

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

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“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Impersonating female personas in songs by
Thomas Campion (1567–1620)

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Time line

- 1564 Shakespeare born
- 1565 Sir Thomas Mounson born
- 1566 James I born
- 1567 Thomas Campion born, Philip Rosseter born (or the year after)
- 1576 Thomas's father John Campion dies
- 1579 Thomas's mother Lucy Campion dies
- 1580 Thomas Campion enters Peterhouse, Cambridge as gentleman pensioner
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada
- 1591 Frances Howard born
- 1592 Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 3*, performed in Southwark
- 1592–1602 Twenty-four of Shakespeare's plays performed in Southwark
- 1595 Campion's *Poemata* published, a book of epigrams in Latin
- 1601 *A Booke of Ayres* published by Philip Rosseter including twenty-one songs by Thomas Campion
- 1602 Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesy* published, a book against rhyme
- 1603 Death of Elizabeth I; accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England, who increases the performances per year for The King's Men (Shakespeare's company of actors) from eight to twenty; Shakespeare's *Hamlet* printed; the plague strikes London and 30 000 Londoners die; Lord Howard starts building Audley End
- 1606 Frances Howard marries Lord Essex on January 5
- 1607 *The Lord Hay's Masque for the Marriage of James Hay and Honora Danny on Twelfth Night* printed, Robert Carr knighted and created Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber
- 1608 Thomas Overbury knighted; Shakespeare's *King Lear* printed
- 1611 Shakespeare's *The Tempest*; Robert Carr created Viscount of Rochester; the magician and astrologer Simon Forman records seeing *Macbeth* and *A Winter's Tale* at the Globe Theatre
- 1612 Prince Henry dies; the Globe destroyed by fire
- 1613 *The Lord's Masque, The Songs of Mourning, The Caversham Entertainment for Queen Anne progressing Bath, First Booke of Ayres, and Second Booke of*

- Ayres; Campion adopted by the Howard family; Thomas Overbury dies; Frances Howard marries Robert Carr
- 1614 *The Description of a Maske* 1614 *At the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset: And the right noble the Lady Frances Howard*; Lord Suffolk, father of Frances Howard, created Lord Treasurer; *A New Way of Making Fowre parts in Counter-point* published
- 1615 Frances Howard and Robert Carr arrested
- 1616 Frances Howard tried in Westminster Hall on May 24, Shakespeare dies
- 1617 *Third and fourth Booke of Ayres*
- 1618 Lord Suffolk accused of bribery and fraud; Venetian ambassador writes about James I's love for Lord Villiers
- 1619 *Latin Epigrams* published, containing most of the contents of the 1595 edition and adding many more; Lady and Lord Suffolk tried and declared guilty despite their denial
- 1620 Thomas Campion dies
- 1623 Philip Rosseter dies
- 1632 Frances Howard dies
- 1641 Sir Thomas Mounson dies
- 1645 Robert Carr dies

Exordium

I, Philip Rosseter, the King's musician, have had the best friend a man could ever wish for: Thomas Campion. Yesterday, on the first of March 1620, I buried him at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. I wish I had the skill to describe a man like that, which I don't. But even if the outcome will be inferior to anything he ever wrote, I fear if I do not write about him, no one else will.

There is something utterly stupid about a man's obsession with girls, let alone very young girls. Somehow I sensed already in 1607 that Thomas's fascination with Frances Howard would be fatal. He was forty and she thirteen. She was a beautiful, wealthy girl, from one of the most influential English families. But still. She was just a girl.

She was married to young Lord Essex, and her marriage was one of those occasions that Thomas loved to attend. It was accompanied by a masque at the Royal Palace, and all of the nobility were there. Once again: my friend Thomas Campion was the most intelligent man I have ever met. He had studied law, he wrote poetry in Latin, he was a medical doctor and, like myself, he wrote music. To be honest, music was the only field where I could compete; there I was even better than him. In all other fields I do not have half the wit. But since time might be running out for me as well, I will try to do this while I am still strong enough. Who knows? I might be dead tomorrow.

Forgive the stains here. I do not think I was ever enough for him. I see my petty words on this paper knowing he would have put them so much better. But let me just say this:

I loved him. I loved him like men love each other, yes verily, like the Bible says about the love between David and Jonathan. Thomas's love was more valuable to me than any other love, than the love of women. It is no shame, since even the King has his Lord Buckingham, who is as dear to him as Johannes was to Jesus. And that is why it is so painful that a woman should be his ruin. But that is the way it is with women.

The first time he saw her, she was only a child. It was in the Palace. She was sitting stiff like a doll at her husband, Lord Essex's side.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Frances Howard was good at sitting absolutely still, even when fast asleep, to sit without falling. It was probably thanks to one of those comfortable whalebone corsets. Four masques she was afforded, and this was the first. Naturally it was not only for her wedding, masques were also Queen Anne’s chief pleasure. Although she was disguised, one always recognized her when she participated in masques, and that was also the intention.

Six large pillars miraculously slid in, without anyone dragging them. The pillars opened silently and men with blue veils solemnly entered. The man in the middle wore clothes made of green satin with little mirrors on, and portrayed honor. He read a poem much too intricate for Frances. Probably for me as well, had I been there to hear it. A poem Thomas could have written. When we used to work together, Thomas and I, he wrote the funniest songs I have ever heard, but when he wrote for the court, the words were often too haughty for me.

The King, as usual, fingering his codpiece, had one arm around a young man from his escort: The King needed support for his weak legs, they said, but was apparently also needy when he sat (what about when he was lying down?).

Frances’s parents were seated at the same table. At the other tables, the guests of lower ranks watched the masque, or talked. The ambassadors in their foreign clothes pranced like peacocks. The only quiet persons were the newly married Essex couple, thirteen and fourteen years old.

Everywhere Frances saw exquisite fabrics, velvet, jewelry, sleeves embroidered with pearls, just like the ones she planned to order as soon as she had her own household. For after this day she would have her own servants and her own money. She would participate in everything at the court, just like a grown-up woman. That could be worth a dozen boring masques. Never again would she translate old, dusty, Latin verses, let alone having those long, boring lessons at the lute or the virginal. She would gladly consent to dancing lessons and embroidery, but after that! All the fun she would have! No, maybe “pleasantries” was a better word? She was a duchess now and was obliged to show more dignity.

— Saddle my horse, sing me some songs, I am bored, comb my hair, fetch the seamstress, I want more gems on my bodice...

Frances looked around. There were so many beautiful, noble men. The one at the left table with the mouse-brown hair, who removed a quail bone from the corner of his mouth, for instance. Since he was at the far left of the table she

could see his left leg with the white silk stocking, which enhanced the noble shape of his calf, and the pointed, white satin shoe with its big bronze bow, below his puffy velvet trousers. She belonged to this world and everything in it now. Everything, maybe even everyone, could be hers.

There was actually only one person who did not attract her attention and unfortunately it was her husband, Lord Essex, the boy beside her. But soon he would be no trouble at all. Tomorrow he would go abroad and be away for several years. She would not even have to share a bed with him tonight. From the corner of her eye she saw his heavy, indecisive, hanging lower lip, his thick eyelids and long eyelashes. His chubby cheeks looked weird in combination with his thin body rigged out in valuable clothes. Even the laces by his wrists were worth a fortune. But the way he wore those clothes! Nothing could conceal how uncomfortable his teenage body was in his fancy costume.

Lord Essex glanced at her and in a split second she made a face at him. The insult startled him and Frances realized proudly that her suspicion was right: He was afraid of her.

— Can you believe this is the fourth masque in honor of these two children? said Sir Thomas Mounson and swallowed a burp. The King is really generous.

— But have you seen the King's men in Romeo and Juliet? Thomas Campion said. Enforced marriage in youth can bring unhappiness.

On his right, Lady Farnham was quiet. Her white powdered face cracked. Sir Thomas Mounson really should not have brought his friend Campion to this table. It was outrageous being forced to sit so near a man of no station at all. And she really did not intend to converse with him. The Venetian ambassador at her other side smiled.

— Excuse me, but I must say in Venice we have no theater that reaches the quality of the King's Men. Does anybody here know the children?

— The girl is the Lord Howard's daughter, said Mounson. The Howard family is one of the finest in this country, some say finer than the Tudors.

— It is not only what they say, Campion said, that is a fact.

— People who should be your friends? said the ambassador.

The conversation was interrupted when a man in front of them introduced himself:

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

- Francis Bacon, spokesman for the House of Commons.
- Who invited him? Mounson whispered.
- It is the will of our gracious sovereign King, to show me some of the court’s habits and the expenses that our gracious King needs contributions from his subjects.

Some people were suddenly very interested in their food, while others started new conversations with the nearest person and Bacon had no other option but to leave...

- What breath! said Mounson in relief. It is really true what they say about him, every single one of the nine Muses have shat on his tongue!
- Still, said Campion. He is a very learned man. And he writes marvels.
- He is said to have scandalous habits, said Lady Farnham.

The party did not react, so she continued:

- Bacon’s brother was sentenced for sodomy in France, but England is not as generous with charges like that.

The ambassador stopped chewing and turned his brown, cow-like eyes towards Lady Farnham, who bent forward.

- But one should not talk of such things in the presence of the King.

The ambassador leaned towards Mounson and whispered.

- I am but a guest in your generous country, what does she actually mean by the word sodomy?

Lady Farnham, could hardly breath, squeezed as she was in between the two men. She considered emptying her wine glass over the ambassador’s oily, black hair, but instead she answered the question:

- The destruction of minors.

In the years to come Frances Essex lived at the court while her husband travelled. And yes, she possessed some beauty. To Campion she was nothing less

than a goddess. He would talk endlessly of her features and fascinating personality. He believed it was not her own fault that everyone fell in love with her.

And then one day he came home extremely upset. He wanted to hide the largest sum of money I have ever seen: fourteen hundred pounds! Seven hundred times more than a carpenter makes in a year, more than Campion and I made in our lifetimes. I told him for God's sake to tell me what the money was for. He would not. He just sat shivering until he finally gathered the courage to take the money to Sir Thomas Mounson where he should have gone in the first place had he not been overcome with fear.

— Why are you carrying that much money through London! What are you thinking?

— It is for her, he said.

— Is she worth risking your life? I asked.

He did not answer.

Then some months later he was happier than I have ever seen him before. He had written masques before, but this one would be the best and the most important. The Howard family had adopted him and the errand had earned him twenty pounds!

The masque was for Frances Howard's *second* wedding. This time she would marry the King's favorite: Robert Carr. Campion had it all in the masque, he called her first marriage an "ill house," and the Queen was asked to break a twig on a branch to symbolize how the King had intervened in order to annul her marriage to Lord Essex.

Then came the brutal lines:

Some friendship between man and man prefer

But I th'affection between man and wife.

It was as if he had spoken to me. I did not care to watch the rest and I do not even remember what *she* looked like on that occasion. Probably something like a fed cat.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”



Figure 1: *Frances Howard, Lady Essex, Lady Somerset (1590–1632)*
(Taken from Wikimedia commons)

Later I understood also the King had been affected by those lines, since Campion was never asked to write another masque.

The only time I saw Frances Howard myself was a couple of years later, May the twenty-fourth in the year 1616. The large, newly built banquet hall next to Whitehall served as an occasional courtroom and I had bought tickets to attend the trial. It was, as you might well remember, the famous case of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. A crime of which she was accused, and rightly so, if you ask me. My friend Thomas Campion was, of course, of a different opinion.

The room was crowded. There were not even chairs for everyone. I wondered where the money for all those tickets went? Was it into the pockets of Lord Howard, now promoted to Lord Treasurer, when his own daughter was the showpiece?

I had been queuing quite a while for the ticket. The hall was warm and smelly. Red, snotty noses everywhere showed the aftermaths of last winter’s ailment: the English fever.

When Frances arrived, the crowd stirred. She was said to be England’s most beautiful woman. Everyone stretched necks to get a glimpse of the notorious lady. Usually her dresses were cut so low you could imagine seeing the edge of a pink nipple, but now her black velvet dress was covering everything and she certainly did not wear those yellow starched laces her friend Mistress Turner had introduced to the court. Turner had been hanged by the neck just some months before this. So Frances’s lace was shining white, as was her skin and most of her big, wide-opened eyes.

And now this stunning beauty came walking like a ghost, like the living dead.

She had just given birth to a child in December and she had already confessed to the murder. She had not only pled guilty, she had insisted on taking all the blame. The famous poisoned marmalade, the tarts, the medicine and plaster were all her idea, not any one else's. Not her husband, not her family.

Do not worry, I will explain the marmalade shortly. But first I want to tell you what Campion said. He said Frances's great-uncle and father were both deeply involved. Campion was furious about it. Frances used to be such a sweet child, he said, but then her uncle abused her. Yes, he swore her uncle took her maidenhead and used her as his wife before anyone else did. I found that hard to believe, since her uncle detested women. After that, Frances was quite altered, Campion said, and if it had not been for this abuse, none of the rest of this would have happened. Her life was already ruined. She was just a pawn who, in the end, was sacrificed. This is what Campion told me. But the pawn was Campion himself. Now I will explain the plaster and all of the rest, in case you have forgotten.

As I told you, Frances married Lord Essex in 1607. After that her husband went abroad for some years, as is the custom. In the meantime Frances enjoyed the pastimes of the court as a grown woman, and fell in love with Robert Carr. Since Robert Carr was the King's favorite the whole Howard family thought him a better match than Essex, and worked hard to nullify her first marriage so that she could marry Robert instead. They found out her first marriage could be annulled if her husband was impotent and Frances still a virgin. Her virginity had to be proven by twelve goodwives although the women who came to the examination were mostly her own relatives, and besides, no one even knows if Frances actually turned up herself. You see, the woman who was to be examined had so many veils before her face you could not see her features. This was later held against her as a proof of her notorious conduct, that she had not been a virgin at all. I believe the girl at the examination was, in fact, Mounson's daughter.

In any event, Carr had a friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, who was against the marriage. The King offered Overbury a position as ambassador. In Flanders, I think it was. Robert Carr recommended that Overbury decline the offer and when he did so he was imprisoned in the Tower on the charge of high treason. This must have been the idea all along, since I think Frances's uncle and father arranged this trap together. Robert was surely too stupid to come up with such a plan himself.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Campion and his patron Mounson were also engaged in this matter, as you might have gathered by now. Obviously the idea was Overbury would be handled in a special way. While in jail, there were only a few people who would be allowed to see him. Not his own relatives and friends. So there had to be a new gaoler and also a new Lieutenant of the Tower. Mounson and Campion worked together on this. The new Lieutenant bribed Mounson to get the position. Campion was the one who delivered the bribe money to Mounson.

Now I learned how that large sum found its way to our house before he got the strength to face the streets of London carrying so much money. He put his life at risk twice! First by carrying the money, then by getting involved in such a fishy business. He could have got himself hanged! Lots of other people were: Frances’s maid, Mistress Turner, the gaoler, and the Lieutenant of the Tower all swayed from the ropes at Tyburn in 1615, because after this things got out of hand. Presents were sent to Overbury, marmalade and tarts, but the gaoler said in court that Overbury never touched them. “It looketh not good” he said. Robert Carr sent medicine to make Overbury sick, and finally an apothecary’s boy placed a large poisoned plaster on his back. The following day, Overbury died, and his parents were not allowed to see the corpse. I bet it looketh not good...

Then Frances Howard and Robert Carr got married. As I told you, my friend Campion wrote one of the masques for the occasion. But Robert Carr would have needed his friend Sir Thomas Overbury, who had some brains, while Carr only had the good looks. Carr could not handle the King on his own and soon another faction at the court pushed the handsome, young Lord Villiers into the King’s way (some say bed) as you know. Suddenly Carr was not so dear to the King anymore. The dog had no master, as one says. To put him off for good, some started digging up the old Overbury story and it was brought to court.

Much of this I learned from others, Campion himself was horrified and would not talk, lest he would drag also me into the business. When all this came to light Campion was convinced he would go to jail with Mounson, but the way things turned out, only Mounson was imprisoned.

And the fancy Howard family who had adopted Campion and managed to stay out of the murder accusations entirely, eventually got caught with both hands in the marmalade jar. Frances’s parents were both accused and sentenced for bribery in 1619 despite their denial and Mounson was not tolerated at court anymore So now there was none to protect my Campion, who spent many sleepless nights in fear.

I think living with a fear like that is fatal to a man, and I sincerely believe

that is why Campion died yesterday. He felt it coming, and he hastened to get all his ideas out before that. The third and fourth Booke of Ayres, A New Way of Making Fowre parts, the Latin epigrams and such things. He had it all printed. He tried to soften Prince Charles by dedicating his epigrams for him and he worked endlessly on a long poem in Latin for the King, but nothing good came out of it, that I know of.

The judge who presided at Frances's trial was none other than Sir Francis Bacon who seemed to be at the peak of his career, but his star rose even higher later when he eventually became Lord Chancellor.

Sir Frances Bacon was not a handsome man, he was no hunter, and he was not rich. His means to impress the King (and he needed to) were through his learnedness. I say he needed to impress the King thoroughly because there were certain rumors about how he handled his boy-servants. I think the King had already decided the outcome of the trial and Bacon was there to put on an act. And lo – Bacon was knighted!

But there and then I listened to the accusations read out loud by Bacon and could hardly hear Frances's whispers. My neighbor, a man with a rash on his nose, said Frances whispered:

— Guilty

And suddenly I thought – why is Lord Coke not here? Lord Coke had led nearly all the other trials in the Overbury affair, I had attended some of them the year before. But Coke was a boisterous and difficult man. And Bacon was probably better equipped to handle the large, invited audience. But who would be the brains behind that swap? Frances's uncle was already dead, so there must be someone else who wanted to stay out of that room, who wanted to save his own skin. I thought of Frances's father, or even – the King himself? It frightened me to harbor such dangerous thoughts in my brain and I realized how terrified Campion must be.

— Spectators, judges! During the winter we have seen one corrupt criminal after another in this court. They have all pled not guilty. For the first time we have now a person of high rank and immediately we see a different attitude; honesty and true repentance, Bacon recited as if he were an actor.

— The simpler persons who have been justly heard did not confess. She does.

— Look at her, ladies and gentleman! Is she not worthy of our compassion?

Are you not touched by her youth, her sex, her noble family, and above all her regret and humble words? Let us hope and pray to God that our gracious sovereign, King James, will be forgiving. Be certain that our King James will be just, since he is the greatest King in the world, whose Royal duties weigh more heavily than his personal interests.

The audience began to roar. My neighbor said Frances was apologizing for her weeping. But then Bacon's voice rang out again.

— Can Milady think of any reason not to be sentenced to death?

There was complete silence.

— Then the court must sentence Milady to death. No other punishment is enough for the severe crime you have committed: the murder of sir Thomas Overbury. This is a difficult decision, after seeing Milady's humbleness and sorrow today. We, Lords of the court, convict this sentence with much agony and will negotiate with His Royal Highness for the defendant, and until this is done we have no other choice but to give the following verdict: That the countess Frances Somerset be sentenced to be hanged by the neck until she is dead.

Bacon said all this with a tone as if he was offering a warm blanket to a freezing child. After which Frances was led out.

— Poisoning is very un-English, don't you think? my neighbor said. She is a disgrace to our country! One would think she was Spanish. Or Italian.

I looked at my shoes wondering what a very English thing might be. Maybe spitting? My shoes looked like speckled frogs after two hours in that room.

Frances and her husband were later pardoned. Now they are not even imprisoned. People say they had a terrible fight already in the Tower and that they hate each other now. Frances is obviously ill. Some say she has an ailment in her lower abdomen and that she is completely insane and will never recover. But she is still alive, and my friend, the best friend a man could ever wish for, Thomas Campion, is dead.

Abstract

Title: *Think'st thou to seduce me then? Female personas in songs by Thomas Campion (1567–1620)*

Language: English with a Swedish summary

Keywords: Thomas Campion, lute songs, female personas, gender, same sex desire, musical interpretation, Overbury, artistic research, arrangements for female vocal quartet

This dissertation is in the field of Artistic Research in Music Interpretation. It is a study of songs with female personas written by Thomas Campion, investigated through performance practice and a critical reading of historical research carried out on the English Renaissance. The study is inspired by gender- and queer theory and looks at the function of the songs within their socio-cultural context. Since the songs seem to have been used and performed in a homosocial society, the study also discusses the possibility of male bonding and same-sex desire as part of the songs' hidden or overt messages.

The dissertation consists of a thesis in two parts, a newly-made transcription from the original lute tablature of the fourteen chosen songs, and a CD-recording, documenting different modes of interpretation, including the following accompaniments for the songs: a clavichord, tuned in meantone, a positive organ tuned in meantone, a modern guitar and a female vocal quartet. Four of the arrangements for female vocal quartet are also included in the transcription appendix.

The aim of the dissertation is to find out how the songs worked in their society and what impact their historical function can have on a contemporary musical practice. The aim is also to find hidden layers of the songs and try to make these layers come alive in musical practice today.

The act of singing is used as means of inquiry. Part II of the thesis describes how a singer can work with contradicting stories behind the songs in order to make the music come alive.

In the transcriptions, discrepancies between earlier editions and Campion's original music have also been found and corrected.

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I also owe gratitude to the pianist Harald Svensson who put his own work aside to be sound-engineer for some of the recordings, who gave support on how to use the computer-program Sibelius and supervised my piano scores, and to Sven Berger who taught me how to read lute tablature, and gave a valuable second opinion on *So many loves have I neglected*.

There are some directors who have been an inspiration to me. First of all, the late Michela Cajchanova, who, during her much too short life, showed me how to act and express Campion's puns and double-entendres with humour, sensuality, tenderness, and dignity, and also taught me the body-language of the seventeenth century through her course in courtly dance; the generous and inventive Gunilla Gårdfeldt, whom I have had the pleasure of working with; and Emelie Sigelius, who worked with my quartet in cross-dressing.

My musical mentor is, and has been for many years, professor Gunnar Eriksson, to whom I owe great gratitude.

I am also fortunate enough to have been brought up in a story-telling

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Part I

Campion's songs in their socio-cultural context

Introduction

The disposition of this thesis

This thesis is an exploration of a specific repertoire found among the lute songs written by Thomas Campion (1567–1620). In the years between 1597 and 1622, writing and publishing lute-songs was highly fashionable in England. No less than six hundred lute-songs were printed in this twenty-five-year period (Wilson 2006, 267), including the famous *Flow my tears*, by John Dowland. Thomas Campion wrote 119 of these songs, making him the most prolific of all the composers in the genre. Among these 119 songs are fourteen that are told from the perspective of women rather than men, more than were written by any other lute composer.¹ These songs have what I will refer to in this thesis as “female personae.” They are divided over the books of Campion’s publishing output thusly:

A Book of Ayres (1601)	1 song with a female persona
First Booke of Ayres (1613)	0 songs with female personae
Second Booke of Ayres (1613)	3 songs with female personae
Third Booke of Ayres (1617)	6 songs with female personae
Fourth Booke of Ayres (1617)	4 songs with female personae

1. Although in this period ten songbooks were dedicated to female patrons, for instance one by John Danyel dedicated to Anne Grene in which three female personae occur, Campion is unique in his frequent use of female personae. William Corkine, John Danyel and Robert Jones also use female personae sometimes, but no one does it as often as Campion.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

This thesis consists of an exordium, a time-line, an introduction, two main parts, and an appendix containing my own edition of these fourteen songs, as well as a recording of the songs with clavichord, organ, modern guitar and female vocal quartet.

Part I begins with a background that explains the path that brought me to Campion’s songs. I describe Campion’s life and how later scholars have regarded him. I also attempt to show how the rise of the Puritan movement affected the way Campion’s style changed within his lifetime. The main purpose of part I is to explore the role that these songs could have served when they were new. I describe my use of the terms “persona” and “female,” consider what it might have meant to be a woman in the seventeenth century, and give a brief description of the long tradition of female satire, a tradition in which Campion’s songs clearly participate. This chapter also departs from gender and queer studies. How Campion’s lyrics and music work separately and together in an emblematic way is the subject for the second chapter, where I will also define what I mean when I use the term emblematic. Here, I will also stress the fact that artistic research has been one of my tools, since singing the songs myself has been an important method of more deeply understanding the songs. Then I try to answer the question of who is being addressed in these songs. This leads to the further question of whether women sang Campion’s songs with female personas at all? If they were indeed sung by men, other possibilities arise. I have chosen to look very seriously into that likelihood and its consequences. Finally, in Chapter 5, “Cracking the Campion Code,” I try to see whether Campion’s publications encoded further meaning for those to whom they are dedicated as well as those who wanted to read them that way. Why were they written and printed at all?

Part II documents the performance practice experiments I carried out throughout the project. Here I describe the choices I have made as a singer and performer of Campion’s songs, such as voice production and my relation to the Early Music Movement. After that, I describe my thirty years of singing Thomas Campion, and what has happened to my artistic practice through my practice as a singer and then as a doctoral student.

The dissertation includes a collection of Campion’s songs with exclusively female personas, edited from the original tablature in modern settings for voice and keyboard; a list of concerts during my doctoral studies; a bibliography; and a CD with all of Campion’s songs, some with clavichord, some

with modern guitar or female vocal quartet. I have also kept a small archive of video recordings of live performances that served as reference material for this work.

The Facts of the Overbury Affair

In the exordium, I described what I believe to be one of the most dramatic events of Campion's life, the famous Overbury case, from the point of view of Campion's colleague Philip Rosseter, who seems to have been the most important person in Campion's life. The facts of the Overbury case are as follows:

In the spring of 1613, Sir Thomas Overbury, arguably the most powerful man in England, was imprisoned in the Tower of London and then poisoned to death. Sir Thomas Overbury's power came through his manipulation and control of Sir Robert Carr, the handsome Scottish youth that Overbury inserted into the court to become the favorite of King James I. Carr eventually rose to the position of privy councillor to the King. Sir Thomas Overbury opposed the marriage between Frances Howard and Robert Carr, a marriage that would have given the powerful Howard family the direct access to King James that Overbury had guarded for himself.

Frances Howard was a great beauty and, like her siblings, was used by her parents as a pawn in their own power struggles. At my last visit to The National Portrait Gallery in London, I borrowed a stool and sat for a while in front of Frances Howard's portrait (Figure 1). A similar portrait of Queen Anne hangs above it. Both women have an extraordinary low neckline; both women seem to look at the spectator. But while Queen Anne only looks like someone who happens to have a low neckline, since it is the fashion, and looks at the spectator because she is told to do so, Frances Howard's eyes tell me something different. It is as if she knows she is provocative, and she challenges us; she knows we react to her neckline and she likes it. However, we will never know if the portrait mirrors what the painter actually saw, or what he wanted us to see. Next to Frances's portrait a sign reads "It was said of Somerset,² 'If he had not met with such a woman he might have been a good man.'" We will never know if she was as spoiled, seductive or impudent as some said she was, but she clearly never had enough power to commit all the things she was accused of. She never reconciled with her husband and spent the rest of her short life suffering from both mental and physical illness. And yet to this day, the blame is entirely being placed on Frances Howard.

2. Earl of Somerset, was one of Sir Robert Carr's titles.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

There may have been two reasons for Overbury's opposition to the marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Carr. One might have been jealousy, since there might also have been a love relation between Overbury and Carr. The second might have been information that Overbury had about Frances Howard's virginity. Frances Howard was already married, but her family, not least her uncle Northumberland, arranged for the marriage to be annulled which was possible if there were evidence of the husband being impotent and the wife still a virgin. Her virginity was proven by twelve goodwives, although rumours said the girl who came to the examination might have been Sir Thomas Mounson's daughter. Sir Thomas Mounson was King James's falconer and also the patron of Thomas Campion. The lady who showed up was wearing so many veils anyway it was impossible to tell who she was. Rumours Overbury could have been aware of suggested Frances was no virgin, firstly because her uncle might have abused her, secondly because she had been spending a lot of time alone with Robert Carr. Since Overbury opposed the marriage, the only option for the Howard family was to have Overbury conveniently removed. Overbury was imprisoned at the Tower for high treason, on trumped-up charges, since the crime of turning down an offer from the King to become ambassador in Russia (some say Flanders) was normally only a minor offence. Overbury was clearly framed, and he turned the offer down on Carr's advice. Although he was placed at the Tower, Overbury was still dangerous to the couple and to the Howards, probably because he could still communicate the dangerous information he had, which could still jeopardize the marriage. A new Lieutenant of the Tower was installed to guarantee the conspirators access to Overbury, while denying Overbury's own relatives the right to visit him. Who bribed whom in this entangled money transfer may still be unclear. To be a Lieutenant of the Tower was a profitable title and it seems the new Lieutenant had to pay for the position. The new Lieutenant had to pay a large sum of money, a bribe of 2000 pounds to Sir Thomas Mounson, since he had the right to appoint this position. The position was very profitable because of all the bribes the Lieutenant could command. Campion was enlisted by Mounson as a courier to bring him 1400 pounds from the new Lieutenant. For the rest Sir Thomas Mounson sent another servant. Campion was examined at trial on October 26, 1615. He admitted he had received 1400 £ from Alderman Elwys on behalf of Sir Gervase Elwys, for the use of Sir Thomas Mounson, the midsummer after Sir Gervase became Lieutenant of the Tower (Calendar of State Papers 1611–19). The old Lieutenant made a wise decision in leaving, at any rate,

since the new Lieutenant was one of the players in the Overbury affair who was executed later.

