson, *The pleasant and stately morall, of the three lordes and three ladies of London* (1590), B4^r.

⁴⁵ For the theatre’s ownership of the food and drink concessions, see Tiffany Stern, ‘Shakespeare the Ballad-Monger?’, in Stern (ed.), *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare’s England* (2020), pp. 216-38; 231-2.

⁴⁶ Adriaen van Ostade, *The Ballad Monger* (1635), Holburne Museum, Bath; Aert van Waes (possibly the printmaker) and Isaac Vos (possibly the publisher), ‘Gehoor’ (c.1600-70), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

⁴⁷ *Few words are best* (1647-65), EBBA 31831.

⁴⁸ Inigo Jones, ‘Ballad Singer’, *Britannia Triumphans* (1637), Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.

⁴⁹ John Davies, *A scourge for paper-persecutors* (1625), A3^r; John Lyly, *Pappe with an hatchet Alias* (1589), E2^v; Phillip Sidney, *An apologie for poetrie* (1595), F4^v.

⁵⁰ Thomas Nabbes, *The Bride* (1640), D3^v; Abraham Holland, *Hollandi Posthuma* (1626), G3^r; Abraham Cowley, *The Guardian* (1650), A3^v-A4^r; Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies* (1631), B3^v.

⁵¹ T. B. (Thomas Brewer), *The merry Deuill of Edmonton* (1631), p. 41; William Browne, *Britannia’s Britannia’s pastorals. The first booke* (1625), p. 15.

⁵² Virginia Chrocheron Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1908), p. 10; *The perfect weekly account* (13-20 Sept. 1648).