When the new Lieutenant was installed, Frances Howard and Robert Carr started sending presents to Overbury: marmalade and tarts. Carr also sent medicine. Overbury died. Strangely enough the prison guard later said Overbury never ate the presents, only the medicine: strangely, because Frances was declared guilty even though she never sent any medicine. After Overbury's death Frances Howard and Robert Carr were finally married, but Robert Carr, who had been the King's darling thanks to Overbury's advice and counsel, was no good at keeping the King's affection on his own. Carr fell out of favor with the King and another faction at the court used the opportunity to introduce a new handsome, young man to be the King's favorite: John Villiers. The King became very fond of Villiers, calling him his "dog" and his "wife," and the new faction moved to put an end to Carr and his coterie altogether, by exploiting the Overbury affair.

The murder of Sir Thomas Overbury and its aftermath became one of the biggest scandals ever at the English court. Many people were sent to jail or hanged. Among them were the Lieutenant of the Tower, the prison guard, and Frances Howard's maid Anne Turner, but some of the brains behind the scheme got away. Frances Howard's uncle was dead by then, but her father, who was Lord Treasurer, was never asked to show up in court, although a few years later her father and mother were accused and sentenced for bribery against their denial. But at the time the blame was entirely put on Frances Howard, while her husband, Robert Carr, pleaded "not guilty". Campion and indeed his patron Mounson were deeply involved in this scandal and must have had their lives entirely altered by these events. When Mounson was sent to jail in 1616, he lost his position in the Navy and his income, and Campion lost the support of his patron. Campion's own meddling in the affair also included writing the Somerset masque for the wedding of Frances Howard and Robert Carr, where the King must have been offended by the lines:

Some friendship betweene man and man prefer
But I th'affection betweene man and wife. (Campion 1614; Husoy 1998, 144)

There are two things that indicate King James I did not like the masque. First of all, after *The Somerset Masque*, Campion had no more commissions for masques at the court. Secondly, *The Irish Masque* by Ben Jonson, which ridiculed Campion, could have been commissioned by the King for this very

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

purpose (Husoy 1998, 150). When the Howard family, who had also supported Campion, went down, Campion had no financial supporters left. Campion's means of supporting himself as a medical doctor may have been insufficient for his needs, since he attempted to address Prince Charles by dedicating his second print of epigrams³ to him (1619). This attempt seem to have been fruitless.

The Overbury affair has also significance for this thesis since Campion dedicated three of his song books to Sir Thomas Mounson, in which he cultivated what I will argue can be seen as a jargon tailor-made for their relationship: a jargon which included songs with female personas. Last, but not least, Campion's third and fourth book of Ayres, in which most of his songs with female personas occur, seems to have been printed because of Sir Thomas Mounson's release from the Tower, as Campion says explicitly in his dedication.

The current fascination with the seventeenth century

There seems to be an increasing interest in history in our popular culture, perhaps even a longing for and an idealization of a time when men and women seem to have led a life of less restraint and control, and with more proclivity to show their feelings. They lived a shorter, but perhaps more exciting life. Shakespeare's plays are still being enacted all over the world, and in films and on TV we see representations of the seventeenth-century's beauty, its music, architecture, and sometimes overwhelming luxury, which point towards an almost forbidden, yet titillating extravagance. There is, for better or worse, an interest in the violence of the seventeenth century as well; torture and execution appeal to filmmakers and their investors.

Gender ambiguity has become a part of our Western popular culture. Since the 1980s and David Bowie's androgynous experiments, gender ambiguity and androgyny have taken a canonic place in musical and theatrical performances, and indeed, in everyday life. Since gender and queer studies have also become developed scholarly disciplines, we have been able to look at the theatrical culture in which female parts were played by boys in Shakespeare's plays and appreciate androgynous personality in a new way. So many essays and books on gender representation in Elizabethan and Jacobean theater have been written recently that Susan McClary says they have created “a whole publications subindustry in and of themselves” (McClary 2000, 177).

3. A genre of short ironic poetry, almost like proverbs.

This thesis perhaps also belongs to that subindustry.

But the constructions of sexuality of four hundred years ago are not easily compared to our own. Today every secret corner of body and soul seems to be analyzed and robbed of all its moneymaking dreams and fantasies. But for the seventeenth-century man, the mere glimpse of a woman's sex could be paralyzing. For some of the English Renaissance authors, for instance Fulke Greville, it was the gateway to hell, as Moira Baker shows in her essay "*The Uncanny Stranger on Display*": *The Female Body in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Love Poetry*:

Greville's positing of the moment of banishment at the spying of the woman's genitals, therefore, has theological significance, and it partakes of a traditional theological discourse that constructs female sexuality as destructive, evil, guilty, seductive – in short, as the gateway to Hell. (Baker 1991, 13)

In all the looking-back, there is often an assumption that we live in a more enlightened time today. We must nevertheless be careful not to regard the seventeenth century as inferior to our own. In four hundred years, beliefs, fashions, politics, and ideas come and go. That will also be the case four hundred years from now, when historians look at our age and try to figure out the reasons behind our actions.

Singing as a method of inquiry

The act of singing plays a significant role for both parts of this thesis. Singing brings hidden layers of Campion's songs to the surface. By singing the songs, I have found that the tacit knowledge of the body contributes and adds to my understanding of the lyrics in combination with the music. By singing the songs I have also found that *the songs themselves* raise universal questions:

What is the essence of a man or a woman?

How do you hold onto your creativity in a changing world?

Part II contains my attempts to answer these questions through my artistic practice. An advantage of being a singer is that I do not always have to motivate why some things are interesting to me and in what way they can be useful for my artistic practice. Although it may sound pompous, I can say that everything that arouses my curiosity will affect and enrich my performance.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Every little thing I know about a song affects my singing of it.

But is there not a risk I will over-estimate my experiences and become narcissistic? Will the listener benefit from it, and if so, in what way? I hope the awareness of the risk will be enough to avoid it. Through this thesis, I also hope that others will be able to develop their song performances and expand the choices of interpretations to include not only skill but also humor; not only beauty, but also ugliness; not only tenderness, but also cruelty; not only human grandness but also human weakness.

A personal introduction

In the 1980s I worked as a voice and singing coach with theater students at the Academy of Music and Drama in Gothenburg. Every year, there was a project with historical dancing and poetry organized by the late Michela Cajchanova, director and dancing teacher. She was a truly gifted person with a talent for nuances and body language, which made the project a highlight of the year. I was happy when she wanted to expand the project to include songs, and wanted me to find material for the students.

The students had various musical abilities, but all of them were talented actors. The Elizabethan lute songs were reminiscent of the Swedish popular song genre called *visa*, with their chronological narrations and strophic, repeated melodies, so I chose songs from that repertoire for the students. But every class had four women and four men. All of them deserved a proper challenge, but the only songs I could find had male personas. I found the solution in W. H. Auden's wonderful collection of Elizabethan songs (Auden 1957). This is how I met Thomas Campion's lute songs with female personas for the first time. The language was a problem, though. Even if most Swedes know the English language rather well, the English of the songs was old-fashioned, so I translated them, a task that was both difficult and surprising. The contents of the songs were different from most of the songs with male personas in that they were more daring, more equivocal.

Sometimes when I could not find a proper challenge I had to compose new “Elizabethan” songs. A female student needed to challenge her ability to be sensual and playful. That is the story behind the song “Första dagen.”⁴ One of my male students had a poor musical ear. There was only a small part in the middle of his voice where he could sing in key and that

4. “The first day” CD track 11 and 12.

is the story behind the rather monotonous song “Varför föddes jag?”⁵

Michela Cajchanova’s fantastic talent made the double entendres and hidden meanings in the English lute songs charming, seductive and yet innocent. The British attaché of cultural affairs, who happened to visit the school, arranged a three-month grant for me to go to England and study the songs more deeply.

While in London, I regularly visited the English National Theatre and their voice coach Helen Chadwick. I also met many experts and scholars in English Renaissance music. But what made the greatest impact was the British Library, then housed inside the British Museum. It served as a second home for me during my three months.

I grew up in the little village of Skredsvik on the Swedish west coast. As part of the government’s policies in the 1950s and 60s, libraries were opened in many small places that had never had them before. Skredsvik was one of these villages. My mother and father had no education beyond six years of primary school. Yet they took turns as librarians a few hours a week. In London the library was in a huge, circular room, bigger than the biggest church, crammed with books. The roof was a huge cupola of glass. In the middle of the room was the information desk like a sun whose rays were the reading desks. Along one of the walls I found the Calendar of State Papers and the letters from the Venetian ambassadors. Whenever I had to wait for a book I had ordered, I returned to the ambassadors’ letters and their friendly, never-ending chatter. I came to think of them as my friends, although they had been dead for nearly four hundred years.

The lutenist and scholar Sir Robert Spencer kindly invited me to his home. He was the one who mentioned the Overbury affair to me, which led me to the Public Record Office where I was allowed to look at the originals of the court documents and also to look at and touch the letters Sir Thomas Overbury wrote while imprisoned.

Back home again teaching became less challenging. I was young and yet employed in such a way that I could go on doing the same thing until I was sixty-five – an unbearable thought! Theater is wonderful, the students were talented, the school had visions, but I had to stop teaching others something I actually wanted to do myself or I would have become an embittered teacher. Before I started teaching, I played the saxophone in some jazz groups (Position Alpha and Salamander), but I had to give up the saxophone because

5. “Jacobean pastiche” CD track 24.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

of tinnitus. Being a musician was what I wanted; teaching was something that just came my way. So I quit.

After a few years of making a living from writing, composing, and performing my own material, I ended up in another profession – that of a journalist. It turned out that the combination of journalism and singing was easier than that of teaching and singing. My work at the Swedish National Broadcasting Company was both creative and challenging. I did my own radio shows, presented concerts and operas and worked with literature and cultural programs, but somehow I had a gnawing feeling that I ought to do something about Thomas Campion’s songs with female personas. More than anything else I wanted to write a book about him and the intriguing Overbury affair. But how could I, a Swede from the countryside have something to say about Campion, who lived in London, in a time that has been the target of so many dissertations, films, and books by so many scholars and artists?

Sir Robert Spencer had told me:

— Oh, there is so much written about Campion already!

Still, there was something about him and other friendly, and impressive gentlemen that made me feel as if the songs I was interested in were, in their minds, the least worthy. Campion had written so many fine songs and all I was interested in were the ones with the filthiest content. This was the first time I encountered the political dynamite of Campion’s songs with female personas, but certainly not the last. Gender issues in combination with equivocal lyrics have a special impact on many people, especially men. The songs seem to hit a raw spot, something ultimately challenging. I still frequently find myself, my private life, and my inner feelings called into question because of my interest in Campion’s songs with female personas. Something as trivial as finding four-hundred-year-old songs for female students ended up in a battle between men and women today. The issues Campion’s female personas bring up are contemporary – or should I say, they belong to every age.

When I see films or TV series about England’s Golden Age, I always think: this is what someone could do with Campion’s songs. *The Tudors* and *Shakespeare in Love* and other films about Queen Elizabeth I take the historical material as a point of departure, and then use only parts of it. The filmmakers use old paint but new brushes, and paint their own pictures. This is also the way Shakespeare’s plays have been interpreted, especially outside the English-speaking community. Since language changes over time, every age demands

its own translation, and in every translation new qualities are brought to life. Maybe English people regard Shakespeare differently? When I look at Thomas Campion I am constantly reminded English is not my first language. I wish to see that fact rather as an advantage than the other way around. Can my Swedish working-class countryside eyes see something the modern urban English middle and upper class cannot? Can my childhood memories of a small farm with one pig and one cow be useful? That is, after all, how most English people, even in the cities, lived in the seventeenth century.

If I had lived then I could have been someone who rowed my small boat over the Thames or sold fish and vegetables from carts in the market. I look upon wealth, jewelry, precious clothes, universities and palaces with awe because I know those buildings and precious things would not have been there without the sweat, blood, and tears of poor people. This is also a handicap, because to understand Campion I have to visit the court and the scholars' desks, read their Martial and Catullus, and see where, in the dreams of Renaissance England, Campion's songs belong. I see and sing the same music they did. Do I sometimes laugh at the same things? If I do, laughing and singing is a way to get close to someone without depending upon words, even when the gap is four hundred years wide. This is what I hope for as I investigate Campion's songs. During my doctoral studies I participated in a seminar about the intellectual history of love, sorrow and fear from 1500–2009. At the same time I experienced a separation as well as the death of my mother, by which I was reminded that people's feelings and challenges are the same throughout history. It is only the methods of expression that change.

An introduction to Thomas Campion

Who, then, is the man behind these songs? Thomas Campion is not one of the most well-known composers, unlike John Dowland, whom he knew and admired. But then, composing was just one of Campion's many skills. Some call him a literary theorist, a masque writer, a Latinist. Campion himself likes to stress three aspects of his talent: music, poetry, and medicine.

From his own Epigram 23 in his second collection of epigrams, we can conclude he was a rather small man:

I envy portly men, being exceedingly scrawny myself. (Sutton 1999)

Campion also seems to have been talkative. A source from 1611 mocks him:

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

How now Doctor Champion, musicks and poesies stout Champion, will you nere leave prating? (Vivian 1909, xl)

Campion was born in 1567. When he was nine his father died. His mother Lucy remarried Augustine Trigg. Two years later his mother also died, and his stepfather Augustine remarried. After this the orphaned Campion and his stepbrother entered the Peterhouse School in Cambridge, which probably meant that he left home for good at the age of thirteen. Luckily he had inherited some money from his parents that paid for his education. It is possible his stepparents would not have given him such a thorough education.

“Is my fond eye deceived, or do I Cupid spye?”

The subject that occurs most often in Campion's songs is love, but if we look for love in Campion's own life, it takes a while before it enters. Percival Vivian, who was the first to make a collection of Campion's works, remarks that Campion and his stepbrother seem not to have been expected home for vacation while they attended the Peterhouse School, since the costs for them are based on 52 weeks/year (Vivian 1909, xxvi). The relationship between Campion and his stepparents could have been difficult, something which Vivian also suggests. Campion does not mention his childhood anywhere in his epigrams or songs. It seems possible Campion's childhood was not a happy one. In the epigrams, Campion mentions many dear friends, but never his older sister Rose or his stepbrother Thomas, maybe for the simple reason that they were not good friends.

At seventeen Campion left school without completing a degree and two years later we find him studying law at Gray's Inn, but he never received a degree from that school either. He may have been in good company in that respect, since probably only one-fourth of the men in attendance or residence were actually studying law, the rest being noblemen or gentry who had “come up” to London in order to refine their manners and gain access to the royal court to which the Inns of Court were loosely attached (Davis 1987, 4).

Some of the men Campion met at Gray's Inn became his life-long friends. If we may gather anything about Campion's life from his epigrams, his male friends were the most important agents in his life. In the epigrams Campion reveals deep affection and warmth when he speaks of them. Mellea and Caspia, Campion's female lovers, seem to offer a different and perhaps shallower kind of relationship. I do not think Campion was exceptional in that respect. Male

friendship was highly valued. I do think Campion's affectionate epigrams for his male friends are worth remembering later, when we look at the way Campion bonded with his homo-social coterie. It is possible friends played a different role in his life compared to someone who had a supportive family.

However, the intellectual climate and challenges of Gray's Inn let Campion's creativity flourish. It was here that his interests in antique authors, in Latin, and in verse meter started. Here he also felt the thrill of being close to power. He met Queen Elizabeth I when he played *Melancholia* in a play, and he also participated in masques.

It seems as if the famous poet Sir Philip Sidney, who wrote in Latin, became a living role model, while Ovid and Catullus were two of Campion's classical favorites. Like his idols, Campion wrote amorous poems and epigrams. Many of his epigrams made fun of people he did not seem to like. Campion's writings contain more than two hundred epigrams. They are elegant, ironic and often erotic.

"We the grovy hills will climb, and play the wantons there..."

Campion's willingness to write about sexuality is prominent throughout his entire production.

The first four poems Thomas Campion published were published in 1591 in a print together with Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*. Campion's first book in his own name was the 1595 *Poemata* in Latin. It consisted of epigrams, some of them dealing with love and sexuality, for instance "In Se", about his own penis. So we see even in his first poems that he was willing to go against puritanical notions about sexuality; yet Puritanism grew during Campion's lifetime, and affected him, as I will show further on. Modern researchers have clearly not been comfortable with this side of Campion.

Possibly it was just as well that he did write in what was destined to become a dead language. (Eldridge 1971, 60)

His early extravagances he outlived; and if it were possible to recall the time of his later years, we may imagine that we should find a kindly gentleman, full of ripe experience and judgment, yet cherishing the memories of old loves and friendships, and the generous illusions of youth; devoted to the studies of poetry, music, and medicine, a true son of Apollo, as he was never tired of urging; clothed with that finer tact and sympathy which comes to a good physician. (Vivian 1909, xlix-l)

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

In Miles Merwin Kastendieck’s book *England’s Musical Poet Thomas Campion*, Kastendieck avoids Campion’s “vaine Ditties.” After quoting Campion’s own words that the squeamish stomachs “shall checke at two or three vaine Ditties” (see below), Kastendieck says that for the sake of the squeamish he will also leave these songs to private investigation (1938, 152).

He also refuses to see the bawdy content of “I care not for these Ladies.” In “Beauty since you so much desire,” he takes an interest in the repetition of the line “yet a little high’r” in search of the place for Cupid’s desire musically. Yet Kastendieck refuses to see how the music, and its upward movement is merely a picture of the lover’s search for Cupid’s fire from the feet upwards along the legs.

Was Campion then unusually outspoken about sexual matters in comparison to his contemporaries? Maybe he was, but he shared the habit with some of the most famous playwrights of the time: Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Philip Marlowe. Sexual puns and double entendres were high fashion at the court. Everyone used them, including the poets Sir Sidney, Gascoigne, and Lyly. Still Campion felt a need to defend himself and his songs in the preface of his *Fourth Booke of Ayres*.

But if any squeamish stomackes shall checke at two or three vaine Ditties in the end of this Booke, lett him powre off the clearest, and leave those dregs in the bottome. Howsoever if they be but conferred with the Canterbury Tales of that venerable Poet Chaucer, they will then appeare toothsome enough. (Campion 1617)

So what had changed since 1595 and *Poemata*? Was it Campion himself, as Vivian says or was it the spirit of the time? I think the latter. In her article ‘*Alluring the Auditorie to Effeminacie*’: *Music and the English Renaissance Idea of the Feminine* (1993), Linda Phyllis Austern examines how music-making was one of Puritanism’s targets in their criticism of the morals of Elizabethan and Jacobean society and quotes the famous Puritan William Prynne:

Modest and chaste harmonies are to be admitted by removing as farre as may be all soft effeminate musicke from our strong and valiant cogitation, which using a dishonest art of warbling the voyce, do lead to a delicate and slothful kinde of life. Therefore, Chromaticall harmonies are to be left to impudent malapertnesse, to whorish musicke crowned with flowers. (Austern 1993, 11)

Although Prynne’s *Histriomastix* was printed thirteen years after Campion’s

death, it is not bold to suggest that Puritan pressure increased during Campion's lifetime, especially since we know that many years of pamphlets from the growing Puritan movement took their toll by 1642, when all the King's musicians were fired. But Campion moved in the highest levels of the aristocracy, and King James I was not a Puritan. On the contrary, in 1618 he proclaimed:

Oure goode people be not disturbed letted or discouraged. . . from such as dauncing, either men or women. . . leaping, vaulting or any such harmless recreation. (Burford 1988, 164)

The King also frequented a brothel called Holland's Leaguer, followed by almost all his courtiers, as well as The Unicorn, where most of the hand-picked girls could sing and play instruments. The King wanted the people to dance, while Puritans like Prynne raged against the pastimes of the court.

Given the conflicts between the Puritans and the more libertine atmosphere at court created by James I, Campion had to navigate the cleft between different moral values, a cleft so deep it eventually led to revolution in 1642 and the beheading of King Charles in 1647.

That is the reason why I think Campion had to apologize for things in 1617 that could stand uncommented upon in 1595.

Campion's life after 1600

In 1601 Campion's lute songs were printed for the first time. It was a joint production with his colleague Philip Rosseter. Their collaboration was life-long and deep. Sometimes Rosseter wrote music to Campion's lyrics; sometimes it seems Rosseter helped Campion out with lute tablatures and other musical technicalities. Rosseter seems to have been the most important person in Campion's life, as I also suggest in the exordium. When Campion died, he willed all of his belongings to Rosseter. This amounted to only £22, and he wished it had been more. From the will we can also conclude he had no wife or children (Vivian 1909, xlvi).

Between 1602 and 1606 Campion studied medicine in Caen, in the north of France, and there he finally took an exam and received the degree of doctor of medicine. As such, he worked and earned his living, at least partly, for the rest of his life. But neither his medical practice nor his studies stopped him from publishing his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* in 1602. In

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this book he attacked “the vulgar and unartificial,” that is the use of rhyme in English poetry. Campion actually claimed no one should allow him- or herself to write poetry until they had studied the classics and their rhythmical verse meter.

Campion offended some people there, and some of them answered: Samuel Daniel in *Defence of Rhyme* (1603) and Ben Jonson.

Jonson's counter-attack on Campion's attack on rhyme was not lost but exists as “A Fit of Rime against Rime” (Husoy 1998, 155).

Campion also wrote masques for the Jacobean court.⁶ In 1614 he also published a book on music theory, titled *A New Way of Making Fowre parts in Counter-point*. In 2003 it was re-printed with an introduction by Christopher Wilson, where more information on Campion's significance as a musical theorist can be gathered. Campion's music theory is reminiscent of how we interpret music today. It describes the melody as the highest part and the bass as the lowest together making the skeleton of the song, while the gap between the two is to be filled with pleasing parts:

...the (treble) melody and bass dictate the music of the song and thereby the harmony and various cadences, as Campion makes clear in his treatise. (Wilson 2003, ix)

That means Campion moved the melody from *ténor* to *discantus*, and that harmony became more important to the composer and the listener than polyphony, leading the ear to listen not horizontally but vertically, as we do today. I believe this opens up the possibility of seeing Campion as a singer-songwriter, someone who accompanies himself on a polyphonic instrument like the lute while singing the melody, and then composes as a kind of record of this improvisational process. That could explain why Campion's songs are more irregular rhythmically than his contemporaries, Robert Jones and John Dowland, who composed music to lyrics by other people. Since Campion improvises the music while singing and playing, the lyrics take the music by the hand, and lead it onto a path where not all bars are equally long, not

6. Walter R. Davis *Thomas Campion* (1987), Walter R. Davis *The Works of Thomas Campion* (1967), David Lindley *Thomas Campion, Medieval and renaissance authors* (1986), Christopher Wilson diss, “Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together, a Critical Study,” (1989) Arthur Lance Husoy *Thomas Campion and the web of patronage* (1998).

all phrases are an even number of bars and the most accentuated note of a bar is not necessarily the first. Champion's text-based method of setting his own lyrics became even clearer to me through the process of transcribing the songs from the original tablature.

In Chapter 2 we will see that there is even more evidence for his text-based composing than modern editions show.

In the short period of about thirty years that lute songs were in fashion, Champion was the most prolific of all lute song composers. As a writer of masques he was second only to Ben Jonson.

One of the things I find the most fascinating about Thomas Champion is his connection to the case of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder. It is unclear how much information he had about the criminal act that he took part in, but it is perfectly clear that he handed over a large sum of money, an act that later brought him to court. I was able to look at the hand-written court protocol at the Public Record Office from Champion's hearing, where the following comment about Champion is recorded: "And for what consideration it was payd this exāiate [examine] saith he knoweth not." I have always wondered why he did it. As a favor to his friend Sir Thomas Mounson? Or was it Frances Howard he wanted to help? He had probably met her in Mounson's house. How well did he know her? When transporting the money, did Champion realize he was doing something dangerous? If so, what other dangerous things did he do in his life? Was he drawn to risky enterprises? He seems to have been on an adventure earlier in his life, when he went to war in France (Sutton 1999, Book I: Epigram 46; Book II: Epigram 80). There is absolutely no way to answer all these questions and that is why I wanted to use the exordium to explore one fictional explanation, based on the facts we know about Champion's part in the Overbury affair.

In 1620 Thomas Champion died, maybe from the plague. The old pandemic from the fourteenth century continued to strike now and then for a long time after. It was a fast and lethal guest who made no distinction between rich and poor. A person who was walking about fresh and sound one day could be dead the next. Maybe that is what happened to Champion? There seems to have been no long period of illness. On March 1, 1620 he died and was buried in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.

A person who lived such a long time ago remains a mystery. Yet he comes alive in his music, lyrics, and not least, in his personas. The female personas in Champion's songs are complex, simple, aloof, sad, ironic, old, young, longing

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for love, or tired of it. They believe in God, they want to die, to love, to hide. To describe a woman only by her looks is not interesting enough for Campion.

Thomas Campion paints a picture in words and music of what it could be like to live in Jacobean times, but he also reflects our own. To sing his songs is like putting on clothes from a different time and world, and finding them surprisingly comfortable. The thoughts, the textures, and the sensations of his time come to life more and more while I sing them. It is like peeling an onion; there is always another layer. And maybe there is no such thing as a core?

Questions:

- Why did Campion want to write so many songs with female personas?
- If the songs were sung by men, what would that have meant, what was then the function of the songs, and what does it mean now?
- How can Campion's songs with female personas be presented to a contemporary audience?

Aims:

- To show how multi-layered Campion's songs with female personas are.
- To try out various ways of interpreting Campion's songs with female personas.

One of the central issues in this thesis is who sang the songs: whether women sang them or not. Pamela Coren's two essays on Campion's songs with female personas, "Singing and Silence: Female Personae in the English Ayre" (2002) and "In the Person of Womankind: Female Persona Poems, By Campion, Donne, Jonson" (2001) have meant a great deal to this thesis. She suggests the songs were not intended for women's voices at all, but for "(Boy) treble, countertenor, or tenor voice" (Coren 2001, 225). The question of who sang these songs cannot be answered definitively, but if Coren is correct, and Campion's songs with female personas were mostly sung by men, then the question of the social context for all of the songs – particularly those with female personas – is particularly relevant. Coren's implication that such songs might have been sung by prostitutes is also provocative, although a full study of prostitution is beyond the constraints of this dissertation. It does, however, suggest that such songs might have been outside the domestic sphere of well-bred women, and did serve as an inspiration for one performance project detailed in Part II.

Much research has been done on ornamentation, pronunciation, and voice production in English Renaissance songs. This is something I respect and appreciate. However, these parameters are not central in this thesis. The central parameter is rather the socio-cultural context that surrounded the songs when they were new: seventeenth-century ideas of gender, desire, and entertainment, since humankind is still the same mixture of pathetic egoism, grandeur, generosity, ugliness, and beauty.

Campion did have an extraordinary talent for the combination of poetry and music. I want to see how his music follows, enhances, contradicts, and creates tensions in the songs. The richness and variety among Campion's songs with female personas is considerable. His frequent use of female personas gives him the chance to picture women in many ways. The way Campion explores the impersonation of a woman made me look into gender and queer theory. These nuances are also parts of Campion's special humor, and homophobia and prudishness might have stopped scholars from seeing this earlier.

Chapter 1

What is a female persona?

In this chapter I want to discuss what I mean by a female persona. The one-sex model outlined by Thomas Laqueur will be used as a tool to look at the seventeenth-century notion of gender.

I will describe the criteria I used to choose the fourteen songs for this thesis and look at the norms that were valid for women in Thomas Campion's time, as well as what prospects some of the personas he created for his songs might have had if they had been real people. I will also discuss the roll of female personas in bawdy verse and take a look at the tradition of female satire.

What is a persona?

In OED⁷, *persona* is defined as:

1. An assumed character or role, esp. one adopted by an author in his or her writing, or by a performer. Also: †a dramatic or literary character.

This is the way I will use the word, too. There are other meanings of the word, which have more bearing on psychology. If I were to also adopt these meanings, it would mean that the female personas in Campion's songs would be not only the temporary roles he puts on when writing his songs, but also aspects of himself that he projects outwardly, to us, his listeners, readers, and spectators. Although this is a fascinating thought, I have chosen to stay out of psychological science, since Campion lived in a time

7. Oxford English Dictionary Online.

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before Jung and Freud when words such as *subconscious* would be of no value.

What is a female?

The way we perceive gender fundamentally changed after Judith Butler's book *Gender Trouble* was published in 1990. What Butler did was to try to see what actually defines the identity of a subject. Our preconceptions and discourses about identity are not necessarily true, or even the same from time to time. That which specifies “man” or “woman,” for instance, is entangled with political agencies and power structures, which can be both invisible to us and willing to stay invisible. Examples of such power structures, to Butler, were gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality. But through the deconstruction of identity, Butler showed ways to perceive gender as something enacted, not fixed:

As the effects of a subtle and politically enforced performativity, gender is an “act,” as it were, that is open to splittings, self-parody, self-criticism, and those hyperbolic exhibitions of “the natural” that, in their very exaggeration, reveal its fundamentally phantasmatic status. (Butler 1999, 187)

If there was ever a time and place when gender was staged, the English Renaissance would be the place to look for it. All the female roles in the London theaters were impersonated by men in Shakespeare's time, as we know. Sometimes the female characters had to disguise themselves as “men,” something which made their interactions with the rest of the cast both comical and titillating to the seventeenth-century audience. The seventeenth-century notion of gender was fundamentally different, something I believe will be important to keep in mind later, when we discuss the question of whether these songs were sung by men or women.

In his excellent study *Making Sex: Body and Gender from Greeks to Freud* (1990), Thomas Laqueur argues that man and woman were regarded as one flesh, a theory he chooses to call “the one-sex model.” The theory has become important in the last twenty years for writers and historians, who have found the one-sex model useful to understand the gender ambiguities of Renaissance performances, both musical and dramatic.⁸

8. Stephen Orgel (English theatre), Susan McClary (Venetian opera), and Wendy Heller (Italian opera).

The one-sex model

To try to analyze gender roles and norms before the eighteenth century we must try to strip ourselves of many preconceptions, including the hetero-normative ones. Laqueur says:

What we call sex and gender are in the Renaissance bound up in a circle of meanings from which escape to a supposed biological substratum is impossible. (Laqueur 1990, 28)

Laqueur calls the Classical notion of gender the one-sex model because there was in people's mind only one sex – the male – and an inferior version of the same – the female. Laqueur finds rich evidence for this in, for instance, the nomenclature, which was exactly the same for male and female genitals. Anatomical sketches show also how female and male genitals were regarded as the same: female genitals were actually male, *only turned outside in and worn on the inside of the body* (Figure 2).

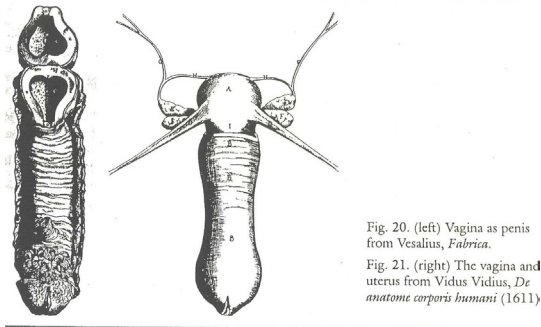


Figure 2: Left, *Vagina as penis* from Vesalius, *Fabrica*. Right, *the vagina and uterus* from Vidius Vidius *De anatome corporis humani* (1611)
(Reproduced from FreeNet (lexikon.freenet.de)).

Stories circulated about women becoming men when leaping or running too violently. Ambroise Paré, the chief surgeon to Charles IX, told several of these stories. Among them was one later picked up by Montaigne in his essays, in which a girl named Marie jumped across a ditch while chasing pigs through a wheat field:

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At that very moment the genitalia and the male rod came to be developed in him, having ruptured the ligaments by which they had been enclosed. (Laqueur 1990, 127)

After the leap, Marie was Germain.

For a man to become a woman was, however, impossible.

We therefore never find in any true story that any man ever became a woman, because Nature tends always toward what is most perfect and not, on the contrary, to perform in such a way that what is perfect should become imperfect. (Laqueur 1990, 127)

The story of Marie who became Germain while chasing pigs is not only a story of how male genitals leapt out of a woman's body. It is also a story of what can happen to a woman who is too active. The Renaissance doctor Columbus described in his book *De re anatomica* how he encountered persons who had ambiguous biological sex. He called them hermaphrodites. Most of the time, he says, they were more suited for one or the other of the sexes. But there was one woman who had difficulties, because she was “unable to be either rightly active or passive” (Laqueur 1990, 135).

Once again we see: gender is acted. Let us remember this when we look later at the possibility that Campion's female personas were enacted by men. Another example Laqueur finds in Jacques Duval's 1612 book *Traite des hermaphrodites* is Marie de Marcis, who was accused of violating the law of gender by playing the man's part during intercourse with a woman. She was pardoned from being burnt on the stake when Duval managed to find a part of her body that was like a penis and also ready to ejaculate.

The court ordered that she continue to wear woman's clothing until she was twenty-five – as if the transition to maleness had to be made gradually. (Laqueur 1990, 136–7)

The sum of the body fluids of male and female...

It was the ancient Greeks (Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle) who stated that human beings consisted of four fluids: water, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. When the fluids were not in balance, the person became sick. So ancient medicine was mostly about purging, bleeding, provoking vomiting, or sweating. Thomas Campion, as a medical doctor, surely worked from the

same theories. Aristotle gives an example of this concept of the balance of bodily fluids when he claims that women did not suffer as much from nosebleeds and hemorrhoidal flux, except after menopause; the menstrual blood was part of the same entity of fluids as semen, sweat and milk. Semen was also a product of both bodies, inferior and without color in the female body, but nevertheless crucial for the conceiving of a child. The Persian polymath Avicenna (980–1037) stresses the importance of female pleasure in his *The Canon of Medicine*, which was a standard medical text in many medieval and some Renaissance universities. Avicenna warns the husbands not to leave their wives unsatisfied because then they would find an outlet for their sexuality among other women. Avicenna describes something he regards as natural and inevitable. Men and women cannot moderate or suppress their carnal lusts. Another example of this is when Horace (65–8 BCE) cannot resist the temptation of a young and beautiful boy (Smith 2004, 125), which I will come back to later in this chapter.

The questioning of female sexual pleasure was a nineteenth-century construction and was not in the mind of a Renaissance person. To him or her that would be to question pleasure as a whole, and therewith probably the Godly plan. The woman's semen was as important as the male semen to conceive a child. So, as we can see, the one-sex model had some advantages for women, but it also had one great disadvantage. A rape resulting in children was no longer considered a rape:

...if rape should be followed by pregnancy, it was widely believed and accepted in the courts that a rape had not occurred, for the woman's pleasure was a sine qua non of conception. (Hufton 1995, 265)

To us now the one-sex model seems almost inconceivable, but it is important to remember, as Laqueur also argues, that the one-sex model did not cease to exist because of advancements in biological knowledge, but for political reasons.

When the biologically constructed Renaissance boundary between male and female was less fixed, actions were obviously judged as more crucial. Women or men breaking the norms of how their gender was supposed to act were looked upon with suspicion. Although Queen Elizabeth I could get away with adjusting her rhetoric to the cause and choose between acting either the inaccessible virgin or the "prince" or "king," women of lower rank could not avoid reproach for doing so. A certain count had a nagging

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mother-in-law. The count said her balls had descended to her loins, in other words, left the hidden place within her body and therefore caused her to act too manly. (Laqueur 1990, 123)

Although a man could not become a woman, there seems to have been anxiety in Renaissance society about the boundary between man and woman. In Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, music or too much socialization with women can make a man womanish. Laqueur comments:

He speaks as if the body is unable to resist the pressures of blurred gender and can at any moment actually change to match its social perversion. (Laqueur 1990, 125)

But Laqueur's one-sex model deals mainly with the theoretical and biological aspects of gender roles. The notion of gender was also culturally manifested in everyday life, and sometimes in a gruesome way.

Male and female normative roles

Campion's time had different expectations for men and women. We may call them cultural norms. The power of God and the power of the King were not things you could challenge without risking punishment. And God put man above woman. Anything else would be absurd and even comical.

In the churches the priests lectured women with the aid of St. Paul:

Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.
(Genesis 3:16 [King James Bible])

Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and He is the saviour of the body. (Ephesians 5:22-3 [King James Bible])

By law, man and woman were one person in marriage – and that person was the man. In juridical terms the woman was then a *feme covert*.⁹ The husband controlled everything she owned, including herself. He was allowed to hit her with a stick as thick as his own thumb. The Puritan Robert Snawsel, who wrote *A looking glasse for married folkes* (1610), recommended such various wife-taming methods as irrational shifts of temper and using violence regularly. A beaten woman had no chance to get justice on her side. In a court of law her chance to raise her voice was on an equal level with that of a traitor or an outlaw (Lucas 1990).

Before marriage the girl's father had power over her life and often made the decision of whom she should marry. An example from 1617 is the jurist Sir Edward Coke, who wanted his daughter to marry the King's favorite's brother, George Villiers. Villiers had periods of severe mental illness during which he became violent, smashing glass and "bloodying" himself. Coke's wife and his daughter did not like the idea of the marriage. This did not make Coke change his plans. Instead he had his daughter:

'tied to the Bedpost and whipped' – probably more than once – 'till she consented to the Match.' (Fraser 2002, 19)

In the sixteenth century the idea of giving girls a thorough education grew. The Tudor writer, statesman, and philosopher Sir Thomas More (1478–1535) let his three daughters study Greek and Latin, logic, philosophy, theology, mathematics and astronomy (Plowden 2002, 34), but during the seventeenth century and the growing Puritan movement, education once again became a male privilege.

The constant complaint about women from the time the Bible was written until the Renaissance was their endless talking. The command that resounds throughout history as soon as women are involved is, "Keep quiet and obey!"

Cathrine Norberg's thesis *Whores and Cuckolds On Male and Female Terms in Shakespeare's Comedies* (2002) goes through all of Shakespeare's comedies to see how women and men are mentioned. Norberg's statistics

9. In law, the inclusion of a woman in the legal person of her husband upon marriage. Married women lacked the legal capacity to hold their own property. OED cites a definition from 1602 from W. Fulbecke, *Parallele or Conf. Law* i. 4 A feme couert cannot make a contract. Aspects of coverture survived well into the twentieth century; the term is still used in law when dividing jointly held property in divorce proceedings.

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show that in Shakespeare's comedies women do only 23% of the talking, although the most common complaint about them is that they talk too much. So, if Shakespeare's comedies reflect society as a whole, which is Norberg's contention, the complaint is not that women talk too much in comparison with men; the complaint is that they talk *at all*. Austern shows the same thing with the help of rich evidence from the seventeenth century (1993).

Being led around publicly with an iron halter around the head was a special, humiliating punishment for women who were considered talkative, aggressive, or slanderous. Some of these iron halters were supplied with a special lock for the tongue. It is in relation to these norms that we can look at Campion's lyrics, and what he lets his “women” say.

Female satire

Women's lust in female satire is certainly not Campion's or Nash's own invention. It is a Classical genre. Since Campion was so infatuated by the classics, it is interesting to take a closer look at his role models – not only Catullus and Martial, but also other Antique and Roman writers – to see the roots of this tradition.

In his *Satiric Advice on Women and Marriage From Plautus to Chaucer*, Warren S. Smith retells the first anonymously written joke we know of:

Women are evil, but still, my neighbors, one can't live in a home without some evil.
(Smith 2004, 112)

But what was more or less mild female satire in Ancient Greece, Smith describes as something more aggressive with the Romans later. Juvenal (ca. 60–140 CE) accuses married women of cheating on their husbands with anyone passing by: slaves, water bearers, or even donkeys. The woman's libido was feared, and more sexual moderation called for. Moderation was, however, not a piece of advice given to men. Horace compliments a man coming out of the brothel, for in this way he has avoided going to bed with someone else's wife. Horace also asks the rhetorical question of whether you should really hold back when a slave girl or slave boy passes by. If you do, you might burst later. Juvenal is not as overflowing as that in his sexual appetite. On the contrary, he seems to condemn the whole sexual act and says the married woman should not even move while the man exercises his marital duties.

Juvenal describes the woman as a promiscuous alcoholic, but worst of all is her power over men and how she uses it. The woman enslaves and humiliates

her male partner. In real life during Juvenal's lifetime, however, women lost all their belongings to their husbands as soon as they got married.

There is a comical paradox in Juvenal's conviction that the woman was so inferior in intelligence, even as he described her as extremely capable and competent when pursuing demonic and manipulative long-term plans, Smith remarks.

Tertullian (ca. 160–220 CE), whose ideals were connected directly to Juvenal, was one of the first great Christian woman-haters. He speaks of women as the “devil's porch, the first to break the divine laws.” Although he was a Christian, Tertullian was also a comedy writer, and often quoted by the later St. Jerome (347–420 CE). In this way the words of Jesus and that of Roman comedy writers, paradoxically enough, were equally important to some of the early Christian philosophers, especially St. Jerome, says Smith. Six hundred years later, Marbod of Rennes wrote in *Liber decem capitulorum* about the good and the evil woman. In this scripture woman's evilness is on a cosmic scale. She is the biggest of all the traps the cunning enemy has placed on the earthly paths and planes.

P.G. Walsh, in her essay *Antifeminism in the High Middle Ages*, in Smith's book, argues that the monk Bernard of Cluny reached the high mark of antifeminism with *De contemptu mundi*. In three books with altogether three thousand lines Cluny condemns failed bishops, kings, priests, soldiers etc., but soon enough reaches the real target of his venom, women: in the beginning, only female prostitutes, but not long after, the ban includes all the women in the world:

Woman is filthy, the woman is treacherous, woman is frail. She pollutes what is clean, peers into the unholy, exhausts men's gains. (Walsh 2005, 236)

Even if Cluny tries to remind himself of righteous women, he forgets it soon enough:

No woman is good, but if someone happens to be, it is an evil that is good, because almost no woman is good... She works to deceive, is born to betray, she is skilful in deluding... she is putrefaction with a pretty face. (Walsh 2005, 236)

To conclude, the Renaissance brought Classical misogyny to the table (although, as we can see, Campion's female satire is far less misogynistic than that of some of his contemporaries and certainly many of the early Christian

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authors). The ongoing discussion of whether Christianity made women’s lot easier or worse is intriguing. However, this thesis is going to stop at that discussion’s threshold.

Like Odysseus, the pious Christian man must block his ears and tie himself to the mast to save himself from the singing sirens. But the siren’s dangerous, seductive songs, those female persona’s speeches, were, with few exceptions, written by men. One of them was Thomas Campion.

Identifying the songs with female personas

There are various ways to distinguish if a song has a female persona. One of the most obvious ways is when women are referred to as “us” or “we” or “I”. That is the case in five of Campion’s songs; “My love hath vow’d,” “So many loves have I neglected,” “Maids are simple,” “Fain would I wed,” and “A secret love or two.” Another way to recognize a female persona is when the song mentions something explicitly female that the “I” owns, which is the case in three songs: “My love hath vow’d” (“my maidenhead”), “Young and simple” (“my maiden blossom”), and “A secret love or two” (“my dear husband”). In “Good men show,” the persona is upset because she has lost her reputation and something valuable to her which in the seventeenth-century lute song context would probably be her virginity, whereby we deduce that the persona’s sex is female. In other songs by Campion the beloved is a “he”, but the sex of the persona is not stated: “Oft have I sigh’d,” “O love, where are thy shafts,” “If thou long’st so much to learne,” “So quick, so hot, so mad,” and “Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

In “Silly boy” and “Never love unless you can,” no love relationship is indicated between the persona and the “thou” of the song (and we must also remember that if Campion uses “you” in seventeenth-century English he is addressing a group). These songs often give advice about how to relate to men and to life in general, and could as well be expressed by a male as a female voice. So there are as many as six songs among the fourteen I selected for this thesis where the sex of the persona is not certain. Still, I have chosen to work with all the fourteen songs in the same way.

Pamela Coren and Gail Reitenbach have both expressed a special interest in Thomas Campion’s songs with female personas. Sometimes the only evidence of the song containing a female persona is that the first person addresses a male “thou” as a lover, which does not mean the “I” necessarily is a woman, a possibility I will discuss later. According to Reitenbach’s definition all of the songs below could have female personas:

A Book of Ayres (1601)

No 5, "My love hath vowed"

Second Booke of Ayres (1613)

No 9 "Good men show if you can tell"

No 15, "So many loves have I neglected"

No 19, "A secret love or two"

Third Booke of Ayres (1617)

No 1, "Oft have I sigh'd"

Song 4, "Maids are simple"

No 16, "If thou long'st so much to learne"

No 28, "So quick, so hot, so mad"

Fourth Booke of Ayres (1617)

No 9, "Young and simple though I am"

No 13, "O love, where are thy shafts"

No 24, "Faine would I wed a faire young man"

Reitenbach and Ralph Berringer also agree that "Think'st thou to seduce me then?" is a song with a female persona. Even if it is not explicit, I also believe so, because the metaphors used in the song are so womaly, referring to babies and weaning. In addition, a whole verse is used by the persona to apologize for not being compassionate enough. What man would do this? Berringer (1943) also thinks that song 26, "Silly boy" from the *Third Book of Ayres* has a female persona. Reitenbach does not agree. I have sung it many times, and include it in my thesis, but I agree with Reitenbach that the persona is not necessarily female. In song 27 in *Campion's Third Book of Ayres*, "Never love unless you can," the persona has no specific gender, and since it is a song on how to bear with the faults of men, it is sometimes attributed to a female persona. Reitenbach, however, does not conclude it belongs to the songs with female personas, and neither do I. The song could just as well portray an experienced man talking to younger women, and when singing it, I feel that I am impersonating a male voice, as I will describe in detail in Part II.

In the tenth song of the *Third Book of Ayres*, a male and a female persona take turns. The male's two self-pitying lines are answered by a more optimistic female voice in two verses. I have, however, not included the song in this thesis.

“Thinkst thou to seduce me then?”

The remaining ninety percent of Thomas Campion’s lute songs include sacred songs and moral songs, but the vast majority are love songs where the persona is male.

Campion’s unfaithful female personas

Women like Campion’s female personas in “A secret love or two,” “Fain would I wed,” and “If thou long’st so much to learne” challenge the norms of Campion’s society, and first of all fidelity. Fidelity was important, since:

honour was constructed above all on female chastity, but that did not mean that all females were chaste. (Hufton 1995, 257)

Another reason why fidelity was considered important among the nobility was

ensuring that property passed to one’s progeny. (Hufton 1995, 60)

The woman in “A secret love or two” challenges her husband’s power over her and thereby also the godly plan, nature, and the creation itself.

Campion’s abandoned personas

In “Good men show” the persona’s true love has left her, as have all her friends. She does not say why, but probably she has lost her maidenhead, like the girl in “My love hath vow’d.” If this was publicly known, these two women would have also lost their value as future wives. Their ability to support themselves in other ways would be negligible. Even if the guilds were not closed to women, social conventions stopped most women from entering them (Orgel 1996, 73).

The unmarried man had options that were generally not open to women, such as the army, the navy, seasonal migration or temporary expatriation. Since female wages were not generally calculated with an independent existence in mind, any fall meant that more spinsters had to survive in ever more difficult circumstances. (Hufton 1995, 252)

When even their friends begin to avoid them, it means their reputations have been destroyed:

...a woman which has lost her good name is dead while she lives. (Fraser 2002, 44)

A woman of lower rank had fewer constraints. Her virginity was apparently *not* as important, argues Hufton in *The Prospect Before Her*. To the lower social classes marriage was more a question of economic survival. It could also be dangerous to be unmarried, since there would be no one to look after you when you were sick:

For the poorer the prospect of unaided debility and the loss of the physical strength needed to gain a living were obvious fears. Such a profound appreciation of the realities and fragility of life made marriage a state to be undertaken wherever possible. (Hufton 1995, 60–1)

But if a poor woman for some reason had lost her reputation and all her friends, her only means of avoiding starvation could be prostitution.

The hypocrisy connected to prostitution included owning brothels as a part of the privilege for the Bishop of Winchester until 1546 (Burford 1988, 10). Even cloisters and monasteries owned their own brothels. During the reign of King James I, prostitution had a place in the everyday life of London in a way we find hard to believe. This is an excerpt from a Latin grammar for English middle-class schoolboys from the age of seven:

Mulier portensoe libidinis [an excedynge stronge hore]. (Burford 1988, 133)

Even though few of the prostitutes spoke Latin, the schoolboys themselves obviously had to be able to converse about their brothel visits in the ancient language.

At the time Thomas Campion's songs were printed, James I proclaimed:

Oure goode people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged... from such as dauncing, either men or women... leaping, vaulting or any such harmless recreation. (Burford 1988, 164)

The court itself was a good role model in this, perhaps not the vaulting, at least not James I himself (who had rachitis), but indeed in frivolity and drinking alcohol. The King himself often went to *Holland's Leaguer*, a brothel for the truly wealthy. At these visits, most of his court came along.

But if we return to the prospects of our poor, unlearned woman, who has lost her reputation, she cannot hope for a life in such a luxurious surrounding. If she tries to steal some food from the market, she might end

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

up in prison. To get out of jail again, she needs the money she does not have. She also has to pay for food and water in jail or she will soon perish. Philip Stubbes (1543–1591) described his heart breaking at the call of the starving and often naked prisoners (their clothes were usually stolen by the jailers for the huge second hand market of clothing):

lying in filthy strawe and loathsome dung woorse than any dogge... in shackles gyves and iron bandes. (Burford 1988, 166–7)

Finally, if there is no other way for our girl but to sell her body, a few loathsome years remain of her life before she dies, either from sickness, as a result of an abortion, or beaten to death. One of the cruelest pastimes of the English Renaissance apprentices, according to Burford, was whore beating.

Still, the ladies of “Good men show” and “My love hath vow’d” are not poor. The most likely prospects for them would be what Antonia Fraser describes as leading the rest of their lives as if they were dead.

Campion’s voluptuous personas

In “A secret love or two,” “Fain would I wed,” and “If thou long’st so much to learne,” we meet female personas who express their longing for love and men.

To let a female persona express desire was a seventeenth-century way of titillating male readers, often used in bawdy verse and bawdy songs. To publish the bawdy was a risky matter. E. J. Burford describes in his introduction to *Bawdy Verse, A Pleasant Collection* how Henry VIII in 1533 proclaimed to:

Suppress foul bookes ballads rhimes and other lewd treatises in th’English tonge, especially if sung ‘with a crowde or with a fyddell’. (Burford 1982, 25)

Bawdy songs were not popular with Elizabeth I either. The punishment for those who sang seditious libel was terrible:

Be grievously whipped, then burnt through the gristle of the ear with a hot iron. (Burford 1982, 27)

That is, if it was not the singer’s third time around. Then the punishment was death.

James I, as usual, was more liberal than his predecessors. When Thomas Campion's third and fourth books of Ayres were printed in 1617, there seem to have been almost no restrictions on ballad singers and printers. (Burford 1982, 28)

To look at all bawdy songs and verses is not within the scope of this thesis, but of the twenty-eight verses in Burford's collection, dating from the fifteenth century until 1650, four have female personas. Among the other twenty-four, a woman is talking in several of them and what she then expresses is almost always carnal lust. The overall theme of all the verses is woman's insatiable lust, and man's shortcomings. Thomas Nash, whom Campion knew from an early age at the Peterhouse School (Vivian 1909, xxvii), wrote one of the longest bawdy verses of the period: *The Merrie Ballad of Nashe His Dildo* (Burford 1982, 50–9) in 1596, although Nash was very much *against* bawdy verse. The strange logic of this paradox gives us a clue as to how hypocrisy worked in Campion's days.

Chapter 2

The music and lyrics of the fourteen chosen songs

In this chapter I will look at Campion's music, the position Campion held among his contemporaries, and the position he holds today. I will analyze the music of the fourteen songs with female personas from a singer's point of view, and also look at who is being addressed.

Of course, Campion's songs with female personas address each and everyone who reads them. But the persona of each song also has an implied fictive recipient. The persona/singer/storyteller always directs herself to someone. Even when the song is a monologue, there is still an intended audience. How the lyrics make their way into the mind of the listener is the focus of this chapter.

Campion as a composer

Thomas Campion was an extremely gifted person in a variety of disciplines. As a medical doctor, he did not have to rely on poetry or music for to make his living. Yet not only did he write poetry and compose, he even wrote books on how to write poetry and compose: *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602) and *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint* (Wilson 2003).

One reason why Campion is so intriguing to me is because of his deceptive simplicity. It is obvious Campion knows how to compose complicated music when he wants to, and yet he often prefers to write simple songs, which is not always easier. One proof of this I find in "To music bent is my retired mind" in the *First Booke of Ayres*. The lyrics talk of how music could soothe a restless mind, if music was not vain. The persona can find no ease in music, but must reach to heaven for consolation. The music mirrors the simplicity that must be the only comfort since music is a "vain joy." That is why Campion

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

allows no unexpected turns in this song, while in “Seek the Lord” from the same book Campion chooses to paint the steep hill to God with a chromatic passage the voice must take. In the next phrase the melody leaps the same path in raising fourths and fifths, while the tiresome chromatic striving is moved to the bass line.

But Campion’s predisposition for clearness and simplicity has been a trap for some scholars:

He was not truly great, either as a poet or musician. (Eldridge 1971, 71)

We have no evidence that Campion was skilled in the professional techniques of music. (Dart 1969)

What Dart and Eldridge label as Campion’s short-comings, others call well-grounded artistic choices:

...each setting represents a deliberate choice from the alternative possibilities his stylistic competence allowed him. (Lindley 1986, 90)

Most of Campion’s songs are light, amusing, ironic. In his sacred songs, however, he shows a more serious and melancholic side. His *First Booke of Ayres*, which represents a fifth of his entire lute song production, and includes only sacred songs, contains one of his most famous songs: “Never weather-beaten sail.” Here he expresses a true longing for death; still, it is a longing in major, not minor. If we compare Campion to Dowland, Dowland’s sorrow was his trademark, and songs like “Flow my tears” or “In darkness let me dwell” paint an overwhelming sorrow in music. The marble melts with tears, and even the night is not dark enough for Dowland’s sorrow. Campion is much lighter, and even when he tries really hard to be sad, he is not anywhere near Dowland. The only song in which Campion approaches Dowland’s gloomy mood is “Oft have I sighd.”

Just as Campion excels at one-syllable words, he also excels at a simple musical language. He is always true to his own musical theory: that the melody line and the bass line are the skeleton of the song, and the “pleasing parts” in between have to adapt to these.

In his thesis, “Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together, a Critical Study,” (1989), Christopher Wilson shows that Campion was well-known to his English contemporaries, and that he knew many of them personally. It

was, however, as a poet that he was appreciated by most of them. Still, Husoy (1998) argues that Campion never had a literary patron, but only patrons known for their support of music.

Campion spent most of the years from 1602–1606 in France for his medical education. David Lindley (1986, 78) argues that this is the time he might have been influenced by the French *air de cour*, but it was from English music that Campion drew most of his inspiration, as he says in his preface “To The Reader” in the *First Booke of Ayres*:

But some there are some who admit only French or Italian ayres, as if every country had not his proper ayre... In these English ayres I have chiefly aimed to couple my words and notes lovingly together. (Rosseter 1601)

The music Campion refers to as the French and Italian ayres could be the Flemish and Italian songs published in 1588 by the amateur musician Nicholas Yonge in *Musica Transalpina*. The book led to an outburst of English madrigal composition, and by 1620 eighty-eight collections of English madrigals had been published. But in the end, the lute song seems to have been the winner of the battle (Kastendieck 1938). A battle it was, according to Campion’s emotional outburst against it and his search for inspiration in English music such as popular songs, broadside ballads and dance music like the jig, bransle, almain and galliard/gaillarde (Lindley 1986). Among the songs with female personas, “Good men show,” “A secret love or two,” and “Fain would I wed” have a distinct relation to dance music.

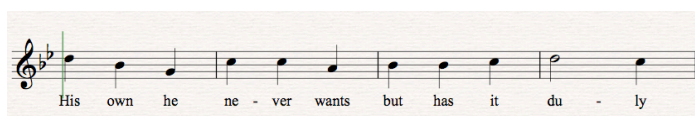
It is the contention of most scholars that Campion probably wrote his lyrics first, and then the music. This is important, since Campion tailor-made the music for his lyrics and sometimes made the music enhance the lyrics in an emblematic way, as I will show in this chapter.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Three distinct musical qualities of Campion's lute songs with female personas

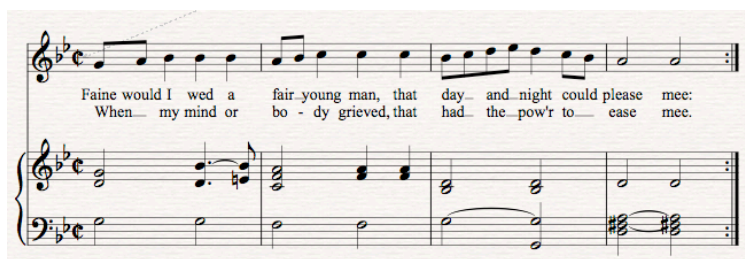
Although Campion's music is less elaborate than John Dowland's, it does have some unique characteristics. Campion couples music and text in a way that gives his songs qualities rising from an interaction between the music and the lyrics.

- i. The music often enhances the most important words, and the most important syllables.



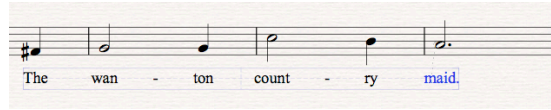
This example from “A secret love or two” shows how the phrase builds up to the word “duly,” where the first syllable “du” is stressed.

- ii. The music interacts with the lyrics in forming an individual, human voice easy to identify with, but different from song to song.



This example from “Fain would I wed” shows how the accompanying parallel octaves, fifths, and rhythms enhances the folksiness of the persona.

iii. The music interacts with the lyrics to produce irony and comical effects.



This example from “I care not for these ladies” shows how the syllable “count” in “country” rests on a half note to get across the double-entendre impression of the word “cunt.”

The musical language of Campion’s lute songs

Wilson, Eldridge, and Lindley (1989; 1971; 1986) all talk of 119 printed songs by Campion, including the songs from the *Caversham Entertainment* and *Songs of Mourning*. Some of Campion’s songs were printed more than once. Four of the songs from *A Book of Ayres* 1601, hereafter referred to as the Rosseter collection, turn up later: Song eighteen appears as song two in the *First Booke of Ayres*; songs sixteen and seventeen as twenty-two and twenty-three in the *Fourth Booke of Ayres*; and several lines and the same music of song seven appear in song ten in the *Second Booke of Ayres*. I have chosen to concentrate only on the Books of Ayres, in which a total of 112 songs were printed.

Eighty-six of Campion’s songs begin and end in the key of G, both minor and major. This is probably because it was the best key for the lute, whose top and bottom strings were tuned to G. But Campion does not hesitate to use quite surprising modulations sometimes. “Come cheerful day,” song seventeen in the *First book of Ayres* starts in G major but makes a sudden excursion to B-flat major for five bars. “Thus I resolve,” song twenty-two in the *Third Booke of Ayres*, modulates through so many keys it is difficult for a listener to define if the song actually has any specific home key at all. It is in both major and minor; it has an unspecific tonal core, but is notated with two b-flats.

All Campion’s songs in minor keys end with a major third. Campion’s songs with female personas are not different from his other songs in their tonal language. Most of them are also in G, although two are in C minor (“Good men show,” “If thou long’st so much to learne”), one in D minor (“Oft have I sighd”), and one is in B-flat (“Never love unless you can”).

Campion’s music is seldom contrapuntal or polyphonic, and he wrote no instrumental music at all, only lyrics set to music. Of all the songs in print,

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

only two have a written instrumental introduction: “Oft have I sigh'd” and “Thus I resolve.” In the latter the introduction is simply three G major chords. Both songs appear in the *Third Booke of Ayres*, and the introductions are each only one bar long.

Campion's lyrics and their address

The world of Campion's poetry is an exciting landscape through which you can choose various paths. This is, however, not a literary study. Therefore, I have chosen to analyze not only Campion's music but also his lyrics from the singer's point of view.

In *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (1991), Bruce R. Smith discusses how desire, not acts, are expressed in written words in Renaissance England.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether Campion's songs express same-sex desire (a question I will take up in Chapters 4 and 5), I have found Smith's theories useful in order to assess the psychological landscapes of Campion's songs with female personas. They give a good starting point and a framework that I find coherent.

Smith has chosen to identify seven different ways of telling stories in which same-sex desire occurs. Campion's songs with female personas can be seen to fall within the seventh category: the Secret Sharer. This category includes poetry that bears a similarity to confession, like Shakespeare's sonnets. The reader is treated as the poet's confidant. Campion is a secret sharer in his epigrams and in his songs with both male and female personas. The contents of Campion's songs with female personas are always amorous, but also often sexual. Smith quotes Michel Foucault, who says confession was not only a way of secret sharing, but also the discourse to which personal and sexual matters belonged:

The confession was, and still remains, the general standard governing the production of the true discourse on sex. (Smith 1991, 232)

Foucault argues that confession was originally a part of everyday life for all European people before the Reformation, and Smith concludes that even though the Rite of Confession disappeared after the Reformation in England, the urge for it did not. Thus, new modes of confession developed, such as diaries and letters. This process started first in the sixteenth century, and created a need for new words in a world where privacy was a luxury, and not taken for granted.

Lacking our terms for inward experience, – “self” as an independent noun, “inner life,” “personality,” “consciousness,” “feeling” – speakers of early modern English most often referred to the contents of the heart as “secrets.” (Smith 1991, 235)

To that end, new rooms or private chambers were needed: private closets, private cabinets with private, maybe even hidden caskets (Smith 1991, 226).

Still, in Campion’s day many people secretly belonged to the old Roman Catholic faith. So the extent to which people really longed for or missed the Confession is unclear. Confession as a discourse is not exclusive to the church: even some of Ovid’s writings bear similarities to confessions.

Smith uses the idea of the secret sharer as a means to read and explain Shakespeare’s sonnets. If we look at Campion’s lute songs with female personas in the same way, we are also encouraged to try to figure out to whom the songs are being addressed, and to guess the identity of the secret sharer.

Writing in Latin, as Campion loved to, is a way of secret sharing. It might be a way also to address a homosocial coterie; few women could read Latin, nor could all men.

Winfried Schleiner’s essay on Robert Burton’s use of Latin in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628) calls the use of Latin in a vernacular text a “window”:

Thus framed by the text in Burton’s usual idiom and type practice, the segment represent what in computer language could be called a “window,” although modern readers without Latin might quibble and prefer to call it “hidden text.” (Schleiner 1993, 160)

It is an interesting coincidence that the longest text in Latin in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* describes same-sex desire and relationships.

Campion encodes the names of people he likes to mock in his epigrams behind Roman names, as J. W. Binns points out in *The Latin Poetry of English Poets* (1974) and *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, The Latin Writings of the Age* (1990).

But the secret sharer is also a tone Campion uses in his jesting songs. In “Pin’d am I,” the male persona let us understand how he failed in love. It is a tone and a theme that also occurs in the previously mentioned bawdy verse, *The Merrie Ballad of Nashe His Dildo*, written by the respected author Thomas Nash in 1596 (Burford 1982, 50–9).

The way Campion’s songs with female personas fit into Smith’s pattern of

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

the secret sharer gives them something special in common despite the fact that they vary a great deal in both musical and poetical ambitions – there is a huge leap from “Of't have I sigh'd” to “Fain would I wed” and “Maids are simple.” Nevertheless, I think all of them could have served the same purpose – something I would like to call “male bonding.”

Analyzing Campion's songs with female personas from a singer's point of view

In Part II of this thesis I will go through Campion's songs with female personas again, to show how I have worked with them in my artistic practice. Here and now I simply want to explain how the songs work musically from a singer's angle. That means that I will not try to analyze the lute part, and I will not analyze the functions of the chords or identify each specific chord, except where Campion does something unexpected. When a song moves around the tonal core in a common way, I will not comment on it. For a fuller analysis of Campion's lute songs I recommend Lindley's *Thomas Campion* (1986) and Wilson's “Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together, a Critical Study” (1989).

As a singer I am mostly concerned with the range and tessitura of the songs, the melody line, the phrase length and direction, the pauses, and the periods of a song. Campion often operates outside of the four-bar pattern and his bars are also sometimes prolonged or shortened, always to suit the lyrics. Sometimes he seems almost indifferent to periods, as in the first song with a female persona, “My love hath vow'd,” which appears in the Rosseter Collection.

From the Rosseter Collection

“MY LOVE HATH VOW'D”

The very first song with a female persona that Campion published was “My love hath vowed,” in a book that was a joint production with his colleague Philip Rosseter in 1601, the Rosseter Collection. I will examine that collection and its dedication to Sir Thomas Mounson in Chapter 5, “Cracking the Campion Code.” Here, I simply want to examine who is being addressed in this song.

My Love hath vowed he will forsake me,
And I am already sped.
Far other promise he did make me,
when he had my maidenhead.
If such danger be in playing,
and sport must to earnest turn,
I will go no more a-maying.

Had I forseen what is ensued,
and what now with pain I prove,
Unhappy then I had eschewed
This unkind event of love.
Maids for know their own undoing,
but fear nought till all is done
When a man alone is wooing.

Dissembling wretch to gain thy pleasure,
what didst thou not vow and swear?
So didst thou rob me of the treasure
which so long I held so dear.
Now thou provs't to me a stranger,
such is the vile guise of men
When a woman is in danger.

That heart is nearest to misfortune
that will trust a feigned tongue.
When flatt'ring men our loves importune,
They intend us deepest wrong.
If this shame of love's betraying
But this once I cleanly shun,
I will go no more a-maying.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Whom is our female persona addressing? Herself? Is this a monologue, where the audience/reader participates as eavesdropper? But then, in the third verse, the persona addresses directly a “thou.” This does not necessarily mean that “thou” is a present person. In the fourth and last verse the persona talks about “us” as if there were more women present, but none of this excludes the possibility of the song being a monologue: a secret moment we can share.

The lyrics in this song point explicitly to the physical part of lovemaking with the words “maidenhead,” “sped,” “playing,” “sport,” “a-maying,” “pleasure,” “rob,” and “treasure.” Sexual puns were also high fashion at court.

When the young woman says, “My love hath vowed he will” we expect the next line to be something beautiful about love. Instead we get “forsake me.” The next line, “And I am already sped,” is another unexpected turn. After that, we get some time to react to what we have just heard and then comes a line that ends with the word “maidenhead.” To me, the word is a surprise because of its precise meaning in a world of metaphors and double entendres. According to OED the middle English word was *maidenhed*,

- a. The state or condition of being a virgin, virginity (esp. of a young woman, occas. of a man). Also: the hymen (occas.: †the vagina), esp. considered as the mark of a woman's chastity.

Shakespeare uses the word in four of his plays, but I have not seen it referred to in any other lute songs.

If a seventeenth-century person would be as startled to find this word in a song as we are, we now have a kind of three-stage rocket of comedy:

My love hath vowed he will forsake me (surprising turn)

And I am already sped. (The lover has not only promised to abandon her, he has already used her.)

Far other promise he did make me when he had my maidenhead (a surprisingly explicit term)

The verse ends with the word “a-maying.”

In heathen times the maypole was erected to celebrate the return of spring, nature's rebirth and fertility. In Sweden we still dance around a maypole, called a midsummer pole, at Midsummer. One can also use the verb “maja” in Swedish to mean having a picnic in the countryside in springtime.

After a long winter indoors in a time when some people did not even have a bed of their own, to be outdoors meant also to find a secluded place with your loved one. In the popular song “Now is the month of maying,”

it is obvious what kind of playing “maying” indicated in Thomas Morley’s famous lyrics:

Now is the month of maying when merry lads are playing... Falala
Each with his bonnie lass upon the greeny grass... Falala.

Still, “My love hath vow’d” is not particularly entertaining for an audience today. We pity the girl who is sped and abandoned. But if we imagine the song sung by a male voice imitating a woman, we might come closer to Campion’s practice.

“My love hath vow’d,” the music

This is one of the songs where Campion excels in one-syllable-words. The first verse consists of forty-three words, thirty-four of which have one syllable each. Six words have two syllables, and three have three.

The words that allude to the physical part of lovemaking are placed at the ends of phrases. Had they been hidden somewhere in the middle, the impact would have been different. As it is, they linger on in the mind of the listener. This means that if there is a reaction from the audience, or from the singer him- or herself, you have a little while to react and think before the next phrase starts. This conscious placement and the odd number of bars remind us once again that Campion composed the music to fit the lyrics.

The second song with a female persona comes from Campion’s second *Booke of Ayres*, printed in 1613:

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

From the second book of Ayres

“GOOD MEN SHOW IF YOU CAN TELL”

Good men show if you can tell,
Where doth human pity dwell?
Far and near her would I seek,
So vex'd with sorrow is my breast.
She (they say) to all is meek;
And only makes th'unhappy bless'd

O! if such a saint there be,
Some hope still remains for me:
Pray'r or sacrifice may gain
From her implor'd grace relief,
To release me of my pain,
Or at the least to ease my grief.

Young I am, and far from guile,
The more is my woe the while:
Falsehood with a smooth disguise
My simple meaning hath abus'd,
Casting mists before mine ayes,
By which my senses are confus'd.

Fair he is who vowed to me,
That he only mine would be:
But alas, his mind is caught
With ev'ry gaudy bait he sees.
And to late my flame is taught
That too much kindness makes men freeze.

From me all my friends are gone,
While I pine for him alone,
And not one will rue my case,
But rather my distress deride,
That I think there is no place
Where pity ever yet did bide

The song is addressed to *all* good men! The persona is calling for attention as if she were in the middle of a crowd.

It is a third-person narrative, where the persona seems to be quite desperate.

There is nothing private about it and it does not belong to the category “The secret sharer”.

“*Good men show if you can tell,*” the music

This is a very short song in C minor. The first phrase is just two repeated bars, followed by four repeated bars. The second phrase starts in B-flat major but works its way back to C minor and ends with a C major chord. The fact that the second phrase starts in B-flat without any preparation gives the song a medieval touch; it has both parallel fifths and octaves.

Musically it is like a cry for help. The first phrase starts at the top of the voice and collapses in a falling octave leap. The second phrase starts lower and works its way up to a shouting level again. The range is a tenth. Parallel fifths and octaves are frequent.

The next song is from the same collection: “So many loves have I neglected.”

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

“SO MANY LOVES HAVE I NEGLECTED”

So many loves have I neglected,
Whose good parts might move me:
That now I live of all rejected,
There is none will love me.
Why is maiden heat so coy? It freezeth when it burneth;
Loseth what it might enjoy, And having lost it mourneth.

Should I then woo that have been wooed,
Seeking them that fly me?
When I my faith with tears have vowed,
And when all deny me,
Who will pity my disgrace, which love might have prevented?
There is no submission base Where error is repented.

O happy men whose hopes are licens'd
To discourse their passion:
While women are confin'd to silence,
Losing wish'd occasion.
Yet our tongues than theirs, men say, Are apter to be moving:
Women are more dumb than they, But in their thoughts more roving.

When I compare my former strangeness
With my present doting,
I pity men that speak in plainness,
Their true hearts devoting,
While we with repentance jest At their submissive passion:
Maids I see are never bless'd That strange be but for fashion.

The song seems to be directed towards a group of confidants, perhaps other women?

It cannot be men, because in verse three, men are called “they.” There is a possibility that the song’s persona could be talking to herself, but a group of women seems more likely, because of the word “we” in the last verse. If so, the comic element is enhanced, since the singer/reader probably was a man addressing other men. But maybe there was no audience at all? If the reader is the only audience, then he or she still has the previous song in the collection, “Pind am I,” in mind, and is now encountering a woman in a situation similar to the man’s in the song before: someone who fails in love. Maybe the reader nods, or smiles. He or she is reminded of moral values. The persona of the song stresses the fact that a woman should not woo men. The mere thought of a woman wooing is so absurd that it may make our seventeenth-century reader laugh. The cultural norms definitely do not allow it.

“So many loves have I neglected,” the music

The song is in 2/2, and harmonically, nothing in particular happens. The song moves mostly between common chords in the home key. The range is an octave. David Scott’s edition (1979) that I have used has some long, almost unnatural pauses that I tried to integrate into my interpretation. To do so, I had to imagine an absentminded person: someone who, for some reason, forgets to sing now and then. Now I will not have to do that anymore, because after consulting the facsimile edition of the songs and transcribing them myself, I found that the pauses are not Campion’s own, but were put there later by the editor, David Scott. That makes sense, because it has always been difficult to perform the song with the pauses. Scott seems to have put them there to make the bars of equal length. I consulted the Swedish Renaissance musician Sven Berger, who suggests that the fact that the song is notated in 2/2 may have had more to do with the note length we are supposed to relate to in the song’s tempo than with the song’s actual time. Since this issue arose after the recordings were completed, I have actually never performed the song the way Campion intended.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

“A SECRET LOVE OR TWO”

The second *Book of Ayres* contains yet another song with a female persona. Immediately after the title, the lyrics reveal that this song is a confession:

A secret love or two I must confess,
I kindly welcome for change in close playing:
Yet my dear husband I love ne'ertheless,
His desires whole or half quickly allaying,
At all times ready to offer redress.
His own he never wants, but hath it duly,
Yet twits me, I keep not touch with him truly.

The more a spring is drawn, the more it flows;
No lamp less light retains by light'ning others:
Is he a loser his loss that ne'er knows?
Or is he wealthy that vast treasure smothers?
My churl vows no man shall scent his sweet rose,
His own enough and more I give him duly,
Yet still he twits me, I keep not touch truly.

Wise archers bear more than one shaft to field,
The venturer loads not with one ware his shipping:
Should warriors learn but one weapon to wield?
Or thrive fair plants e'er the worse for the slipping?
Mine own I'll use, and his he shall have duly,
Judge then what deceptor can keep touch more truly.

Already in the first line and with the word “confess,” we recognize the Secret Sharer. This is a secret that the persona shares with the reader/singer/audience. The word “secret” is also significant, being part of the title. So here we have the secret room with the secret casket, with the secret drawer, where the persona keeps her one or two lovers.

Campion was, as we know, a learned man. Yet he chooses the rhyme “duly – truly” three times. It is certainly not because he cannot come up with anything else, so why does he love that rhyme so much?

The husband gets what he wants *duly* as if he gets more than he wants, perhaps more than he can take. Or perhaps he cannot perform at all? If that is the case, it is not the first time Campion handles the subject of impotency. As we know, male impotency was one of the favorite subjects for bawdy verse. But since it is repeated so many times, *duly-truly* also implies the opposite: that the man does *not* get what he wants, the wife is *not* true. Then in the third verse, the secrecy is broken. The listener is no longer a secret sharer. Instead the whole scene is moved into the public arena. The persona changes the tone of her voice; by using the word “judge” she lifts the whole question unto a legal level. She moves her private business from the intimate to the official and challenges each and every one of us as if we were a jury in a court. I believe the clash between such private matters and something as public as a court must have been a comical effect in Campion’s days.

“A secret love or two,” **the music**

This is the first song with a female persona to be a bit more elaborate. It is through-composed and moves away from the trifling short format of the previous songs to the length of twenty-eight bars. The last eight bars are a refrain whose lyrics are almost the same every verse.

The first phrase in G minor is eight bars long; the second phrase in the relative major is also eight bars. Then comes a third phrase of only four bars as a little tail between the first and second part of the song. It is in this little bracket Campion seems to have put some of his best punch lines, in the first verse:

His desires whole or half quickly allaying

and in the second:

My churl vows no man shall scent his sweet rose.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

The fact that it is four bars when we have adjusted to eight bars enhances the comical effect.

The fast $\frac{3}{4}$ is reminiscent of the folksy jig – the dance that caused disorderly conduct and criminal offenses in English Renaissance theatres (Gurr 1987) – but the melismas in the first phrase give a touch of something more posh, less folksy. The range is a ninth.

We can assume that Campion knows what he is doing when he lets the rhyme “duly-truly” keep coming back on the song’s most stressed note, each time shaping the mouth into a kiss. We can believe Campion wants the music to enhance the lyrics, and the threefold repetition to hammer the message so deep into the listener’s mind that it actually indicates the opposite, as mentioned before. Thus Campion paints marital love-making in an emblematic¹⁰ way: the music and lyrics interact to give an impression that each of them would not produce separately. The music does not only enhance the lyrics, it also enhances the comical effect of the lyrics.

Still, the music also works against the lyrics. Muriel Eldridge and Pamela Coren have noted for instance that the heaping of tricky consonants, as in “Thrive fair plants” and “My churl vows,” are almost impossible to pronounce in a fast tempo, something I have also experienced when singing. Campion always seems conscious of the time and space that every syllable needs to be properly pronounced and projected. This is an exception, which might suggest the song is intended to be both read and sung. There are also other things which lead to that conclusion: for example, in the second and third verses Campion heaps many parables within a few lines. To grasp them all you have to be a reader, not a listener. You have to be able to read as slowly as you want,

10. When I use the word “emblematic” about “A secret love,” I am referring to the understanding of symbols that intellectuals of the Renaissance shared through emblem books that were popular at the time. An emblem consists of a motto, a picture, and a poem. The emblem books were a collaboration between the most skilled artists in poetry, engraving and book printing. By letting the eyes wander between the motto, the picture and the poem, the spectator was supposed to understand the contents of the emblem in a way that neither of the three ingredients could reach on their own, creating a kind of synergetic effect. These emblems became so popular that the emblems were also recognized outside of the books, even when no picture was there to see, and thus could be used outside of their original context. That Campion was familiar with emblems is shown, for instance, in *The Somerset Masque*, where dolphins, trees, ships and eagles occur as symbols for the Stuart family. The use of emblems made it possible for a song like “Now winter’s nights enlarge” to operate on three levels simultaneously, as John T. Irwin (1970) shows.

and let your eye go back and forth over the lines. After that you might venture to sing it, but the contents will in all likelihood remain hidden for anyone who has not read the lyrics, unless you explain them first.

Campion's third and fourth books of Ayres, printed in 1617, are exceptional in his production, because of their emotional dedication to Sir Thomas Mounson and their large number of female personas: no less than ten, which is more than two-thirds of the whole amount of his female personas. In some cases, the gender of the persona can be questioned, as I have shown in the previous chapter and will also show here.

The first song, "Oft have I sigh'd," placed directly after the preface, is one of the most beautiful and elaborate songs Campion ever wrote. It addresses a male lover.

From the third book of Ayres

"OFT HAVE I SIGH'D"

Oft have I sigh'd for him that hears me not:
Who absent hath both love and me forgot.
O yet I languish still through his delay.
Days seem as years, when wish'd friends break their day.

Had he but lov'd as common lovers use,
His faithless stay some kindness would excuse:
O yet I languish still, still constant mourn
For him that can break vows, but not return.

The song has no "you" or "thou" in it. The persona is obviously talking to herself. If there is a listener, he is an eavesdropper, a secret sharer.

At the same time, the song must be seen as strongly connected to Sir Thomas Mounson due to its placement directly after the emotional dedication, which I will look deeper into in the next chapter. So the song is a confession, a secret that Campion wants to share perhaps with Mounson. And yet it is just another song, and not all of the lines are applicable to the relation between Campion and Mounson, as for instance, the words "faithless stay" in verse two. Mounson was not faithless; he had not chosen to be imprisoned in the Tower, which was the reason for their separation. Besides, Campion visited him in prison, since Campion looked after his health in his professional capacity as a medical doctor.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

The very last line:

For him that can break vows, but not return

also seems to fall outside of the Campion/Mounson relationship. Or does it? Did Mounson break any promise to Campion? Campion had not much money when he died, according to his will. As mentioned in the introduction, he left £22 to Philip Rosseter. Mounson, his benefactor, received an enormous sum in the Overbury case, but during his stay in prison and bereft of his position in the Navy, Mounson suffered economic setbacks. That being the case, he might have owed money to Campion for medical consultations or other services. Another reason for Campion's bad financial situation could be the tarnishing of his other benefactors; the Howard family's reputation, stemming from their involvement in the Overbury Case, might have been less willing to use their money on musical entertainment after Frances Howard's scandal. I believe the Overbury case had consequences for Campion that eventually proved fatal.

The Mounson–Campion relationship could have been an arena of many broken promises, but if “Oft have I sigh'd” is directed to Mounson, it was also a relationship that included love.

“*Oft have I sigh'd,*” the music

The song is through composed and the most elaborate of all Campion's songs with a female persona. Campion's original time is common time in 4/2. The editor Edmund H. Fellowes reduced the note-values to a half of the original and put the bar lines where he thought they fit to make the bars more evenly long in the copy I used for my performances. The song is in D minor, with a beautiful little introduction – a cadence in only one bar. This is the only song with a female persona to have an introduction.

The first phrase is four notes with the lyrics “Oft have I sigh'd.” The phrase is then repeated a fifth higher. All together, the words “Oft have I sigh'd,” are repeated three times with pauses after the first two, to accentuate the sigh.

Including the repetitions you perceive the first phrase as all together nine bars. In the next phrase Fellowes puts the song back to 6/4 for five bars with the exclamation *O, I languish still* repeated three times, moving chromatically downwards with pauses in between.

The chords progress in the meantime, wends its way through a wide range of harmonies; The phrase starts in g-minor, moves through d-minor to B-flat major with a lingering “a¹” which to a modern ear gives a hint of a major

seven, then it moves to A major, then directly to F major, C major, A-flat major and ends in G major. The chords move in steps of thirds, which give a modern feeling far away from English Renaissance more in to the musical language of David Bowie's "Life on Mars." In the last two bars of part B we are back in common time and a more traditional cadence.

The repeated sections and the chromatic nature of the song and the melismas on the exclamation "O" signal pain in a way that reminds of Dowland. The pain comes across as very sincere and this is one of Campion's few songs with female personas without irony. The range is an octave.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

“MAIDS ARE SIMPLE”

Maids are simple some men say,
They forsooth will trust no men;
But should they men's wills obey,
Maids were very simple then.

Truth a rare flow'r now is grown,
Few men where it in their hearts;
Lovers are more eas'ly known
By their follies than deserts.

Safer may we credit give
To a faithless wand'ring Jew,
Than a young man's vows believe,
When he swears his love is true.

Love they make a poor blind child,
But let none trust such as he;
Rather than to be beguiled
Ever let me simple be.

“Maids are simple” is the second song with a female persona in Campion’s *Third Book of Ayres*. Simple is the central word. There are twenty-three words in the first verse, of which eighteen have one syllable. The whole song is just eight bars. The song starts as a straightforward third-person narrative, but in the third verse “we” is mentioned for the first time. Who are we? We maids? Probably. In that case “they” should be the men, or is it just some men?

Once again it is a female persona who talks in confidence to a group of other women. Once again, this secret sharing functions as a comical trick if the song is being sung by a man? for a group of other men. But could it also be a woman singing to a group of men, a woman defending all women? Coren sketches such a situation:

Such a woman singer, if we are to consider the moralists’ strictures as socially effective in Jacobean England, would most likely be a prostitute singing to clients. (Coren 2001, 13)

I find the idea of the brothel as a possible performance venue interesting. What kind of performance situation could it be? What did it sound like? What could have happened before and after?

That possibility suggests a vulnerable and exposed situation for the woman. The lyrics emphasize this with the metaphors “Truth a rare flow’r now is grown” and “Love they make a poor blind child,” as well as the word “obey,” which also underline the power structure. The persona is powerless; the power lays in the hands of others – the men – not her. Her only possibility to navigate in this world is to remain simple and trust no one.

“*Maids are simple*,” the music

With its eight bars in *alla breve*, this is the shortest of all Campion’s songs with female personas. It really seems as if the word “simple” was the motto. The song consists of two simple four-bar phrases. The first one starts in G minor and ends in the relative major; the second starts in F major and ends in G major.

The only odd thing about this song is the four sixteenth notes that arrive quite unannounced in the sixth bar. It is hard to understand what Campion suggests with these sixteenths when the girl is supposed to be so exceedingly simple: maybe that she is not so simple after all? The range is an octave.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

“IF THOU LONG'ST SO MUCH TO LEARNE”

If thou long'st so much to learn
(sweet boy) what 'tis to love:
Do but fix thy thought on me,
And thou shalt quickly prove.
Little suit at first shall win
Way to thy abash'd desire:
But then will I hedge thee in,
Salamanderlike with fire.

With thee dance I will, and sing,
And thy fond dalliance bear;
We the grovy hills will climb,
And play the wantons there.
Otherwhiles we'll gather flowers,
Lying dallying on the grass,
And thus our delightful hours
Full of waking dreams shall pass.

When thy joys were thus at height
My love should turn from thee,
Old acquaintance then should grow
As strange as strange might be,
Twenty rivals thou should'st find
Breaking all their hearts for me,
When to all I'll prove more kind,
And more forward than to thee.

Thus thy silly youth enrag'd
Would soon my love defy;
But alas poor soul too late,
Clipped wings can never fly:
Those sweet hours which we had pass'd
Called to mind thy heart would burn:
And could'st thou fly ne'er so fast,
They would make thee straight return.

In this song an experienced woman addresses a “thou” in the form of a “sweet boy”. This strong, contemptuous, self-assured, and independent woman is very different from the persona of “Young and simple.” The word “boy” is used to show the persona’s power over the lover.

In the second verse the physical part of the lovemaking takes place. The couple dance, sing, dally, and climb “grovy” hills. The word “wanton” has many meanings as a noun, adjective and verb, and almost always contains a sexual double entendre. In OED

the explanation of the phrase “to play the wanton” is:

Phrase. *to play the wanton* (or †*the wantons*), to dally, trifle; also, †to behave lewdly or lasciviously (*obs.*). Similarly, *to play the wanton’s part*.

The next phrase of the song starts with “other wiles” a sixth higher, as if the singer needs to get away from the low sphere where “wanton” lurks to a more innocent note where flowers can be gathered. But picking flowers is of course another euphemism for physical love, which Campion has used before, in the song “Young and simple”:

Yet no Churle, nor silken Gull Shall my Mayden blossome pull (Campion 1617).

And – lo! Are the couple not right back on their backs in the grass, “lying dallying” in the next phrase? And the dreams they are going to dream are definitely not in sleep, but waking, as in Thomas Morely’s song with Shakespeare’s lyrics

Between the acres of the rye,
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
These pretty country folks would lie,
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino (*As You Like It*, Act v, scene 3).

Then comes the extraordinary verse three, the turn of the song, when the woman, after playing a passive, plucked flower, shows who is in charge in the most extreme way, in the middle of the love act. Not even the most prudish mind can escape recognizing an erect penis in the phrase “when thy joys where thus at height.” At that very moment twenty rivals show up. Campion’s persona is more kind and more forward to her rivals than to the “sweet boy” in her arms.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

In the fourth and last verse the persona harvests the fruits of her cruelty, and she enjoys it! The expression “silly youth” is extremely patronizing. The poor little wimp tries to escape, but he is forever caught in her web; he will never stop loving her.

While Reitenbach points out “A secret love” as Campion’s most outspoken song (1990, 89) I would suggest “If thou long’st so much to learne” to be Campion’s most outrageous song. Not even in his Latin poems and epigrams did he heap up so much lust and cruelty in so few lines.

What thoughts and acts did these lines project onto their readers and singers? Let alone the audience? In what kind of gathering could a song like this ever have been performed?

“If thou long’st so much,” the music

This song is in C minor and is very regular: four four-bar phrases for a total length of sixteen. The range is rather big, a tenth, and it uses the outer parts of the range a great deal. It starts low and moves upwards. The tenth comes in the third phrase, where the melody suddenly rises a sixth above the previous note. The melody moves mostly in intervals of a second, giving the song a sensual air of longing. The melody encourages a legato.

“SILLY BOY, ‘TIS FULMOON YET”

Silly boy, ‘tis fulmoon yet,
Thy night as day shines clearly,
Had thy youth but wit to fear,
Thou could’st not love so dearly;
Shortly wilt thou mourn when all thy pleasures are berieved;
Little knows he how to love that never was deceived

This is thy first maiden flame
That triumphs yet unstained;
All is artless now you speak,
Not one word yet is feigned
All is heaven that you behold, and all your thoughts are blessed:
But no Spring can want his Fall, each *Troilus* hath his *Cressed*

Thy wellorder’d locks ere long
Shall rudely hang neglected;
And thy lively pleasant cheer,
Read grief on earth rejected:
Much then wilt thou blame thy Saint that made thy heart so holy,
And with sighs confess, in love, that too much faith is folly.

Yet be just and constant still,
Love may beget a wonder;
Not unlike a Summer’s frost,
Or Winter’s fatal thunder:
He that holds his sweetheart true unto the day of dying,
Lives of all that every breth’d most worthy the envying.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

“Silly boy” is included here, even though one cannot be quite certain whether the persona is a man or a woman.

The choice of the word “boy” indicates a power structure known to the seventeenth-century reader. Bruce R. Smith refers to a case from 1624–25, where a shipper is accused of abusing a boy:

“Master” and “boy”: the court record consistently uses these terms to refer to the parties in question.

Smith shows how the word “boy” is used to indicate his lower rank and passive role in the abuse, although the person in this case was 29 years old (1991, 194–5).

All four verses of the song are directed towards a boy. The song is patronizing and malicious. It goes on and on about how silly and artless the boy is. I enhanced this when I translated it into Swedish, as I will describe in Chapter 7.

“Silly boy, 'tis fulmoon yet,” the music

This is a rhythmically very irregular song in G major and in common-time. The original version is written in common time, but the Edmund Fellowes edition, once again helps the singer to see how the phrases are organized by notating as follows: The first phrase is six bars, the next one five bars, where suddenly two bars are $3/4$ and the last one $3/2$. The song ends with two four-bar phrases, where the last bar in each phrase is $3/2$. The range is a ninth and the uneven rhythmical pattern gives the song a skipping lightness, like an eight-year old who cannot resist skipping in the middle of a walk.

“NEVER LOVE UNLESS YOU CAN”

Never love unless you can
Bear with all the faults of man:
Men sometimes will jealous be,
Though but little cause they see,
And hang the head as discontent,
And speak what straight they will repent.

Men that but one saint adore,
Make a show of loving more:
Beauty must be scornd in none,
Though but truly serv'd in one;
For what is courtship but disguise?
True hearts may have dissembling eyes.

Men when their affairs require,
Must awhile themselves retire;
Sometimes hunt, and sometimes hawk,
And not ever sit and talk.
If these and such like you can bear,
Then like, and love, and never fear.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

This song is also one of the more dubious concerning the persona's gender.

It addresses “you.” Because the lyrics use the antiquated formal “you,” the address cannot be to a single person, but must be to a group of people, probably young girls. The persona could just as well be an older or more experienced man as an older or more experienced woman.

The tone in verse three is belittling, when the persona says the men do not like to “ever sit and talk,” as if that would be something less important and valuable than hunting and hawking. This makes me believe the persona is male.

“Never love unless you can,” the music

The song is in B-flat major, alla breve. It starts with an eighth-note rest, then kicks off with a jump of two eighth notes, as if the pause was unintended and the singer has to keep up with the accompaniment. The song starts with three four-bar phrases and very little time in between to breath, think, or change direction, which makes the song less elegant than *Campion's* other songs. It ends with one five-bar phrase, or two + three, giving a place to rest for the first time. It is somewhat stumping and strikes me as unoriginal both in music and lyrics compared to *Campion's* other songs. I cannot say if its irony is intentional or not, but to me, the music underlines an irony.

“SO QUICK, SO HOT, SO MAD”

So quick, so hot, so mad is thy fond suite;
So rude, so tedious grown in urging me,
That fain I would with loss make thy tongue mute,
And yield some little grace to quiet thee.
An hour with thee I care not to converse:
For I would not be counted too perverse.

But roofs too hot would prove for men all fire,
And hills too high for my unused pace;
The grove is charg'd with thorns and the bold briar:
Grey snakes the meadows shroud in ev'ry place:
A yellow frog alas will fright me so
As I should start and tremble as I go.

Since then I can on earth no fit room find,
In heav'n I am resolv'd with you to meet;
Till then for hope's sweet sake rest your tir'd mind,
And not so much as see me in the street:
A heav'nly meeting one day we shall have,
But never, as you dream, in bed, or grave.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

This is the sixth and last song with a female persona in Campion's *Third Book of Ayres*, which contains almost half of all the songs with female personas that Campion ever wrote. The song addresses a male wooer, and is another example of Campion's venomous tongue.

For three verses, the persona describes all the things she does not want to do with her wooer – including talking. Still she goes on about it for three verses, which is a comical point in itself. In the third verse she changes her address from “thee” to “you,” which indicates that she has widened the address to include more than one man – perhaps every man?

A text like this would have been difficult during the reign of Elizabeth I, while James I very much wanted to celebrate the idea of marriage and make an end to the glorification of the eternal virgin that had been so common and popular during the Elizabethan era. So in the end, the one who is supposed to be laughed at seems to be the persona herself. Her ridiculous fear of the “frog,” “snake,” and “thorns” indicates a sexual fear, which I believe Campion intended. Sigmund Freud was surely not the man who invented the sexual connotations of those words. Also, the frog appears in a phrase that contains some of the song's highest notes, in a song with one of the highest tessituras Campion ever wrote. The effect of a man singing the phrase in falsetto was probably comical.

“So *quick, so hot, so mad,*” the music

The music is in 3/4 time and G major. But in the 1926 transcription made by Edmund H. Fellowes (1969b) the 3/4 time signature only lasts for three bars, then comes a bar in 6/4, then three more in 3/4, one in 6/4, and one in 3/4, for a total of nine bars in the first phrase. This peculiar symmetry is repeated in the next phrase, which also consists of nine bars. The last phrase is seven bars: one in 3/4, one in 6/4, and one in 3/4, but then suddenly a 4/4 and to conclude the phrase, three bars in 3/3. Fellowes's time signatures are not bad suggestions, because they help the singer to read the musical phrasing better. Still, Campion wrote 3/4 time throughout the whole song, which also is the way it is notated in the song book included in this thesis. The song is not difficult to read in 3/4, as long as you remember to follow the flow of the lyrics without looking too closely at the bar lines. The melody is crammed with little ornaments of sixteenth notes, eleven altogether. They give the melody a flow and a direction within all its irregularity. When I transcribed the song from the lute tablature, I also noticed that the adjectives were placed on the sixteenth notes: “quick, hot, mad.” I believe Campion placed these dramatic adjectives on the

sixteenth notes to produce a dramatic effect such as an image of a girl who shivers, shudders, and jumps in fear and disgust. If this is the case, the music and the lyrics work together in an emblematic way in this song, too.

“So quick, so hot, so mad” is notated from g^1 to g^2 and has the highest tessitura of all of the songs. This makes me believe that it was originally sung an octave lower, or else that the high range was part of the fun of it. A high range could also have enhanced the impression of the person’s fear in an emblematic way.

All of the songs could obviously have been played in any key if the lute-player was skilled in transposing. But if you imagine a male voice in falsetto, the comedy is certainly enhanced by the high tessitura.

From the fourth book of Ayres

As the First and Second book of Ayres, book Three and Four were dedicated to father and son, and printed as a pair. The dedication to Sir Thomas Mounson’s son; Sir John Mounson stresses Champion’s friendship with his father. The dedication is also rather formal in comparison with the dedication of the *Third Book of Ayres*. Also, this book contains remarkably large number of songs with female personas. This makes me believe also book four was meant for the eyes of Thomas Mounson himself.

The nature of the songs are different, Book Three seems tailor made for Mounson senior, for his state of mind and for his position as a close friend, while the songs of Book Four have no such theme. In the Rosseter Collection there is twenty songs, in the first and second Book of Ayres there are twenty-one songs, but in Book Three the pattern of twenty and twenty-one is broken. The reason for that, I believe, is that Champion had too much he wanted to say and twenty or twenty-one songs would not be enough. In Book Three there are twenty-nine songs, which makes Booke Four more of a retrospective volume, as also Davis remarks, since it contains more songs than any other songbook by Champion, and also contains some songs printed earlier in other versions:

Two of the songs (xxii and xxiii) are revisions of material in *A Booke of Ayres* of 1601; at least four – vii, ix, xvii, and xviii – had been published by others as much as a decade previously; and several more – i, ii, vi, viii, xiii, and xix – seem like early work set forth anew. (Davis 1967, 129)

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Three of the songs with female personas are placed at the very end of the book, and they are the ones that Campion apologizes for in the preface:

But if any squeamish stomackes shall checke at two or three vaine Ditties in the end of this Booke, lett him powre off the clearest, and leave those dregs in the bottome. Howsoever if they be but conferred with the Canterbury Tales of that venerable Poet Chaucer, they will then appeare toothsome enough. (Campion 1617, xxii)

Song nine has a female persona who mirrors one of the more popular archetypes of female satire; the young girl who is too young to know the intimate facts of love, but still old enough to sense a longing, without knowing really what she longs for.

“YOUNG AND SIMPLE THOUGH I AM”

Young and simple though I am, I have heard of Cupids name:
Guesse I can what thing it is, Men desire when they doe kisse.
Smoake can never burne they say, But the flames that follow may.

I am not so foule or fayre, To be proud, nor to despayre:
Guesse I can what thing it is, Men desire when they doe kisse.
Smoake can never burne they say, But the flames that follow may.

Faith 'tis but a foolish minde, yet me thinkes a heate I finde,
Like thirst longing that doth bide Ever on my weaker side:
Where they say my heart doth move, Venus grant it be not love.

If it be, alas, what then? Were not women made for men?
As good 'twere a thing were past, That must needes be done at last.
Roses that are ouer blowne Growe lesse sweet, then fall alone.

Yet no Churle, nor silken Gull Shall my Mayden blossome pull:
Whe shall not I soone can tell, Who shall would I could as well:
This I know who ere hee be Love hee must, or flatter me.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

The song is reminiscent of “Maids are simple,” both in address and in tone. There are some differences though: the persona seems to be younger, less experienced, and certainly less intelligent. She does not know where in her body her heart beats, and the second stanza of the fourth verse is even stupider. In saying, “As good ‘twere a thing were past,” she makes herself a target of any man, maybe even vulnerable to rape. I suppose this is one of the comical qualities Campion intended in the song.

As a true jesting song it also saves the punch line for the final words. The persona lowers her expectations about her future lover tremendously when she says she does not really care who will get her virginity as long as he says the right words: “love he must, or flatter me.”

“Young and simple though I am,” the music

Musically, this is yet another of Campion’s simple songs. It is twelve bars long in G major. The range is only a sixth. Perhaps the range also tells us something about the persona’s intelligence.

“O, LOVE, WHERE ARE THY SHAFTS”

O, Love, where are thy Shafts, thy Quiver and they Bow?
Shall my wounds onely weepe and hee ungaged goe?
Be just and strike him to, that dares contemne thee so.

No eyes are like to thine, though men suppose thee blinde,
So fayre they levell when the marke they list to finde:
The strike, o strike the heart that beares the cruell minde.

Is my fond sight deceived? Or doe I *Cupid* spye
Close ayming at his breast, by whom despisd I dye?
Shoot home sweet *Love*, and wound him that hee may not flye.

O then we both will sit in some un'haunted shade,
And heale each others wound which *Love* hath justly made:
O hope, o thought too vaine, how quickly dost thou fade?

At large he wanders still, his heart is free from paine,
While secret sighes I spend, and teares, but all in vaine:
Yet *Love* thou know'st by right I should not thus complaine.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

This song is quite different from most of the other songs. It is not a jesting song. Like “Oft have I sigh'd,” it has no irony at all. The address is Love, being the god Cupid with quiver and bow. The song begs Love to shoot “him,” the target of the personas’ love, in the first two verses. In verse three the perspective shifts and Love is no longer “thou,” but described in the third person. Instead, the loved one seems to have drawn closer to the singer, for in verse four the word “we” appears. And “we” are obviously the persona and the loved one sitting together in “some unhaunted shade.” But this scenario is not real, it is just a dream, the narrator admits in the last line of the verse: “O hope, o thought too vaine, how quickly dost thou fade?”

In the fifth and last verse, the loved one is back where he was from the start, in the distance, while Cupid is back on the narrator’s side.

“O love, where are thy shafts?” the music

This song is only eleven bars, alla breve in G minor. It contains a musical surprise that the other short songs do not: the first two phrases are two bars each, and then comes the third phrase which quite unexpectedly lasts for four bars. The last phrase is three bars, and that is also a surprise. Perhaps Campion wants to break our sense of security, or is he simply not aware of it?

The melody is beautiful, a bit more elaborate than “Young and simple” and the other short songs. It sounds English, ancient, and courtly to me.

Muriel Eldridge mentions it as one of Campion’s less impressive songs (1971, 134). To me the aesthetic valuation of the song is less interesting than to figure out in what way and by which means the song speaks to me. “O love, where are thy shafts” certainly offers strong images. It invites Cupid to sit next to me and listen to the matters of my heart. It makes me indulge in a sensual daydream where things like this can happen:

O then we both will sit in some un’haunted shade,
And heale each others wound which *Love* hath justly made...

“THINK’ST THOU TO SEDUCE ME THEN”

Think’st thou to seduce me then
with words that have no meaning?
Parats so can learne to prate our speech
by pieces gleaning.
Nurses teach their children so
about the time of weaning.

Learn to speak first, then to woove,
To wooing much pertayneth:
He that courts us wanting Art,
Soon falters when he faineth:
Looks asquint on his discourse,
And smiles when he complaineth

Skilfull anglers hide their hookes,
Fit baits for every season;
But with crooked pins fish’st thou,
as babes that do want reason,
Gogions only can be caught with
such poor tricks of treason.

Ruth forgive me of I err’d
From human hearts compassion,
When I laught sometimes too much
to see thy foolish fashion:
But alas, who less could do
That found so good occasion?

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

The song is addressed to a “thou” who is a younger man. It is the line “He that courts us wanting art” that suggests the female persona, because of the word “us”. Women were the ones to be courted and men the courtiers in Campion’s day.

The song piles up metaphors of a very earthy kind. The foolish wooer is like a baby, not yet weaned; he is as stupid as a parrot; and he also looks stupid. He falters, looks asquint on his discourse, and does not know how to bait his hook, let alone use it. He uses a “crooked pin.” The song is syncopated in an odd way, and the syncopes mostly coincide with syllables containing the vowels “ee” or “ea”. See music example below:

Parats so can learne to prate our speech
by pieces gleaning.
Nurses teach their children so
about the time of weaning.

It is as if Campion wants to tease us, the way children tease one another with a small song always containing a falling minor third. The end of each phrase is not a third but a falling major second, but still it is reminiscent of teasing and is yet another emblematic moment in Campion’s songs with female personas. The phrase ends on two equally stressed final eighth notes.

In real life, too, Campion could be very patronizing to people he did not like, especially if he thought they were bragging. He belittled the poor Barnabe Barnes, for example, more than once, in his epigrams, including Epigram seventeen in Book I and Epigram eighty in Book II, and in the *Observations in the Art of English Poesy*.

Barnes, who thought himself quite a good poet, had published a sonnet in which he wished he was made of liquid, so his mistress could drink him. Then he would first be close to her heart, and later pass through her pleasure parts. Campion remarked:

what a fine lover you will be when they fish you out of a chamberpot! (Sutton 1999)

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?” the music

This is rhythmically one of the most interesting songs. Campion, as usual, makes the music fit his lyrics in any way he wants.

The first phrase ends in B-flat major, which by then feels like the key to which the song belongs, but the next phrase ends in G major, and that makes one less sure what key is actually the home key.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then” has the same range as “So quick, so hot, so mad.” It is only ten bars long. The first two bars are common time, *alla breve*, but then comes a bar of eight quavers. The rhythmical emphasis in the bar lets us feel two $\frac{3}{4}$ bars + one half note, so actually one would want to have the bar line before the last half note. Even in the continuation the bar lines do not coincide with where the stresses of the melody comes.

The following music example shows Campion’s bar lines above, and then the way I perceive the bar lines as a singer:

The image shows two staves of musical notation for the phrase "Think'st thou to seduce me then?". Both staves are in B-flat major (two flats) and common time (C). The melody is written on a treble clef staff. The lyrics are: "Pa - rats so...can learn to pra - te our speach by pea - ces glea - ning".

The first staff shows Campion's original bar lines. The first two bars are in common time (C). The third bar is a single bar of eight quavers. The fourth bar is in common time (C). The fifth bar is in common time (C). The sixth bar is in common time (C). The seventh bar is in common time (C). The eighth bar is in common time (C). The ninth bar is in common time (C). The tenth bar is in common time (C).

The second staff shows the author's perceived bar lines. The first two bars are in common time (C). The third bar is in common time (C). The fourth bar is in common time (C). The fifth bar is in common time (C). The sixth bar is in common time (C). The seventh bar is in common time (C). The eighth bar is in common time (C). The ninth bar is in common time (C). The tenth bar is in common time (C).

Again, I think Campion likes to enhance the irony of the lyrics. The target of the persona’s venom is compared to a child: he stammers, stumbles and looks asquint. So does the music.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

“FAINE WOULD I WED A FAIRE YOUNG MAN”

Faine would I wed a faire young man, that day and night could please mee:
When my mind or body grieved, that had the power to ease mee.

Maids are full of longing thoughts that breed a bloudlesse sicknesse:
And that oft I heare men say, is onely cur'd by quicknesse.

Oft I have beene woo'd & prai'd, but never could be moved:
Many for a day or so I have most dearly loved;

But this foolish mind of mine straight loaths the thing resolved.
If to love be sinne in mee; that sinne is soone absolved.

Sure I thinke I shall at last flye to some holy Order;
When I once am settled there then can I flye no farther:

Yet I would not dye a maid, because I had a mother.
As I was by one brought forth I would bring forth another

Campion's very last printed song with a female persona is addressed to no one and to everyone, much like a public hall song. The tone of the female persona resembles those of the female personas in contemporary bawdy verse (Burford 1982), and the persona retells her scandalous life: "many for a day or so I have most dearly loved."

Yet it is a monologue. There is no personal pronoun other than "I" and "me." But the folksy music tells us to which rank the persona belongs. She is a very common person, a person that seldom indulges the luxury of privacy. There is little reason to believe Campion imagined her as alone while singing the song. In the last line she lets the news drop: she is already pregnant.

"Faine would I wed a faire young man," the music

This is the last of Campion's songs with female personas. It concludes both the fourth Book of Ayres, and Campion's entire career as a lute song writer.

The song is a passamezzo; the same chords are repeated over and over for four bars, and the melody on top changes every eighth bar. It is reminiscent of the famous song "La Folia," which made its way through most European countries during the Middle Ages. The range is a tenth.

The song was also printed in the second volume of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book as piece CXCVII, "Fayne would I Wedd," and contributed to Richard Farnabye. The scribe of the Fitzwilliam Book seems to have been Francis Tregian (Smith 2002). This could either mean that the song was a popular folk song and both composers picked it up from the street, or that one of the composers copied the other one. Although Tregian was in jail from 1609 until he died in 1619, he was in contact with the world outside and received musical material from visitors. There are very small differences between the Farnabye version and Campion's, and the title is the same, although no lyrics are included in the Farnabye version.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Conclusion

The diversity found in Campion's songs is great. Some of his personas seem to be young: for example, in “Good men show,” “Maids are simple,” “Young and simple though I am,” and “My Love hath vow'd.” Some are more experienced, as in “So many Loves have I neglected,” “Fain would I wed,” “A secret Love or two,” “If thou long'st so much to learne,” “Think'st thou to seduce me then,” “Silly boy,” and “Never love unless you can.” All the songs except two, “Oft have I sigh'd” and “O Love, where are thy shafts?” are open to ironic interpretations. All but three of the songs can be comical. “Never love unless you can” is more of a moral song than a jesting song, although I can imagine that the irony is intended. In a contemporary context, this song almost inevitably becomes both ironic and comical.

Campion's songs with female personas also vary greatly in musical language, complexity, and length.

As the personas are different from one another, so are the addressees. Sometimes the person addressed seems to be the loved one himself. But most of all, the address is a confidant, a secret sharer. He/she/we have been entrusted secrets of love and weakness. What are we then supposed to do with this knowledge? And what did Campion want his addressees to do with the confidences?

Chapter 3

Sung by men or women?

In this chapter we look at aspects of music that underline the presumption that women were not encouraged to sing Campion's songs with female personas, such as the links between music, magic, and privacy. Another aspect of the Renaissance notion of women was that they were the targets of witch hunts.

Pamela Coren has been quoted many times already in this thesis because of her idea that Thomas Campion's songs with female personas were intended for male voices. That idea opens up a spectrum of possibilities that completely changes the social and cultural scene we may imagine for the songs. I will argue that Coren may be right, because the seventeenth century burdened women with both special expectations and prejudices:

The assumption that women sang these songs was made easier by "Merry England" versions of social history in the work of musicologists and music historians, whose study of lute song consistently elided class and gender. This is not the place to review the evidence, but to request that the reader hold at a distance the picture of wives and daughters of good family singing love songs before mixed company on social occasions. I think such practice unlikely in the period of the commercial songbooks, from about 1597 to 1620, and that we need to reconsider the question within the context of work on women's social voices... Even if women did sing for male friends and family, which songs would be proper to perform? A godly song might be permitted, but "A Secret Love"? If, as I think the available evidence suggests, women did not sing lute song except possibly to one another, then the social performance of these songs would be by (boy) treble, countertenor, or tenor voice. (Coren 2001, 225)

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Campion’s Books of Ayres were expensive. Still, if a household owned a copy, anyone could read, sing and play the songs. There is nothing in the books that says women cannot or should not do so. So what is the evidence that women did not sing the songs? As we have seen, some of the personas are adulterous, other personas thirst for carnal love, and yet fidelity was important to the seventeenth-century upper class.

In her excellent articles “‘Alluring the auditorie to effeminacie’: music and the idea of the feminine in early modern England” (1993) and “Sing again Syren” (1989), Linda Phyllis Austern examines the special relationship between women and music that made women’s music-making into something exclusively private. Austern uses rich evidence from Puritan books and pamphlets. The cleft between the Puritan values and the more lax morals at the Royal court has already been discussed. That the Puritans did not like the combination of women and music, does not necessarily mean that the ladies at the court were forbidden to sing. But there were clearly some aspects of music that to the seventeenth-century mind, even at the court, would make singing Campion’s songs with female personas more dangerous for women than men.

Music and magic

Magic had a self-evident place in Campion’s world. Today music is art, but four hundred years ago music was more than that: it was one of the mathematical sciences (the others were astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic). The very word music had also a different meaning: “The King’s music” was the Kings orchestra.

Today we take it for granted that the function of music is to please the listener, but in the seventeenth century, moral, religious, and even medical aspects were also important. The soothing sound of viols was used for the treatment of the mentally ill. The instrument has been found in archaeological excavations of old mental hospitals.

In her book *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (1999), Penelope Gouk links magic to the Renaissance notion of music. Gouk divides seventeenth-century magic into two categories:

- Magic by supernatural personified forces for special effects, such as demonic magic
- Magic from concealed natural causes, Natural or spiritual magic used to protect from the first category

The second category was popular and used by both monarchs and the aristocracy. In a time when no one could explain thunder in summertime, for instance, or the birth of deformed animals, magic was the only explanation, making magic an inevitable ingredient in life.

Other examples of seventeenth-century magic were magnetism, mechanical laws, and musical harmony. Magicians were not the only ones who could use magic to cause predicted effects. Doctors, engineers, painters, and indeed musicians also used magic. Many of them kept their techniques secret to avoid competition. Today we would call what they did chemistry, psychology, etc., but for the Renaissance person, their skills were miraculous, not least music's manipulation of feelings:

Like the eyes of the beloved, music could render an individual helpless with its sensual, soul-affecting spell, again perceived as sorcerous in its intensity. (Austern 1989, 427)

Music + magic = emotions

When music made you feel something, you could not resist it, and you were hardly responsible for your actions: it was magic. An example was the music at the theatre. In the interval a jig was commonly played, during which a lot of criminal acts took place: theft, rape, fights, and even murders. The solution discussed was not to stop the criminality, but to forbid the music (Gurr 1987).

Gouk concludes that magic played a significant role in people's lives four hundred years ago. The question was not if magic existed, but how you should use it.

The Swedish priest, historian, and writer Olaus Magnus also writes about the power of music in his *History of the Nordic People*:

There were many who were so good at using the cittern, fiddle, lute and all sorts of string instruments, that they through different melodies could achieve any emotions they wanted from the listeners. They could, if they wanted, inspire joy or sorrow, pity or hate, and they knew how to, when they thought it fit, fill the ears and minds with lust or dread. Yes, they showed, that in the strings lived such a power, that at the tones, the people who were there, sometimes went out of their minds. (Magnus 1982, 700–1)

English sources like Robert Burton's 1621 *Anatomy of Melancholy* confirm

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the effect that music was supposed to have on the mind. It was an effect that the listener could not escape:

In a word [music] is so powerful a thing, that it ravisheth the soul, *regina sensuum*, the Queene of the senses, by sweete pleasure, (which is a happy cure) and corporeall tunes pacifie our incorporeall soule, *sine ore loquens*, *dominatum in animam exercet*, and carries it beyond itselfe, helps, elevates, extends it. (Austern 1989, 426)

Knowing this, the idea of women singing Campion’s songs with female personas becomes increasingly impossible. If you were not responsible for your acts when aroused by music, why would a man want to listen to his wife singing “A secret love or two” in a mixed audience? And could a married woman sing to a mixed audience without her husband being there?

Music and privacy

Knowing how music, magic, and emotions were linked for Campion’s contemporaries makes it easier to understand why singing was such a private matter. Singing was also linked to bad morals:

Singing and open breast are tokens of horelinge. (Burford 1988, 165)

Another example is Elizabeth I herself, who, while her sister Mary reigned, stayed away from music, fancy clothes, and jewelry (Bassnett 1988, 23). When she became queen, we know of course that music, clothes, and jewelry were great pleasures to her. Even gentlemen did not make music in public.

The church was the only commissioner of music until 1550, but in the streets and taverns there was always music. In the seventeenth century a commercial market for secular music emerged. Campion wrote for that market as well as for the court. Books were printed and many people knew how to read, and also to read music. In *A New Way of Making Fowre parts in Counter-point*, Campion even explained to his readers how to enjoy his music by adding parts. But that is something that would have happened in private, in people’s homes. Yet in a private home with hundreds of rooms and servants, the word “private” takes on a different meaning. To be quite alone was rare and there would be people enough, among the servants, even without guests, to form

an orchestra and an audience at the same time. Most households had servants who could and did play and sing.

We will never know what really happened in private homes. William McElwee imagines wild musical parties at the home of Sir Thomas Mounson (1952) but would Mounson's parties have included a female guest singing Campion's songs with female personas?

Austern concludes her article "Sing again Syren" by stating:

Both music and feminine beauty were considered intense inflamers of the passions, and, when used together, resulted in an uncontrollable sensual experience for the masculine listener. Therefore, many learned writers recommended that women avoid the inherent moral danger of music by limiting its use to private meditation where it was most capable of personal spiritual benefit. (Austern 1989, 447–8)

There is, however, yet another thing in particular that the seventeenth-century mind linked to women that we must mention before we leave the area of special issues associated with women. That is witchcraft. The path leads into another vast field of scientific studies. I will only quote the chapter on witches from Olwen Hufton's *The prospect before her* (1995). On magic, Penelope Gouk says the question was not whether magic existed or not, but how you should use it. Similarly, Hufton says that to the seventeenth-century mind it would have been heresy not to believe in witches.

Witches

In Campion's poem "If any had the heart to kill," the male persona suspects a witch has made him impotent with her curses. The song "Thrice tosse these Oaken Ashes" is also about witchcraft. In the Overbury affair, Frances Howard was accused of using witchcraft, and a model of two people making love was shown in court as evidence.

That women were more prone to use witchcraft than men was a belief from the medieval ages, manifested in books such as *Formicarius* (1437) and *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), Hufton argues (1995, 341).

The phenomenon of the witch hunt was never as big in Great Britain as in the rest of Europe. During the reign of Elizabeth I, no one was executed having been convicted of being a witch. During James I's reign, however, witch hunts started again. King James I's own book on witchcraft, *Daemonologie*, was printed in 1597, while he was still James VI of Scotland and Elizabeth I

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reigned in England. During Campion’s last seventeen years, James was King of both Scotland and England.

In 1627, the minister at Batcombe in Somerset, Richard Barnard said:

There are more women witches than men and it may be for these reasons: – First Satan his setting on these rather than men, since his unhappie outset and prevailing on Eve. Secondly, there more credulous nature, and apt to be misled and deceived. Thirdly, for that they are more superstitious and being displeased, more malicious, and so herein more fit instruments of the Devil. Fourthly, they are more tongue ripe, and less able to hide what they know for others: and therefore in this respect, are more ready to teachers of witchcraft to others, and to leave it to children, servants, or to some others than men. Fifthly and lastly, where they think they can command they are more proud in their rule, and more busy in setting such on worke whom they may command, than men, and therefore the Devil laboureth most to make them witches. (Hufton 1995, 345)

Barnard exposes most of the renaissance prejudices against women in a few lines: women talk more, women are closer to Satan, the whole female sex bears collectively the burden of the Fall of Man.

From 1642, when Oliver Cromwell was Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Wales, the processes against witches increased even more. To punish the female sex collectively for having close relationships with the devil seemed to go hand in hand with Puritan values.

“Fain would I wed” is one of Campion’s songs with the most bawdy content. “If thou long’st so much to learne” and “A secret love or two” are also bawdy, but to a modern eye, many of the other songs show more identification with the female subject than one would expect in a society soaked with misogyny. However, I am not sure that identification should be taken for a reply to, or a moderation of, contemporary misogynist literature, but rather as a more refined irony than other writers could come up with.

But it is in combination with music that Campion’s female personas show other layers of their personalities. And words that are sung

...linger, and, however slightly and inwardly, reclaim and re-enact the performance. (Coren 2002, 541)

Take, for instance, “My love hath vow’d.” Without music the content might have been amusing to Campion’s audience. With the music, maybe it still

was if sung by a man. To us four hundred years later, however, the music is definitely melancholic. The music gives us an impression of a girl who is truly worth feeling sorry for. This is a picture Campion maybe was not even aware he was projecting. Or was he? Could he escape recognizing the fact that the music he wrote to accompany his own lyrics was genuinely sad? And that the girl deserves our pity?

Gail Reitenbach, who claims to be the first to have looked at Campion's songs with female personas as a genre, also recognizes Campion's nuances. In her essay "Maides are simple, some Men say" (1990), she also compares Campion and Ben Jonson. Reitenbach argues that while Jonson's female personas speak for the whole female sex, Campion's personas speak for themselves as individuals.

In *Singing and silence: female peronae in the English Ayre* Pamela Coren compares female personas in songs by William Corkine, John Danyel, Thomas Campion and Robert Jones:

Campion's speakers of witty reply and challenge make up the most remarkable group of female persona poems in Jacobean lyrics. (Coren 2002, 541)

Chapter 4

Why did Campion want to write songs with female personas?

In this chapter I will argue that one of the reasons Campion wrote songs with female personas was to bond with the homosocial coterie to which he belonged. I will try to scrutinize if this male bonding was also an expression for homosexual desire. If so, it is important to recognize the seventeenth-century attitudes on homoeroticism and to look at which other writers displayed same-sex desire in their works.

Three reasons for female personas

I can think of three reasons for Campion's female personas. The first is the obvious reason for all of his songs: recreation. Campion wanted to entertain, to amuse himself and his readers.

Out of many songs, which partly at the request of friends, partly for my own recreation were by me long since composed. (Campion 1613, ii)

This is an excerpt from the preface to the first and second Books of Ayres. Here we can also see that Campion had written some of the songs long before the printing, which means that he had plenty of time to think about the songs should meet the eye of the reader.

At the end of the preface, there is something that makes me think that the second reason for Campion's wish to have his songs printed was to bond with his male readers:

Si placet hac cantes, hac quoq; lege lesas. (Sing or read them as you please).
(Campion 1613, ii)

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It is interesting that for Campion, reading the songs seems as important as singing them, and that this remark is written in Latin, while the rest of the preface is in English.

As mentioned before, few women knew how to read Latin. The sixteenth-century liberal ideas about giving girls a thorough education had been lost partly because of the growing Puritan movement. So once again we are back to a male homosocial group, and thoughts on the socio-cultural context in which Thomas Campion's songs were created.

The renowned Swedish scholar Yvonne Hirdman, in her book *Genus – om det stabila föränderliga former* (Gender – on the changing forms of the constant, 2003), presents her theory on how men form an image of what a man is (called “A”) in homosocial groups. This is an image that is then transposed to the rest of the society, where all men try to fulfil the norms of “A” in fear of becoming something less: “a.”

The homosocial meeting where the norms of masculinity are created is a very potent image of how gender norms work, not only in our time, but probably also in Campion's time.

Because Latin was the language for learned men such as Campion, he may have used it to communicate with men of his own kind. That is why I think a second reason for Campion to have the songs printed had to do with male bonding, in a society where male bonding was maybe even more important than it is today.

The third reason, I believe, was to express same-sex desire to a male reader in a way similar to that which Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick describes in her book *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985), where male-male desire becomes intelligible by being routed through a woman. Sedgwick's book deals with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels in which two men fall in love with the same woman. The woman then serves as the vehicle in which the men's desires meet. In Campion's case there is no real woman, only the idea of a woman – the persona. Still the female personas could serve as an excuse for a man to express same-sex desire, especially if the singer is a man. The songs also linked the writer together with some of his readers: the male learned ones. In that case, songs with female personas could even form a eighth category to add to Smith's seven archetypes of storytelling in which seventeenth-century authors expressed male-male desire (1991), as described in the previous chapter. Perhaps Smith overlooked this possibility, because he has not investigated music as literature during this period.

Campion's female voices

Gail Reitenbach was the first to look at Campion's female personas in the essay "Maids are simple" (1990). Reitenbach sees in Campion someone who wants to add nuances to a misogynist genre – someone who talks for the girls. If she is right, that would be an excellent explanation of why Campion's songs are so multilayered. But in other songs, Campion is as much a woman-hater as anyone else. In "If love loves truth" from book three, women are compared to cunning foxes. In "Kind are her answers," from the same book, women are the evil with which good men, unfortunately, are mixed. Either Campion wants to be the defender of women only sometimes, or he puts on a female persona when it suits him to entertain his male readers that way.

Coren argues that many of the nuances Reitenbach finds in Campion's verses are inspired directly by Ovid, rather than emanating from Campion's own experiences of women.

Coren also recognizes the male bonding and the special function Campion's songs might fill for his male friends

to enact the needs and fantasies of their male authors and readers. (Coren 2001, 12)

The first two motivations for these songs (recreation and male bonding) are plausible, but the third is more obscure. Could it be that Campion wanted to know "what it feels like for a girl"? If he did, his nuances and multilayered irony make sense.

Girls can wear jeans
And cut their hair short
Wear shirts and boots
'Cause it's okay to be a boy
But for a boy to look like a girl is degrading
'Cause you think that being a girl is degrading
But secretly you'd love to know what it's like
Wouldn't you
What it feels like for a girl (Madonna 1993)

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Who were the men Campion wanted to bond with?

Most of Campion's printed works were dedicated to men: Sir Thomas Mounson, Mounson's son John; Francis, Earl of Cumberland and his son; and Charles I, then Prince of Wales. Of Campion's masques, one was dedicated to Queen Anne, and the rest were commissioned by James I and the Howard family. *Songs of mourning*, which he wrote after the untimely death of the eighteen-year-old Prince Henry, was dedicated to the whole royal family, including Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth. Other men close to Campion were Charles Fitzgeffrey; William Percy; Prince Henry; Edward, Laurence, and Thomas Mychelburne (Bullen 1889); and perhaps first and foremost, his friend and colleague the court lutenist Philip Rosseter, and Sir Thomas Mounson, a well-known music-lover (Lyndley 1986, 65).

It seems quite possible that Campion was thus attached to a circle of noblemen linked by marriage and political interest, but also a shared interest in music. (Lyndley 1986, 66)

Lyndley also mentions that Thomas Campion was adopted by the Howard family in 1613 (1986, 211). What this meant to the forty-six year old Campion, who lost his biological parents so early, we can only guess.

Campion's epigrams

As we have seen, Campion enjoyed writing epigrams. He had three collections of epigrams printed, containing four hundred and fifty-three epigrams. Most of the time the satire is directed towards someone who is disguised under various Classical names, such as Calvus or Mellea. But when Campion chooses to say something nice about someone for a change, he uses the person's real name.

Campion thought very highly of his own work in Latin. In the preface to his first collection of songs, included in his colleague Philip Rosseter's *Book of Ayres*, he says the lute songs are:

but Superfluous blossoms of his deeper studies. (Rosseter 1601, ii)

What were then these deeper studies? The two later collections of epigrams were dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales, and all epigrams from the earlier

1595 collection *Poemata* were reprinted there. Among them there are some in particular that catch the eye:

139A In se

Once I was foolish as a mushroom, a dunce who feared lest my prick would not stand up, ready for use, for the man, though when aroused it came corkscrewing up for the boy. Then I was not afraid to give it a little help with my hand, touching and bouncing it; back then I was anxious lest when grown to adulthood this stalk could not be comprehended by buggery's ring. But now you understand, boys and girls, how stupidly, dull-wittedly, and naively I was pained on behalf of the supreme pleasure. Not even if it had grown taller than an alder would I have to fear on its account, or on that of some dork-crazy girl.¹¹ (Sutton 1999)

In some epigrams Campion writes of his love affairs with women, but in *In Se*, it seems as if he is writing about love affairs with men, because when Campion says “buggery’s ring” in this epigram, he certainly does not refer to female genitals. Davis translates differently and uses “lascivious orb” (1967, 443) instead. The Swedish Latinists I have consulted, Professor of Latin Gunhild Vidén and PhD student Sara Ehrling, agree that “buggery’s ring” and “lascivious orb” both are correct translations. However, they see no explicit hint about same sex desire, and think that the epigram “In se” is about someone who feared to masturbate when he was young, because he thought it would result in him having sex with men when he grew up. But there are other places where Campion express same-sex desire.

11. Olim fungus ego, silex verebar,
 Ne non utilibus viro emereret
 Penis, qui puero excatus torosis.
 Tum nec apposita manu fovere,
 Nec sum tangere, rec repellere ausus,
 Nimirum metuens adulta strips haec
 Ut posset pathico orbe comprehendi
 Vos iam inteliigitis, viri et puellae,
 Multo sed magis improbae puellae,
 Quam stulte, illepideque rusticeque
 Summae laetitiae meae dolebam.
 Nec si grandior existiisset alnu
 Idcirca fore mi magis verendam,
 Aut plus penivorae arduam puellae.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

“Umbra”

When indicating poetry in Latin was his main concern, and not lute songs in English, Campion points directly to his works in Latin: “In Se,” “Umbra,” and other writings of the same sort, where he enhanced his contacts to the elite, those who knew how to read Latin.

Why Campion then thought so highly of his work in Latin was probably not because of its contents, but because of its form. For a more detailed description of Campion’s writings in Latin I recommend the works of J. W. Binns (1974, 1990), and for a closer look at Campion’s “measured” verse, Christopher Wilson’s article *Number and Music in Campion’s Measured Verse* (2006).

Campion had two long poems in Latin printed: “Ad Thamesin” (1595) and “Umbra” (1619). “Umbra” is the story of the god Morpheus, who falls in love with a mortal man and puts on a female disguise to get close to the man he loves:

O if I could learn what appearance would kindle your fires! Let it be that of boy, woman, or man, how eagerly I would assume all these forms for you!...

... Thereupon he assumed a thousand comely guises, changing his age and his sex, adding varied ornaments to each. (Sutton 1999)

In his book *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982), Alan Bray describes how the name for same-sex practice was sodomy, and it was considered an abominable sin. Yet the practice was there. Although Bray says there were no same-sex subcultures in Campion’s time, I believe there must have been a homosocial coterie to which Campion addressed “Umbra,” men who were titillated by Campion’s poem and maybe even interested in putting on the same disguise as Morpheus. What if a disguise like that was at hand, the disguise being simply the female persona of a song?

If Campion then expresses same-sex desire in his songs with female personas, if the personas are ways in which to try on women’s acts and thoughts, as if they were a piece of clothing, then we must try to understand something about the Renaissance notion of same-sex practice.

Homoeroticism

In the early sixteenth century it would be as alien for anyone to label him/herself as homosexual as it would be to call him/herself heterosexual.

...Sexuality was not, as it is for us, the starting place for anyone's self-definition.
(Smith 1991, 10–1)

That is why I want to avoid the word “homosexual.” Another reason is that we cannot know for sure what people really did four hundred years ago. But I still think we can assume the following:

- (1) That homosexual *acts* occur in all cultures and that what varies is the interpretation that different cultures put on those acts
- (2) That homosexual *desire* exists in all cultures
- (3) That the intensity and frequency of homosexual desire may vary from individual to individual, but that in every culture there are some people whose sexual desire is *exclusively* homosexual. (Smith 1991, 17–18)

Bray describes how male friendship included affectionate kisses, hugs, and passionate language, which can deceive a reader today into “outing” famous people of the Jacobean time.

James I's passionate and publicly displayed relationships with his favorites caused reactions among the aristocracy (Miller 2003, 61). This is true especially of his relationship to Robert Carr, mentioned in the exordium, and Lord Villiers, who took Carr's place after the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury had been brought to trial. But whatever the secret nature of King James's relationships might have been, what he displayed openly was noble male friendship. If he was engaged in homoerotic practices it took other forms elsewhere, and we can never know for certain whether he did or not. Yet his ubiquitously quoted lines in response to the Privy Council in 1617 are worth giving here at length:

I, James, am neither a god nor an angel, but a man, like any other. Therefore I act like a man and confess to loving those dear to me more than other men. You may be sure that I love the Earl of Buckingham more than anyone else, and more than you who are here assembled. I wish to speak in my own behalf and not to have it thought to be a defeat, for Jesus Christ did the same, and therefore I cannot be blamed. Christ had his son John, and I have George.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Homosexual practice was thought to be so terrible that even the devil abhorred it, says Bray. It simply could not be a part of the Godly plan, the Creation, in which, indeed, the devil was also an ingredient. There was only one place for homosexual practice: in the chaos preceding Creation. But once bundled off there it was suddenly strangely close to everyone. Not as a personal choice by an individual, but as something to which “Men’s natural corruption and viciousness is prone” (the Puritan John Rainolds as quoted in Bray 1982, 31). Similarly to Olaus Magnus’s description of how music arouses emotions whether you like it or not, quoted in the previous chapter, it seems the individual’s choice of whether to practice same-sex acts or not was strangely irrelevant.

The very notion of same-sex practice made it into something few people could identify with, since the word “sodomy” covered a variety of acts:

It covered more hazily a whole range of sexual acts, of which sexual acts between people of the same sex were only a part. It was closer, rather, to an idea like debauchery. But it differed more fundamentally also in that it was not only a sexual crime. It was also a political and a religious crime. (Bray 1994, 41)

Sodomy was also a broader concept that included heresy, treason, irreligiosity, gluttony, prostitution, sexual same-sex practice, and even witchcraft.

So even if the sexual practice was in fact there, people were reluctant to name what they were doing using the term because they might then be accused of all the things that fell under this label, argues Bray.

It sounds almost as if Bray suggests people did not know what they were doing. That might be an exaggeration. Yet, when looking at the seventeenth century, we must try to imagine a time before Queen Victoria and the meddlesomeness of the nineteenth-century scientists who put labels on every sexual act. One can name one nineteenth-century Englishwoman’s reaction as a good example of what kind of innocence exists when you do not label what you are doing. She was the leader of an organization for good morals in a time when masturbation was said to cause terrible damage to both mind and body. When she read a detailed description of how masturbation actually was performed she realized that she had been doing it for years. It was one of the worst days of her life (Sogner 2006).

Alan Bray writes:

there was little or no social pressure for someone to define for himself what his sexuality was. And the way homosexuality was conceived of and understood did not encourage him to make that connection had he wished to, which was unlikely. (1982, 70)

Rictor Norton claims that the court of James I was nearly a gay subculture unto itself, in his book *Mother Clap's Molly Houses: The Gay Subculture in England 1700–1830* (1992). But Bray argues there was no need for a homosocial subculture since homoeroticism was part of everyday life for some people. Bray identifies four different arenas: the household (the relationship between patron and servant), the educational system, the theatre, and prostitution.

Very few cases were taken to court under the reign of James I.

So long as homosexuality was expressed through established institutions, in normal times the courts were not concerned with it; and general this meant patriarchal institutions, the household, the educational system, homosexual prostitution and the like. (Bray 1982, 74)

Male prostitutes were called “catamites,” “Ganymede’s,” or “unnatural,” while other words like “strange” were used for the puns and double entendres which were so popular in Elizabethan England.

What the law said about same-sex practice

In Campion’s time the Buggery Act by Henry VIII was still in use.

In 1533 ‘the detestable and abominable vice of buggery’, defined as ‘carnall knowledge... by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, or by womankind with brute beast’, was made a capital offense, punishable by hanging. (Greenberg 1988, 303)

But during Campion’s lifetime, this law was replaced by a more specific law by Lord Justice Coke under which sodomy had to include rape, anal penetration, and ejaculation. More than that – to be punishable, all of it had to be proven, witnessed, or confessed. This meant that sex between adult, consenting same-sex partners no longer constituted sodomy (Orgel 1996, 58).

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Was, then, the English Renaissance a time when people could show same-sex desire without risking society's condemnation? Hugs and kisses were included in the code used for male friendship, but there were authors raging against sodomy, apparently not taking into account Coke's altered interpretation of the word. One of them was Richard Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628):

And it is truly shameful to say how much with us within memory of our parents this detestable wickedness raged! (Schleiner 1993, 177)

The quoted passage refers to the monasteries before Henry VIII's reformation and is included in an essay by Winfried Schleiner in *Renaissance Discourses of Desire*. Still, Schleiner ends his essay by saying:

...the Renaissance had no concept of homosexuality and therefore, strictly speaking, knew no homophobia. (Schleiner 1993, 178)

So, there seems to have been no consensus, nor is there now, about what was accepted. But we can assume it was a good choice to codify any hints on same-sex desire. I also think a playful, artistic and elegant code for same-sex desire, intelligible only to some, could make even stronger bonds between those who wanted to understand it. It was secret, but not from everyone. It was acceptable, but not accepted.

To be sentenced to death for sodomy was very rare. The Headmaster of Eton was accused of homosexuality, which caused a scandal but not the end of his life:

1541... the headmaster of Eton confessed sexual relations with his male students and a servant, but since there were no political issues at stake, he was not even prosecuted. He did lose his headmastership, but later held prominent positions in the Anglican Church and was appointed headmaster at Westminster. (Greenberg 1988, 323-4)

Female personas as disguised same-sex desire

When Campion expressed same-sex desire, as I believe he does in the poem “Umbra,” he was not alone in doing so. Some say Shakespeare does in his sonnets, which were certainly not in print at the time, but transmitted in manuscripts. Victor Norton has traced theatre plays alluding to same-sex practice. They include *Roister Doister* 1541 by Nicholas Udalls; *The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image* (1598) and *The Scourge of*

Villanie (1598) by John Marston (in the latter Marston even mentions male brothels); and *Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1594), *Edward II* (1593), and *Hero and Leander* (1598) by Philip Marlowe.

Stephen Orgel mentions a few other plays in his book, *Impersonations The performance of gender in Shakespeare's England*; they include: *Father Hubburd Tales* by Middleton.

to call in at the Blackfriars where he should see a nest of boys able to ravish a man.
(Orgel 1996, 37)

The Malcontent by Marston:

SLY: Oh cousin, come, you shall sit between my legs here.

SINKLO: No, indeed, cousin: the audience will then take me for a vio-de-gamba, and think that you play upon me.

SLY: Nay, rather that I work upon you coz. (Orgel 1996, 39)
work upon = have intercourse with.

So as we can see, same sex practice was not unknown, or hidden from the public eye in the early seventeenth century. On the contrary, hints on same sex practice were used to entertain the theatre audience. The theatre was dependent on its visitors money, so we can assume that what was shown on the theaters was intended to amuse, attract and titillate the audience.

Cross-dressing in the theater

Female roles in the theater were acted by young boys wearing female clothes. Laura Levine has collected stories from eyewitnesses in her interesting book *Men in women's clothing Anti-theatricality and effeminization 1579-1642* which show that while on stage, the whole audience participated in the agreement that these boys were indeed women:

When Bacchus beheld her, expressing in his daunce the passions of love, he placed himself somewhat neere to her, and embraced her, she with an amorous kind of feare and strangeness as though shee woulde thruste him away with her little finger, and pull him againe with both her handes somewhat timorously, and doubtfully entertained him.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

At this the beholders beganne to shoute. When Bacchus rose up, tenderly lifting Ariadne from her seate, no small store of curtesie passing between them, the beholders rose up, every man stode on tippe toe, and seemed to hover over the playe. When they sware, the company sware, when they departed to bedde; the company presently was set on fire, they that were married posted home to their wives; they that were single, vowed very solemnly, to be wedded. (Levine 1994, 13)

Such an overwhelming reception was only possible if the “boy” was seen as a woman. But the growing Puritan movement and its pamphleteering campaigns were to change the whole cultural scene radically. Already in 1579 a pamphlet by Stephen Gosson said, “theatre effeminates the mind” (Levine 1994, 10). In 1583, another pamphlet by Philip Stubbs said, “boy actors who wear women’s clothing can literally ‘adulterate’ male gender” (Levine 1994, 4). William Prynne’s book *Histrio-matrix* from 1633 raged against boy-actors and linked cross-dressing literally to same-sex practice:

went clad in womans apparel, the better to elliciate, countenance, act and colour their unnaturall execrable uncleanness. (Levine 1994, 22)

Sixty years of pamphlets from the growing Puritan movement had taken their toll by 1642, when all theaters in England were closed, and one of history’s most creative periods of theater ended. By then, Campion had been dead for twenty-two years.

It would be difficult to suggest that Campion did not go to the theater and that boy-actors portraying women was something he had not seen. And the brothels and prostitutes of both sexes were closely linked to the theater.

Cross-dressing also occurred among women, but for quite other reasons:

Female transvestism was a fairly widespread practice, especially among lower-class women, as opportunities for work in the seventeenth century were increasingly limited to men. (Bray, 1982, 112)

What is clear is that there was a tradition of female transvestism in the period, of trouser-wearing women who adopted male roles in their working lives. More than 50 such women have been discovered in Britain and 155 in the Netherlands. These are not impressive numbers, but since the women in question were only caught when wounded or ill... there may have been many more. (Hufton 1995, 256)

Hufton refers here to women in the military or the navy, but how many women who secretly led their lives as men outside of the military life we can only guess. At least some were brought to trial by their wives, accused of fraud. Some of these relationships had lasted several years before they were taken to court.

Francis Bacon

We can be sure there were people accused of sodomy in Campion's days. One of them was Sir Francis Bacon, who once received the following threatening message:

Within this sty a hog doth lie
That must be hanged for sodomy. (Jardine and Stewart 1999, 465)

Bacon had a highly intelligent and complex nature. The rumours of sodomy lingered about his person for as long as he lived (Jardine and Stewart 1999). Bacon did not marry until he was forty-five, and then to a girl of fourteen. He had already chosen her for his bride when she was eleven, apparently as a good connection both in economy and breed. Fourteen-year-old Alice seemed to have functioned solely as a conceiver of his children, and as a way of bonding with the aristocracy. When Bacon's star was descending he was accused of

the practice of his most horrible and secret sin of sodomy, keeping still one Godrick a very effeminate faced youth to be his catamite. (Jardine and Stewart 1999, 464)

Bacon is interesting, because his household gives an image of the kind of home that might have enjoyed and performed Campion's songs. Bacon had one hundred servants: enough for an orchestra and an audience at the same time. However, Campion does not seem to have known him well. Epigram 189 in Campion's first book, *Poemata*, is about Bacon, but the tone is formal and admiring. They do not seem to have been close friends.

189. TO THE RIGHT NOBLE FRANCIS BACON, CHANCELLOR OF ALL ENGLAND
Venerable Poet owes you much, Bacon for that erudite and delightful book which endures under the title *Wisdom of the Ancients*, a work which will survive through all the ages of your reputation. Although many of your writings will bring you glory, I frankly aver, learned man, that in this one you prove gloriously wise. (Sutton 1999)

So let us assume Campion expresses homoerotic desire in his songs with female persona: what then does it mean? Could it be yet another sign that the songs are not about women and were not supposed to be sung by women? Even if men and women sang them occasionally, the songs in their context within each Book could be part of another message legible in a different way to Campion and his male friends.

Chapter 5

Cracking the Campion Code?

Most of Thomas Campion's songs with female personas appear in the song books dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounson (1569–1641), an M.P., Master of the Armory at the Tower, and Master Falconer to James I, and in the song book dedicated to Mounson's son, Sir John. This chapter will show how these songs were tailor-made for a homosocial coterie around Sir Thomas Mounson, and how the songs with female personas in particular could have been an arena for codified messages about homoeroticism.

Campion's first songs in print

In 1601, Campion's lute songs appeared in print for the first time. The book was a joint production with his colleague Philip Rosseter and it was dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounson, who already favoured Campion. Sir Thomas Mounson was made a baronet in 1611. In the years to come he was to fall from this pinnacle and land in prison in the Tower, but in 1601 Mounson was still a person of high reputation. Rosseter wanted to use Campion's relationship with Sir Thomas Mounson to advance himself. Campion, in turn, may have benefited from having his songs printed in Rosseter's book, since printing one's songs does not seem to have been entirely proper at this time. Music was sometimes linked to low moral standing in the public mind. Campion would overcome the stigma rather quickly, since he had four more songbooks printed later in his own name.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Prefaces

The disposition of the joint production with Rosseter in 1601 was as follows: Rosseter’s preface, with a dedication to Sir Thomas Mounson; a preface by Campion; and twenty songs by Campion. After that followed twenty of Rosseter’s songs.

In Thomas Mounson’s home, Campion met the richest and most influential families of England, contacts that might result in commissions for masques or patients for Campion’s medical practice. He was not, however, part of Mounson’s household in the way that John Dowland was part of King Christian IV’s court in Denmark or Robert Jones of James I’s.

Rosseter’s preface was extremely obsequious, as was common at the time:

TO THE RIGHT VIRTUOUS AND WORTHY KNIGHT, SIR THOMAS MOUNSON.
Sir, the general voice of your worthiness, and the many particular favors which I have heard Master *Campion* (with dutiful respect often acknowledge himself to have received from you) have emboldened me to present this Book of Ayres to your favorable judgment, and gracious protection; especially because the first rank of songs are of his own composition, made at his vacant hours, and privately imparted to his friends, whereby they grew both public, and (as coin cracked in exchange) corrupted: some of them both words and notes unreceptively challenged by others. In regard of which wrongs, though his self neglects these light fruits as superfluous blossoms of his deeper Studies, yet hath it pleased him upon my entreaty, to grant me the impression of part of them, to which I have added an equal number of mine own. And this two-face *Janus* thus in one body united, I humbly entreat you to entertain and defend, chiefly in respect of the affection which I suppose you bear him, who I am assured doth above all others love and honour you. And for my part, I shall think my self happy if in any service I may deserve this favour.¹² (Rosseter 1601, ii)

Your Worships humbly devoted
PHILIP ROSSETER

It is obvious that Rosseter really wanted to make a good impression on Mounson. His tone is devout and formal. The difference in tone between the two prefaces is great. When we read Campion’s preface, a completely different

12. I have revised the spelling, but the italics are Rosseter’s own.

tone appears. However, Campion does not address Mounson directly. His preface is to “the reader,” which, of course, includes Mounson, but we cannot exclude the possibility that Campion regards Mounson as his peer. In any event, Campion holds forth in an elegant, snobbish and even patronizing manner:

TO THE READER.

WHAT Epigrams are in Poetry, the same are Ayres in music, then in their chief perfection when they are short and well seasoned. But to clog a light song with a long Praeludium is to corrupt the nature of it. Many rests in Music were invented either for necessity or the fugue, or granted as a harmonical licence in songs of many parts: but in Ayres I find no use they have, unless it be to make a vulgar, and trivial modulation seem to the ignorant strange, and to the judicial tedious...

...Nevertheless, as in Poesy we give the pre-eminence to the Heroicall Poem, so in Music we yield the chief place to the grave, and well invented Motet, but not to every harsh and dull confused Fantasia, where in multitude of points the Harmony is quite drowned. Ayres have both their Art and pleasure, and I will conclude of the as the Poet did in his censure, of Catullus the Lyric, and Virgil the Heroic writer:

Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo:
Quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio. (Rosseter 1601, iii)

The tone of Campion’s preface is a mixture of friendliness, pedagogy, and aloofness. He seems relaxed and at ease compared to Rosseter’s nervous humbleness. Campion knows Mounson well and knows what he likes. They seem to share an interest in classic authors like Martial, Catullus, and Virgil. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Catullus, who Campion held in such high esteem, wrote epigrams that expressed both same-sex desire and practice, as well as love for women. They both like music, amorous songs and amorous attires. In Campion’s preface to the 1601 Rosseter Collection dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounson he says:

The subiect of them [the song] is for the most part amorous, and why not amorous songs, as well as amorous attires? Or why not new Ayres, as well as new fascions? (Rosseter 1601, iii)

The word “attire” generates many associations. In a modern dictionary (OED) it is explained as “prink, rig out, fancy up, fig out, fig up, tog out, tog up”; in Swedish translation “dräkt, klädsel, klädesplagg, skrud” (Ordboken 1980).

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

These are all words that have to do with clothing, which also can function metaphorically like the word “disguise.” And if Campion’s songs with female personas were indeed sung by men, why not men in women’s clothing? The boys who played female parts in the theater were dressed like that, so why wouldn’t Sir Thomas Mounson or Francis Bacon dress up one of their young servants as a girl?

But what did it mean to Thomas Campion? In the OED etymology of the word attire, the same things appear:

†2. Personal adornment, or decoration; ‘get up.’ Also (with *pl.*) an ornament. *Obs.*

1382 *Bible* (Wycliffite, E.V.) Ezek. xxiii. 40 Ourned with wommans atyre [Vulg. *mundo muliebri*].

1568 *Bible* (Bishops’) Isa. iii. 18 The gorgiousnesse of ye attyre about their feete.

1621 J. Molle tr. P. Camerarius *Living Libr.* iv. vi. 240 Dressings, bracelets, and attires.

1642 T. Fuller *Holy State* v. i. 358 Commonly known by her whorish attire: As crising and curling.

But the quotation in OED closest to the time of Campion’s *Third Booke of Ayres* is this:

a1616 Shakespeare *Julius Caesar* (1623) i. i. 48 And do you now put on your best attyre? And do you now cull out a Holyday?

Attire seems to have been a multilayered word, even for Campion.

Let’s take a look at another dedication from this period. Shakespeare dedicated two poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucretia*, to his patron Sir Henry Wriothesley. The latter dedication follows here:

Lucrece

To the Right honourable Henry Wriothesley

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, AND BARON OF TITCHFIELD

The love I dedicate to your Lordship is without end; whereof this pamphlet, without beginning is but a superfluous moiety. The warrant I have of your honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutor'd lines, makes it assured of acceptance. What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours; being part in all I have, devoted yours. Were my worth greater, my duty would show greater; meantime, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship, to whom I wish long life, still lengthen'd with all happiness.

Your Lordship's in all duty, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. (Bryson 2007, 88)

In 2011, these lines seem sugary, almost smarmy. But according to the author Bill Bryson, it is an unusually informal dedication:

A. L. Rowse, for one, could think of 'no Elizabethan dedication that gives one more the sense of intimacy'; and that conclusion is echoed with more or less equal vigour in many other assessments. (Bryson 2007, 89)

Knowing this, Campion's dedication to "the reader"/Mounson seems even more informal. The man we meet here is a rather self-confident 34-year-old. He does not hesitate to talk in an expert manner on music, poetry, and ancient Greek and Roman poets. He dismisses the whole art of the Italian madrigal and generally rails against everything he does not like. He does, however, regard epigrams as a worthy art form. And that is no coincidence; it is the kind of thing he writes himself and has published earlier.

The year after the Rosseter collection was printed, Campion would write *Observations in the Art of English Poesy*, a book that completely discarded the kind of poetry he and Rosseter were writing now. This change needs to be further explored, but it is not within the scope of this thesis.

Same-sex desire

Campion almost apologizes that not all the poetry is in Classical verse meter, although he points out specifically in the preface that one of them is in Sapphic meter. This turns out to be the last song in the collection. But what does it mean that the first song has the title "My sweetest Lesbia?" I will suggest that this bracketing of the collection is not an accident.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Sappho, who lived on the isle of Lesbos ca. 600 BCE, is the first known female poet. Her poetry has become a representation of all love lyrics between women. According to myth, she had a school for the girls with whom she fell in love. The word “lesbian” emanates from Sappho’s love for her female students. People who knew Latin, and Campion certainly did, knew this. Although the aim of Harriet Andreadis’ book *Sappho In Early Modern England* (2001) is to describe how translators gradually hid the erotic contents of Sappho’s poems, Andreadis also shows how learned people, familiar with Latin, read about Sappho in Ovid, who was quite frank about Sappho’s sexual preferences. Campion was a learned man and could be described as obsessed with classical myths and poetry I think we can assume he had read Sappho in Ovid’s translation.

In the early seventeenth century, homoeroticism was altogether a different matter, as Bray has shown. People did not define their identity in terms of homo- or heterosexual. However, since there was no equivalent to (what we call) a homosexual identity, the common view was that homosexual practice was “a sin to which men’s natural corruption is prone” (Bray 1982, 17).

As we have seen, Thomas Laqueur writes about man and woman as one flesh: how there was in people’s mind only one gender – the male – and an inferior version of the same – the female. Laqueur argues that this also affected the way same-sex desire was looked upon and refers to the work of Michel Foucault when he says:

Sexuality as a singular and all-important human attribute with a specific object – the opposite sex – is the product of the late eighteenth century. There is nothing natural about it. (Laqueur 1990, 13)

Classical ideals

Still, the Renaissance of classical ideals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries meant the uncovering of both misogyny and homoeroticism.

Catullus (84–54 BCE), in particular, was Campion’s house god. Catullus wrote many of his love poems to “Lesbia” (who probably was a married woman and also the mistress of Catullus), so how can we know the name “Lesbia” really had the same associations for Campion that it has for us? In his Latin poems Campion uses other names from Classical literature as well, mostly Mellea and Caspia. “Lesbia,” as far as I can see, is only used once.

A closer look at Catullus shows other aspects of his writing. His love poems are directed to both women and men. So, as we can see, Catullus makes associations to both hetero- and homoeroticism. Campion was a sophisticated and learned man. He might have wanted to give a nod to a learned audience, but certainly not to write it large for everyone to read.

Philip Sidney, with whom Campion had his first piece of poetry published, also wishes to titillate his audience with hints of homoeroticism. In the long Latin poem *New Arcadia*, we meet Pyrocles, disguised as a woman, who succeeds in winning the love of the princess Philoclea. Pyrocles cannot get close to her as a man, so he has to persuade the princess to fall in love with someone of her own sex.

He does not succeed until he sings a Sapphic song, whereby Philoclea is sweetly ravished. Julie Crawford writes:

Rather, Sidney's sapphics invoke and enact female agency, desire and homoeroticism, and this specific invocation of female desire is part of the "hidden design" of *The Old Arcadia*. (Crawford 2002, 979)

As I wrote earlier, the last song of Campion in the Rosseter collection is in Sapphic meter, and that is probably no coincidence.

The songs were written long before they were printed, so Campion had plenty of time to decide how he wanted to place the songs in relation to one another. The author and singer David Lindley has shown convincingly how Campion consciously placed his songs in relation to one another (1986).

Country matters

Dr Rosalynd King, who taught English literature at Queen Mary & Westfield College, drew my attention to how the word country was used in the days of Shakespeare and Campion: as "cunt-ry". Here is a short conversation between Hamlet and Ofelia from the third act of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

H: Lady, shall I lie in your lap?

O: No, my Lord.

H: I mean, my head upon your lap?

O: Ay, my Lord.

H: Do you think I meant country matters? (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 2)

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

As mentioned in Chapter 2 these “country matters” are also alluded to in the third song in the Rosseter collection, “I care not for these ladies,” where the phrase “the wanton country maid” stays on the syllable “count” for a half note, long enough for the listener to develop the right association. The meaning is enhanced by the word “wanton” before it.

In *Shakespeare’s bawdy, A Literary & Psychological Essay and a Comprehensive Glossary* (Partridge 1947) wanton is translated as sexually light, amorously playful, a light woman.

Later on in Campion’s song “I care not for these ladies,” we get some more information about what Campion thinks the country maid is like:

Who when we court and kiss, she cries: forsooth, let go!
But when we come were comfort is, she never will say No.

The eighth song in the same collection, “It fell on a summer’s day,” describes how Bess lay a-sleeping and Jamie sneaked in and abused her. It sounds like a rape, but we are also told that Bess knows exactly what is happening and decides to go to sleep in the same place every afternoon hoping it will happen again. These songs are not the best ones, but they are examples of Mounson and Campion’s shared jargon.

The third and fourth books of Ayres and the Overbury Affair

In Campion’s *First Booke of Ayres* in his own name (1613), there are no songs with female personas at all. The book is dedicated to Francis, Earl of Cumberland, and the songs are all sacral. However, the book was printed together with his *Second Booke of Ayres*, dedicated to the Earl of Cumberland’s son, which contains three female personas. As we can see, Campion clearly had someone in mind to whom he adapted the contents of the songbooks when he had them printed. That is why I think the third and fourth books say something significant about the relation between Campion and Mounson.

The third and fourth books (the latter dedicated to Mounson’s son) contain ten female personas if we include “Never love” and “Silly boy,” more than any of Campion’s other songbooks. The third book starts with an affectionate preface:

Since now those clouds, that lately over-cast
Your Fame and Fortune, are dispersed at last:
And now since all to you fair greetings make,
Some out of love, and some for pity's sake:
Shall I but with a common stile salute
Your new enlargement? or stand only mute?
I to whose trust and care you durst commit
Your pined health, when Art despaired of it?

Campion's dedication continues:

I, that in you affliction often viewed
In you the fruits of manly fortitude,
Patience, and even constancy of mind
That Rock-like stood, and scorned both wave, and wind?
Should I for all you ancient love to me
Endowed with weighty favors, silent be?
Your merits, and my gratitude forbid
That either should in *Lethean* Gulfe lie hid.
But how shall I this work of fame express?
How can I better, after pensiveness,
Then with light strains of Music, made to move
Sweetly with the wide-spreading plumes of love?
These youth-born *Ayres* then, prisoned in this Book,
Which in your Bowers much of their being took,
Accept as a kind offering from that hand
Which joined with heart your virtue may command.
Who love a sure friend as all good men do,
Since such you are, let those affect you to:
And may the joys of that Crown never end,
That innocence doth pity, and defend. (Campion 1617, iii)

The spelling is modernized.

In the preface, Campion refers to Mounson's time in jail and his illness not only explicitly but also in turns of phrase such as "prisoned in this book."

Mounson stood "rock-like" in the Overbury affair by claiming his own innocence all the time:

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

In October 1515 Mounson was put in confinement in the house of an alderman and in December he was remanded to the Tower where he fell ill in January 1616, sending for Campion. In February he pleaded at the Court of King’s Bench for a pardon, but not as a guilty, because he pleaded innocent all the time... Campion was depending on Mounson’s foresay or he would be imprisoned too. (Vivian 1909, xlvi)

So Mounson’s rock-like attitude was crucial to Campion.

The preface alludes to Mounson’s state and state of mind, and so too do many of the songs in the book, something which has also caught the attention of Davis (1967, 128) and Lindley:

The first part of the collection deals with disappointed love: The three central poems, ‘Now winter nights’, ‘Awake thou spring’ and ‘What is it all’ speak of contentment in love: thereafter, with only two exceptions, we return to the opening territory of thwarted love. (Lindley 1986, 25–6)

Lindley also notices the connection between the eighth and eleventh songs and Mounson’s state, since the stressing of the elements of “truth” and “faith.” Lindley also comments on other themes connected to Mounson in the songs, as the lamenting of a lonely and idle person, and the theme of betrayal. I think there might be even more links between the Overbury affair and the *Third Booke of Ayres*.

The first song is one of the most beautiful songs Campion ever wrote: it is “Oft have I sighed,” a song that declares love for a man, but does not say anything of the singer’s gender. Because of the placement of this song directly after the tender dedication to Mounson, the possibility cannot be excluded that the song is addressed directly to Mounson. It was also common to put the best song first, as a pop artist today puts the hit first in the album. The *Third Booke of Ayres* begins in a different mood from the Rosseter collection and the *Second Booke of Ayres*. Unrequited love is the subject of the three first songs. The words “false” and “treason” allude to many aspects of the Overbury case, which was the reason for Mounson’s imprisonment. After perhaps trying to ease Overbury’s mind with the fourth song, a “vaine ditty” with a female persona (“Maids are simple”), the fifth song has an unusually heavy mood. It speaks of the apathy and sorrow of someone who is involuntarily alone and idle, as Mounson would have been in prison: “Virtue dies with too much rest.”

The sixth song, “Why presumes thy pride?”, is like a reproach to Frances Howard, the one who was assigned and also accepted the blame for the murder. The seventh song condemns the whole female sex, and explicitly refers to what happened to Mounson:

Lost is our freedom, when we submit to women so.

Song eight seems also to describe Mounson’s situation, pointing directly back to the preface’s last line, “That innocence doth pitty, and defend”:

to see poor Virtue scorned, truth far exiled, false art loved, vice adored, free justice sold, worst causes best adorned, right cast by power, pity in vain implor’d.

Campion usually avoids “despair” in his lyrics, preferring lighter words like “sweet,” “lips,” and “maids” (Kastendieck 1938) but in his *Third Booke of Ayres*, the rejected lover, the male persona, wants to die in both song nine and song ten.

Frances Howard caused a misogynistic outburst. The archbishop of Canterbury and the priest Arthur Wilson (who also served in the household of Frances Howard’s first husband), wrote one book each in which she was described in obviously misogynist terms (Abbot 1715; Wilson 1715).

Campion was maybe not the ladies’ man that Gail Reitenbach wanted him to be, and neither did he try to defend Frances Howard, as I suggest in my exordium. In the beginning of the *Third Book of Ayres*, many of the songs are unusually hostile to women, and I believe that is because of Frances Howard and the Overbury affair. Yet the ninth song, which has many bad things to say about women, ends by saying that false women are better than none at all. And later on, Campion counterbalances this with even more songs about the qualities of women.

Song twelve, “Now winter nights enlarge,” is mildly consoling, and after that, a song about spring is even more comforting, if we believe Mounson needed comfort.

“Talk!” says the song, “Wake thou spring of speaking grace.” Talking is necessary; the persona addresses someone whose voice and words have been sleeping, and now it is time for talking!

After that comes song fourteen, which actually defends women in four verses, thus counterbalancing the previous songs of women’s ill deeds:

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Good wife is the good I praise, if by good men possessed;
Bad with bad in ill suite well, but good with good live blessed.

In the next song, the rejected lover is not as depressed as before, and then comes a jesting song with a female persona: “If thou long’st so much to learne.” Now when the mood is changed, it is time for yet another jesting song, “Shall I come sweet Love to thee?”

The Overbury case contained some chocking evidence on witchcraft. As mentioned earlier, a lead statue of a couple making love was shown. It made the audience of the courtroom so outraged it took half an hour to quiet them. The statue was submitted as evidence proving that Frances Howard had used witchcraft to attain the love of Prince Henry (McElwee 1952). Prince Henry was not alive at the time of the trial, so the only reason for showing the statue was to incriminate Frances Howard. Knowing this, song eighteen, “Thrice toss these oaken ashes,” comes across as special. The song is a detailed description of various magic ways to make a lady fall in love with the male persona. There is an enchanted chair, poisonous weed is burnt, and there is a cypress gathered at a dead mans grave. Song nineteen is a much more balanced love song than those that come before. The persona does not want to die, and he even takes “no” for an answer, accepting a love at distance if he can have nothing else:

I will love thee sacrificing, In thine honour Hymnes I’ll pray.

But this balanced love does not last long. Song twenty lets loose a barrage with its title imitating a street-cry: “Fire, fire!” And not all the water in the Thames or the ocean can quench the singer’s love. After this outburst comes something even more unusual: song twenty-one speaks of love within marriage. The next love is fair, but wild, and the song after that takes pleasure in longing. In song twenty-four despair is back. However, love is not involved this time. The reason for the sorrow is unclear, and makes me think again of Mounson’s poor state. Could it be that Mounson’s illness was also mental or combined with depression? The three verses of the twenty-fourth song, “Could my heart more,” describe the thoughts of a depressed soul. Once again, a true heart is repaid with “deedes unkind,” with resonances of Mounson’s imprisonment for trying to help his friends. Even though Mounson’s helping was not without legal ramifications, considering that Mounson’s involvement in replacing the lieutenant of the Tower directly enabled the murder of the prisoner Sir Thomas Overbury, yet Mounson may

not have known of the murder plans when he agreed to pay for the new lieutenant.

In song twenty-five, the persona watches a sleeping, beautiful woman, and then comes song twenty-six, the witty “Silly boy,” in which a young man is scorned for pretending to be melancholic. The next two songs are also light and comical, and then finally, at the end of this unusually long book (it contains twenty-nine songs, when the others have twenty, twenty-one, and twenty-four), we meet the rejected lover for the last time. The man has been through a journey that, to a modern eye, is reminiscent of psychotherapy. He has learnt his lesson. Yes, he is rejected, but he can take it. He does not want to die, he is not sad:

So my dear freedom have I gained, through her unkindness and disgrace

He is not even in love with the ungrateful any more:

Faith failing her, Love died in me.

Why homoeroticism?

Why, finally, would Campion want to hint at homoerotic practice if it was an abominable sin and punishable by death? And is there really any evidence for it?

There may be no obvious evidence, but direct and unambiguous statements would have been much too dangerous. Part of the reason why I still think there are indirect inferences is based on more subtle evidence such as Campion’s obsession with classical poetry, especially Catullus. Campion’s *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* from 1602 argues that classical poetry is superior to that of his contemporaries. I do think his classical colleagues functioned primarily as his role models rather than his contemporary ones. We also have Campion’s eagerness and consistency:

The subject of the epigram is for the most part amorous, and why not amorous songs, as well as amorous attires?

These amorous acts are far from what queen Victoria would have approved of two hundred years later. There is adultery in “A secret love or two” (Campion 1613), in which a married woman sings; promiscuity in “If thou long’st so

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

much to learne” (Campion 1617), in which twenty rivals show up in middle of an amorous act; sadomasochism in the Latin Elegy IV *Ille miser facilis cui nemo invidit amores*, in which the lover bites his mistress until she bleeds at night, while by day he must fetch her slippers; and even homoeroticism as in the long poem in Latin, “Umbra,” where a male god falls in love with a male human, but must transform himself to a woman before he can win him.

Campion never married and never had any children that we know of. Yet marriage in the seventeenth century was not only a convenient and common way to organize your life, it was also a way to develop a good reputation (Stone 1977). Campion collaborated with Rosseter all his life and as I mentioned previously, they seem to have been living together. When Campion died, Rosseter was his sole heir. Were they a couple?

After all of this, the question is rather why *wouldn't* Campion express homoeroticism? To hint is not the same thing as to encourage the deed. This is the contradiction of the Renaissance shown also by Forrest Tyler Stevens in his analysis of Erasmus's *Collection of Materials for Letters of Friendship* (Stevens 1994). Stevens shows that Erasmus recommends his students to use material from love letters between men and women as models for writing to male friends. Erasmus sees no conflict at all in this, although modern, heteronormative readings have refused to see this.

Many layers

Campion's lyrics often worked on several levels simultaneously. John Irwin (1970) has shown how the song “Now winter nights enlarge” (Campion 1617) at first sight seems to imply courtly love, but also is a song of explicitly carnal love, and on a third level is about existential issues of life and death. Campion worked with symbols known to upper class intellectuals where he belonged, but also with internal rhymes, assonances and an intelligent and inventive use of phonemes.

In the Rosseter collection only one song has a female persona, but a closer look at all of the songs shows that many of the personas have no gender at all, and all except for the last song are love songs. When the persona has no explicit gender it means that most of the time a man expressing his love for a woman is taken for granted. But can we be absolutely sure about that? If “Lesbia” is a code for homoeroticism, the first song could be a love song from a man to a man.

Rosseter writes of “this two-face Janus thus in one body united” in his dedication. What does he mean? That the songbook has two authors, as Janus

has two faces, is the most obvious interpretation, but are there any others? Janus looks into the future and the past at the same time. He is the God of beginnings and ends, but he can also be two people standing back to back in order not to be overtaken. Two people who have a reason to watch each other's backs, maybe two people who break taboos?

And since Janus is the God of beginnings and ends, it could also be emblematic of the way in which *Campion* begins and ends his part of the *Rosseter* book, the first song being "My sweetest *Lesbia*" and the last song set in Sapphic meter; the two songs that most directly hint at homoerotic practice.

Sixteen years later, when both *Campion* and *Mounson* were old men, *Campion* knew *Mounson* well enough to tailor a collection of songs for him, including songs written long before, but maybe some new ones as well. *Campion* calls them "These youth-born *Ayres* then, prisoned in this Book, Which in your *Bowers* much of their being took." So some of the songs were written when both were young at *Mounson's* house in those bowers. According to the *OED*, a bower is:

A dwelling, habitation, abode. In early use lit. A cottage; in later use a poetical word for 'abode'.

An inner apartment, esp. as distinguished from the 'hall', or large public room, in ancient mansions; hence, a chamber, a bed-room.

b. esp. a vague poetic word for an idealized abode, not realized in any actual dwelling.

3. A place closed in or overarched with branches of trees, shrubs, or other plants; a shady recess, leafy covert, arbour.

But the most intimate meaning is this:

b. Especially applied to a lady's private apartment; a boudoir. Now only poetic.

These are songs to soothe, amuse and comfort a sick and depressed patron, a lifelong friend, someone who shared a taste for jesting songs and same-sex desire.

Part II
Singing Champion



Figure 3: Katarina A. Karlsson and Ingvar Grimberg from the 1996 production "You who have Wings." Photo: Kari Jantzen.

Introduction

The smell of London in 1617 faintly reaches us through four hundred years of cobwebs, spiders' webs. Had we been close enough, its stench of rotting meat, coal smoke, animal and human excrement would have overpowered us. And where there were no gutters, the waste would be heaped on the streets. And when it rained and the gutters worked, where did all the filth go? Into the Thames it went, into the nearest hole, shallow pool, or well.

The sounds would be deafening; wheels fitted with iron, and hooves striking unevenly paved streets. How can anyone be so stupid as to use flint stone for a road? Write to the King and complain! But James I is busy with other things. He is supervising the translation of the Bible, looking after his sore feet, visiting a masque, hunting, being entertained by his lover, or wondering what to do about the realm's dangerous witches.

We would have been overwhelmed to see the contrasts between rich and poor, how some buildings would look like palaces on a street broad enough for two teams of four horses to meet, while another street, not far away, would be so crammed with little rundown buildings, their roofs would almost meet above our heads. The people would seem small and limp, deformed and stinking, boisterous and malicious to us. And then we would see all the animals! The surprisingly bold rats, the horses that shit anywhere, the huge train of cows and pigs forced into the city every morning to be food for someone's table, the cats and dogs that no one seems to care about, and, of course, all the insects.

Then we would hear the music! If we were to open any low door to a tavern there would be singing and playing, every square would resound with the distant rowers or the street mongers shouting and singing, every now and then a piper or a fiddler or a singing beggar would meet us as we pass by.

And just as we thought we were adjusted to the ugliness, beauty would appear. A carved piece of wood by a door, a lace collar, a beautiful face, an elaborate window, or something carefully embroidered on a dirty sleeve. And after the next turn in the street, we would hear the wicked screams from people cursing, and the terrible thump of stones hitting a poor wretched thief in the pillory.

When we reached the city porch we would be flabbergasted by the sight of skulls on poles, their staring empty eyeholes and wavering hair. But if we were unable to move, beggars and children would surround us and tear our clothes, touching our arms, asking for money.

This stinking place is one of Europe's biggest cities, with seventy-five

thousand people living in the City of London and Westminster, including Thomas Campion on Fleet Street with his neighbors John Dowland and Philip Rosseter. Another twenty-five thousand in the suburbs, one of them Southwark, where we would find the bear-baiting arenas, theaters, and brothels.

If we were to travel with Campion to Audley End, the largest private home in England, to visit his adoptive family the Howards, the quietness would surprise us. There would be no low, constant hum of motors; the air would have no scent of petrol. Grass, leaves, flowers, and perhaps animals would create a strangely familiar perfume. Shocked by what we had seen in the city, we would sit down on a dry spot, soothed by the soft breeze on our faces, finding the air soft, dry, and full of scents, in a landscape where every hill, slope, or plateau of nature's architecture would be untouched by human hands, and every road or path softly adjusted to it.

- To human hands?
- Yes, that and nature.

The multitude of plants and herbs would be slightly disturbing. We would be surprised the trees were so few, and the horizons so open, unmarked by relentless straight lines of masts and wires, and the contrails of passing airplanes. And then, when our ears had shrunk enough we would hear it: the air rushing through the leaves, the birdsong near and far away, the insects, the ripple of a brook. And we would think:

- Is this an audiotrack for a qi-gong class?
- No, this is what the countryside actually sounds like in 1617.

Chapter 6

Why do I sing the way I do?

In this chapter, I will describe the choices I have made when singing Campion, and my relationship to topics such as voice production, the Early Music Movement, and singing cross-dressed.

My voice

It is difficult to imagine what my voice would have been like had I not trained it.

In my first voice classes I had to work a great deal with pronunciation, besides learning new songs. As a direct result of the classes I noticed, for the first time ever, my own dialect. The result was that I lost it over time and I could never use it again, except to make fun of it.

Having voice training makes you listen to yourself, and removes the unwanted aspects of your voice: that is, what the coach thinks is unwanted. That is naturally partly due to the preferences of the voice coach, but most of all to what is culturally accepted. At the end of the 1970s, everyone who took voice classes was expected to learn how to sing as beautifully as possible in a western classical style. What the student wanted to do with his or her singing was never a question; the style was taken for granted. There was only one way to sing with “vocal technique.” Singers in pop, soul, R&B: they were all considered to be singing *without* vocal technique. One example of this cultural imperialism was when a professional opera singer complained that special singers were hired to sing musicals within his own opera house. I heard the singer say, “Since opera is the highest of all musical forms, it automatically contains all other forms within itself.”

Today we know an opera singer singing R&B does not make sense in

most cases, as well as the other way around. There are some singers who can combine musical and opera, but at the time the remark was coined, almost no one could.

My own view is that no way of singing is better than any other, including my own. I will not try and describe any other way of singing than my own. Not because it is better, but because it is the one I know. I have, of course, my aesthetic preferences but they include singers of all styles. The opera singers Anna Netrebko and Bryn Terfel, but also the Swedish jazz singer Monica Zetterlund, and most of all the Swedish singer Freddie Wadling, who has sung a great variety of repertoire from punk to Dowland: to me, these are all examples of how far you can take the art of singing.

My voice adapted very well to the voice coaches' expectations. I adapted so well that I was accepted into the conservatory's singing class, where I was taught to teach other people to sing the same way I was taught myself. We practiced our new teaching skills on volunteers and without warning a supervisor could enter at any time. We were then supposed to go on teaching without taking any notice of the supervisor who, with one exception, sat mute as a mummy on a chair: a mummy who took notes. To move out of the allowed sphere of expectations was not approved of. I was scolded for letting a student do exercises in the chest register. The same teacher also told me a singer should never allow herself to sing “unaesthetic” notes.

So my voice developed into something else than what it had been previously. It got louder, it got a continuous vibrato, it got more even through the registers, and I got rid of my dialect. To what end? Well, I could do concerts in churches, I could be a soloist in oratorios by Bach and Handel, and if I had had a really strong voice, which I did not, I could have applied to an opera school and then maybe sung opera in an opera house. In choral singing, the training was also usable for the kind of music I sang most of the time, with the Rilke Ensemble.

When I started training actors in singing, both my students and I were frustrated. I tried to teach in the same way as I had been taught, but it did not work well with the actors. They needed their singing register to be much closer to their talking register, and the aesthetics of Western classical music did not work for them.

Western classical music was actually something alien even to myself. No one in my family or among my relatives had ever had a relation to, or a liking for such music. Neither of my parents could sing. My mother not only sang out of tune, she was not even in the tune's neighbourhood. But I learned to

love Western classical music, and I still do. Still the music sometimes made my throat contract from all the expectations my teachers had. In order to conquer the “preciousness” of it, I developed a method of my own. My assumption was: in order to sing beautifully, you must allow yourself to sing in an ugly way. I made up new vocal exercises for myself. I hummed and screamed and stomped like a troll, I sang Italian arias with the phrasing and voice production of Bob Dylan. I found out that I had to move while I was singing, preferably as “unaesthetically” as possible. The more I fooled around with classical music, the easier it was to sing beautifully without my throat contracting. If there had been a Department of Silly Syllables, as well as Monty Python’s Department of Silly Walks, I would have run it.

While working with the actors, I noticed their ability to express feelings was more varied than the opera singers in the same school, for the simple reason that they were allowed to use their voices in more ways. And when they used their voices in many ways, they also moved their bodies with more variety, while many singers were stiff and had difficulties using their bodies with variation on stage.

If the actors’ untrained voices expressed more feelings than the singers, then were they not actually expressing the music even better? Sometimes they were.

The Early Music Movement

When I first sang the songs of Thomas Campion, I was as naive as my own voice coaches. They thought my way of singing the songs was good – yes, even ideal.

Singing early music had then recently become an art of its own. Philippe Herreweghe, Alfred Deller, the Kuijken and Koopman brothers, and others developed alternative ways of interpreting early music in the middle of the twentieth century. The musicologist and lutenist Diana Poulton (1903–1995), who wrote her dissertation on John Dowland in 1972, was one of the pioneers of the Early Music Movement and also a co-founder of the English Lutenist Society in 1956. When she was young, the revolutionary theory was that a voice should sound weak like the viol, a timbre Poulton identified as “objective.” Some years later, ornamentation became the next challenge for singers. Emma Kirkby put a great deal of effort and artistry into the reconstruction, improvisation, and decoration of seventeenth-century songs an ornamentation so taken for granted, that it was never documented. Today, in 2011, some musicians say it is not enough to learn ornaments, you must

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

be able to vary the ornamentation with every performance: not only repeating phrases, but inventing new ones while you are singing or playing. There have been connections made between folk music, jazz and Baroque and Renaissance music. One example is the jazz saxophone player Jan Garbarek's work with the Hilliard ensemble, for instance on the CD *Officium* (1993); another example is the jazz pianist Uri Caine's interpretations of Bach and Buxtehude. The habit of mixing early music with folk and jazz music is in use in many countries today, not least in Sweden, where three of my colleagues, the jazz musician Anders Jormin, the organist Karin Nelson, and the folk music flutist Jonas Simonsson are exploring how their different attitudes to improvising can meet.

The Early Music Movement reached Sweden full blast in the 1970s. Historically informed musicians used copies of old instruments; singers changed their way of singing. Virtuoso singers learned to ornament, to use their vibratos ornamentally rather than continuously, and to pronounce old English correctly, and they did all of this with great beauty and grace.

Limits

I never considered myself part of the Early Music Movement, although I have sung a lot of early music. I simply sang the music I liked or was asked to sing, and it happened to be Champion, Dowland, Purcell, and Bach. I admire and respect my colleagues; I especially want to mention Maria Bania and Karin Nelson and their newly-defended dissertations in this area (Bania 2008; Nelson 2010). But historically informed ornamentation and pronunciation is neither within the scope of my own singing nor of this thesis. This is also the reason why I have not chosen to research the way that the songs were intended originally to be performed; with the accompaniment of a lute.

David Lindley claims:

Ornament is not an optional and detachable layer, which can simply be peeled off to reveal the ‘true’ object beneath it. (Lindley 1986, 68)

And

...improvised embellishment would have seemed to Campion, and should therefore seem to the modern performer, an entirely natural phenomenon. (Lindley 1986, 72)

But there are many other things that were natural phenomena to Campion that we do not bother to repeat. Performing Campion’s songs in a public concert hall to a paying audience would be so completely alien to Campion that I find it hard to persuade myself to be “true” to Campion solely on the level of the embellishments. Why not also be true to the clothes, the hygiene, the smell? And if one were to pronounce old English really well, maybe one also should have one or two missing teeth? I do appreciate the scholars who have dug deeper into the performance practice, not least the fine work done by Lindley, but when he says, “not optional,” I say: it is obviously optional to sing Campion without ornamentation, because it is possible. What *is* impossible is to imagine *exactly* how Campion’s songs sounded four hundred years ago. One of the obvious reasons is that we have no recordings. Another reason is that there is so little written about voice production in England in the seventeenth century, maybe because it was not considered important. That is the conclusion of the highly regarded early music expert, the late Sir Robert Spencer, whom I had the pleasure to meet and interview in 1989.

Elizabethan comment on singing itself is sparse, but even that tells us something. That writers equated learning to sing only with learning to sight-read, indicates how little attention was paid to voice production. (Fischlin 1998, 250)

In chest voice most of the muscles of the vocal chords vibrate, which produces a kind of tone most women use when they talk. Men use the chest register all the time, except when they sing or talk in falsetto. In pop and rock music all over the world, women sing with chest voice as high as f₂. So actually, most female singing except in Western art music is done in chest voice. Maybe what we call “head register” is only a footnote in musical

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history? Today I certainly question my voice teachers’ appreciation of the way I was singing English lute songs, when there is actually no evidence lute songs should be sung in the head register at all.

To sing in chest voice was also common in Campion’s day. In *King Lear*, Shakespeare lets the King praise the low voice of his favorite daughter Cordelia:

Her voice was ever soft, gentle and low, an excellent thing for a woman.
(Shakespeare 1986, 941)

This quotation from Shakespeare is used by Richard Wistreich to argue that the chest register was the most preferred register to sing in and Wistreich also quotes a sixteenth-century Italian source that makes this even more explicit:

Since the low voice exceeds and surpasses and embraces all the others, it must be considered more perfect, more noble and more generous. (Wistreich 2000, 180)

But even if the records on how to sing lute songs are sparse, Campion has told us how he does *not* want his music to be interpreted:

But there are some, who to appeare the more deepe and singular in their judgement, will admit no Musicke but that which is long, intricate, bated with fuge, chained with sincopation, and where the nature of everie word is precisely exprest in the Note, like the old exploded action in Comedies, when if they did pronounce *Memini* (“I remember”), they would point to the hinder part of their heads, if *Video* (“I see”), put their finger in their eye. But such childish observing of words is altogether ridiculous, and we ought to maintaine as well in Notes, as in action, a manly cariage, gracing no word, but that which is eminent and emphaticall. (Rosseter 1601, iii)

John Dowland also expressed what he did not like. In 1609, he translated Ornithoparcus’s *Musicae active micrologus* of 1515, and called it *The Art of Singing*. He probably shared the views he translated:

The uncomely gaping of the mouth, and ungracefull motion of the body, are signs of a mad singer. (Dowland 1609)

However, the sociologist Norbert Elias in *The Civilisation Process* (1989) draws clever conclusions from the advice he studied in books on etiquette

from the Middle Ages. While the older books on etiquette advise against eating with the hands from the collective bowl of food, belching and farting at the table, and throwing back food you do not like, some hundred years later the books of etiquette do not mention these things at all. It is no longer necessary because they are taken for granted. So what Campion and Dowland discourage is something that they have actually seen and experienced, or else they would not mention it. The consequences of this are that a historically informed way of singing Campion and Dowland can include both pointing to the hinder parts of our heads and uncomely gaping. It is also in a recommendation on how *not* to sing, from the Puritan William Prynne's *Histriomastix*, that we find the voice quality of the counter tenor:

Sometimes the masculine vigor (of the voice) being laid aside, it is sharpened into the shrilnesse of a woman's voyce: now and then it is wrethed, and retorded with a certine artificiall circumvolution. (Little 1859, 137)

Prynne describes here what he does not want to hear, so obviously he has heard it. To sing Renaissance music in falsetto is a wide-spread practice today also, and, as far as I can see, highly recommended from historically informed practitioners.

What I want to say is: there are many ways to be historically informed and I believe in letting early music find its way to the contemporary audience's ears without too many "musts" and "shoulds." I think TV series such as *The Tudors* show how interestingly and entertainingly this can be done, even though the producers are highly selective in their use of source material.

The lutenist Daniel Fischlin, in his fine book *In Small Proportions: A Poetics of the English Ayre, 1596–1622*, presents his theory that English lute songs were not sung to any audience at all. He finds proof in contemporary art, where the expression of the singer is often inward, and he or she might even be portrayed turned away from the spectator. This is an interesting theory, although almost all paintings Fischlin refers to were painted outside of England.

Fischlin also claims the originators did not even *want* to have their songs sung. He finds proof of this in the following quotation from Philip Rosseter's preface to his joint production with Thomas Campion (Rosseter 1601), where Rosseter writes that Campion's songs were

made at his vacant houres, and privately emparked to his friends, whereby they grew both publicke, and (as coine crackt exchange) corrupted. (Rosseter 1601, ii)

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Other composers such as Dowland, Ferrabosco, and Corkine set Campion’s lyrics to music more than once. But I do not think these well-known musicians are the targets of Rosseter’s complaint about corrupted songs. Also, I do not interpret the quotation as

Fischlin does: that Campion would not want his songs performed at all. On the contrary, Campion says that he had his songs printed at the *request* of his friends in the Preface to his first Book of Ayres:

Out of many songs which partly at the request of friends, partly for my own recreation were by me long since composed. (Campion 1613, ii)

It is true that Campion mentions reading the songs as an option, but it is not the only one.

Why would Campion try to fulfill the expectations of his friends if he did not want them to sing the songs? Is it not more probable that by having the songs printed, Campion could spread his own versions? Rosseter implies that the songs were spread in versions based on Campion’s own, but corrupted by others. Four hundred years ago Shakespeare’s plays also existed in various different versions made by actors before they were printed. So Rosseter’s fear of having his songs “corrupted” does not necessarily mean he did not want to have them performed. Campion just wanted his songs to be performed in his own versions. I draw the same conclusion from Campion’s Preface to his fourth Book of Ayres:

all these songs are mine if you expresse them well, otherwise they are your owne.
(Campion 1617, xxii)

To conclude: I have chosen to sing with Sir Robert Spencer’s wise words in mind. I do not consider voice production to be paramount. I use my voice the way it is, the way it has become after my voice training, but I do not ornament, I do not pronounce in an old style. I want to communicate the words and the music, to bring out different aspects from Campion’s time. As I mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, for me the questions Campion raises in his songs are: what is the essence of being a man or a woman, and how do you hold on to your creativity in a changing world?

The first question is also something Gunnar Eriksson, the leader of the Rilke Ensemble, constantly stresses. While other choir leaders work to get the music and lyrics right, and then present them to an audience, his work only

starts there. To get behind the words and the music means, to him, following the *intention* of the composer as closely as possible instead of just the paper music, as well as the intention of the poet and not only the words of the lyrics. It is a never-ending work without any definite answers, sometimes tiresome and disappointing, yet in the end more rewarding. Being trained like that once a week for thirty years has given me a perspective from which I cannot escape.

Those questions are my guide. If I want to sing in my chest register I do so. If I want to be hoarse or whisper or shout, I do so. Sometimes I even sing deliberately ugly and out of key. Ugliness and falseness are parts of the world Campion describes. I let my body sense where the music wants to take me, and then the voice must follow, wherever the trip goes. Sometimes the accompanying instrument makes the decisions for me, like the hurdy-gurdy with its drone strings and harsh sound, as I describe in Chapter 8. One melody can sway like a drunkard, one melody can be angry, another melancholic. I was not conscious of this method when I started the project: it has grown along with the thesis and because of it. Since I do not consider myself a part of the Early Music Movement, I also find it logical to not be bound to include the lute as an accompanying instrument for my interpretations.

Singing cross-dressed

In 1989, Utomjordiska Barockbolaget (the Alien Baroque Company) staged a production of “Susanna i badet” (Susanna in the bath), an opera by Stradella. I translated it to Swedish and also played a part as a narrator dressed as a man. The opera company was a combination of amateurs and professionals: the stage director Johann Nordqvist, the marvelous costume designer Nonno Nordqvist, and the lutenist and conductor Mikael Paulsson. Most of the other singers and musicians were students at the Academy of Music.

Not much attention was given to my part by the director, but the costume designer and my fellow singers on stage were helpful. I wore nice seventeenth-century-looking clothes, had slicked-back hair, a painted mustache and a fiancé in the choir. I remember a great deal of very fast running on stage. I not only sang the part of the narrator, I wrote an entirely new script abbreviating the opera to which Mikael Paulsson wrote new music in Stradella-style. The advantage of this was that I was entirely free to form my character through my own words and the new music. In my interpretation the narrator went in and out of the story, commenting on the events on stage and thus formed a bridge to the audience. The fact that I was a male actually had no importance

to the story or the acting, but for me it gave my role authority and dignity.

Further limits

When I started my female, cross-dressed quartet, my intention was that instead of being drag kings, we should try to look like women trying to be men. To me, drag is an art of its own and many people have spent a great deal of time and effort to bring that art to perfection. There are, of course, all the opera roles, like Cherubin in Mozart's *Figaro* and Octavian in Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*. There are also female comedians here in Sweden, Sissela Kyle and Klara Zimmergren, for instance, who are very successful in doing male characters.

I have never tried to compete with them, and I avoid using the word “drag” to describe my own practice. What I have done is something else: I play a woman dressed as a man, which makes the whole performance a meta-story. The advantage of this is that I can move the “gender-marks” as I want. I can sing one song as a man and the next one as a woman or even change gender in the middle of a song.



Figure 4: Katarina A. Karlsson as Molly Cutpurse from the 2010 production “Lucia meets Pajazzo. Photo: Pehr Buhre

Chapter 7

Singing *Campion* before my doctoral studies

In this chapter I describe how I work with singing in general, my inspiration from visiting teachers and directors at the Academy of Music and Drama, how I have worked with *Campion*'s songs in my own artistic practice, and the choices I have made when translating the songs into Swedish.

Trying to make “*Music for a while*” into “*Music, come alive!*”

I do not know how many times I have performed Purcell's “*Music for a while*,” in my own concerts, and most of all with the Rilke Ensemble. I have been a member of the Rilke Ensemble for thirty years and it has been in our repertoire for almost that long. Our conductor Gunnar Eriksson arranged the song for a solo voice accompanied by the rest of the group. I have been the lucky one to always sing the solo part. Usually, I stand in front of the audience and the rest of the group are placed around the hall. I love to sing it. Secretly I always dread there will be a moment when Gunnar will say it is someone else's turn to be the soloist. And that day will surely come. But in the meantime my intention has been to sing it better or at least differently every time.

Often “*Music for a while*” has been an encore after a long concert, when my voice has been tired. To be able to sing beautifully I need really strong images, and to try new images has also been a joy. The song's lyrics are about music, but the lyrics are so open, I find I can fill the story with anything. Here are some of the different images I have used through the years:

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

- The audience are babies needing comfort
- The audience have recently attended a funeral of a dear friend or relative
- I have just been released from jail
- The audience has never heard any music before
- The audience are parts of myself when I have had a hard time

There is a rather long introduction before it is my turn to sing. I can fill the introduction with my story, luckily, because that is all the preparation I get, if the song is an encore. But when it is my turn to start singing, the story often takes on a life of its own. So when I sing, I let whatever emotion I have at the moment fill my voice. And when the emotion enters my voice and my singing, the interaction among the emotion, the act of singing, and the images I began with often create a new story that develops without any conscious effort on my part. And that is the way singing works for me: emotions often become available and alive while I am singing. Not only that, it can be impossible to sing *without* emotions. Trying to suppress emotions affects your voice. Most of us can judge the mood of a person by their voice. But to sing in a Western classical way means you must limit the way you express those emotions. The expectations of a classical singer are not that she should start crying or howling, as a rock-singer perhaps could do. Knowing this, I have to make the images even stronger. Thereby I gain at least two things: first, my singing becomes better, because the emotions take my mind off the fact that my voice is tired, and second, the audience will see someone who is engaged in what she is doing, which will enhance their musical experience. There is also a third gain, which you can hope for, but never take for granted. The emotions I am projecting in my voice could be mirrored in the audience's own emotions. When listening to music, many of us have had feelings of the music entering our minds and making us experience something deeply emotional, maybe without us knowing why. Whether this will happen or not depends on what state of mind the listener is in and what happened before he or she started listening to the music. On rare occasions a whole audience can react as one united emotional body. Most of the time, though, at least some of them will have that experience, which is what I as a performer always hope for. The biggest gain for me, of course, is that I enjoy myself.

After several years of singing “Music for a while” I have not run short of new stories. Instead something else has happened. Since I have performed it so many times and with such joy, I only have to hear the first bar of the introduction to be filled with a tremendous anticipation. My heart beats faster,

not because I am nervous, but because I know I will tell a story that I so much want to tell. It is like entering a different state of being, a time outside of time. If I were to compare it with something, it would be jumping off a high cliff into the sea, which I sometimes do and which also fills me with happiness and fear. I am, after all, in front of a large number of people, and the falling ends in reaching the surface, the water, the audience, and I never know if I will succeed in making a landing without hurting myself.

Looking at Campion's stories from the actor's perspective

Teaching singing to drama students at the Academy of Music and Drama in Gothenburg has influenced my own singing and interpretation, even though I stopped teaching long ago. To see my students rehearse, and to watch and sometimes participate in the workshops with visiting directors and drama teachers has colored my own singing. The famous inventor of theater sport Keith Johnstone; Mario Gonzales from Guatemala, who, like Johnstone, worked with masques; and Mirka Dzakis from Greece, who explored the emotional and physical expressions of vowels, are some of the visiting teachers who made a lasting impact. I also want to mention the Swedish voice coach, the late Torsten Föllinger, who was the one to show me what it feels like to use real emotions in acting instead of imitating feelings that you think the audience would like to see. This might seem like a paradox when he and other directors also stressed the importance of not being private on stage. Instead you should make your own emotions and inner life available to what the character and the play demand. For more detailed descriptions of this, I recommend Stina Bergman Blix's thesis *Rehearsing Emotions* (2010).

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”



Figure 5: Katarina A. Karlsson in the 1994 production of Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas." Photo: Helena Ek.

So when I analyze the contents of a song I do it in the same way as an actor who prepares a role:

- What kind of woman can I portray with these lyrics?
- What happened to her before she started singing/after she has stopped singing?
- What experiences from my own life can I use to identify with what I find in the song?

If I do not find this, I will not be true to the song, the audience, or myself.

That is a quite different starting point from that of a historian, musicologist, or a literature expert, and the starting point I always use. I also try to listen to my own body to figure out what the melody wants to tell me.

To me, the most interesting way to interpret a song is almost always to have a hidden, contradictory story under the words. At the Academy of Music and Drama I used to challenge my students' acting abilities in order to make them more inspired to work with a song. For instance, I took a song (*Sommarö*, composed by Barbro Hörberg in 1972) that is ostensibly about a telephone call from a lonely depressed wife, and staged it as an adulterous wife holding the telephone in one hand while stroking her lover with the other. I have often used the method of saying one thing, while intending something completely

different when I sing. Sometimes the hidden meaning does not have to make sense. As long as it makes the performance better, the story can be anything that brings inspiration to the singing.

Yet there are other aspects of Campion's songs with female personas. Many of them are private moments. This leads even further into the world of theater.

Private moment

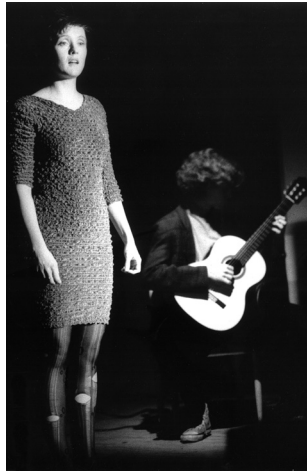


Figure 6: Katarina A. Karlsson and Thomas Melin from the 1990 production "Stravinsky Never Baked Spongecake."

A private moment is something significant in the world of theater and drama, but the phenomenon is not exclusive to the theater world; it exists and is equally important in many songs. In my opinion, a singer should be as aware of the private moment's importance as an actor.

The ability to project a sense of privacy, when in fact being publicly exposed on stage, has been crucial in the art of acting. In the nineteenth century, theater began to be more realistic and less theatrical. The Russian actor Constantin Stanislavski (1863–1938) refined these efforts into a school of acting, which was later taken up by American actors such as Lee Strasberg (1901–1982) and called "The Method." Stanislavski coined the expression "the fourth wall": to act as if there was a wall between the audience and the stage. Both Stanislavski and Strasberg stressed the ability for an actor to act out public solitude, and

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developed exercises to prepare students for these kinds of moments on stage. In the exercise, the student is asked to do things he or she would stop doing if someone else watched: maybe simple things like dancing in a certain way, singing, and so on.

While I was working at the Academy of Music and Drama, I watched Rouven Adiv, the late teacher and director, guide students through such exercises. The ability to be vulnerable and yet project that vulnerability onto an audience made a huge impact on me. That skill is also useful to a singer and an excellent way to interpret some of Campion's songs with female personas.

Humor as part of a musical performance

Music was not part of my background. None in my family or neighborhood played any instrument. If my father had not happened to buy a piano when I was six years old, my life would have been quite different. Neither of my parents had more than six years of primary school, yet they were two highly gifted people. They often initiated interesting discussions of politics or literature, but most of all – they were both tremendously gifted storytellers. In our home storytelling played a great part. Many dinners were highlighted by my mother, father, or uncles telling stories from “real life.” My dad, with his incredibly blue eyes, delivered dirty jokes in falsetto with the most innocent face – such as quoting the girl saying “Du kan få ta mig e kran på pattane, men i bouxera kummer du allri!” (You may touch me on the tits a little, but you will never get inside my pants!) My mother had timing many comedians would envy. At times she would take a kettle full of potatoes and bang it on the table with the words “Ed nou s'atte pattane står!” (Eat now till the tits stand!) It was at our kitchen table I realized that I could also make people laugh, something that has been useful all my life.

When I started giving solo concerts and performances, my chief goal was to be entertaining, which made me talk more and more in between the songs. My improvised presentations of the next song later grew into something else. I started using written scripts in my concerts, not only for myself, but also for my fellow musicians. I found it quite easy to make people laugh. On some occasions, I have worked as a stand-up-comedian without any singing at all. Since I thought Campion's songs were good fun, I wanted people to also laugh when listening to the lute songs. It worked at its best in Gothenburg with an urban, intellectual audience, partly because that is where I myself feel at ease, possibly also because that is the audience originally intended for the songs.

In smaller places I could not get the same reactions. I do not think people expected my kind of voice and that kind of music to be humorous. How could I make the music more available? Could I change my singing, my translations, and the context in a way that made the songs funnier?

I wrote a play in Swedish called “The Secret of Lady Essex” (Karlsson 1989) about the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613. For the project, I hired the director Torbjörn Stockenborn. Thomas Melin played the guitar and acted diverse parts. I was both the narrator and Lady Essex. We used modernized seventeenth-century costumes by Nonno Nordqvist in modern materials. In this way we mixed old and new in the costumes, the music, and the text. The play consisted of songs by Campion, Dowland, and myself, intertwined with monologues and dialogues.

“A secret love or two”

One of the first songs I performed was “A secret love or two.” Since its outspokenness is already present in the title, it caught my eye. It was also one of the first songs I translated, and one of the inspirational songs for the previously mentioned play. From the start, my main concern was to get the humor across. I regarded it as good fun and expected everyone else to do so as well, if only I could make the contents of the humor evident. Sometimes my Swedish audience could not discover anything of the sort. All they could hear was a nice English song. Even if they understood the words, the idea of laughing when a woman with my kind of trained voice sings was alien to them. So translating was the first stage. I did so, using words from old-fashioned Swedish. I still wanted the song to sound oldish, but I also wanted it to rhyme and to contain as many of Campion’s double-entendres as possible.

In my Swedish translation (CD track 14), I used the rhyme “förmëra – flëra” (multiply – several) which comes across as even worse than duly-truly: it indicates the man is not able to perform at all. Here is my Swedish version and a re-translation of it:

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

En hemlig älskare eller två	A secret lover or two
Det vore väl lämpligt som	Would not that be suitable to seek for
omväxling söka?	a change?
Min käre make jag älskar ändå	My dear husband I still love,
hans små behov kan jag snabbt undanstöka	his little needs I can soon clean up
Jag är alltid redo att ge en kopp te	I am always ready to serve a cup of tea
Det som han har kan han ej förmera	That which he has, he cannot multiply
Det som jag har kan jag ge till flera.	that which I have, I can give to several

Ju mer en källa töms,	The more a well is drawn,
dess mer den ger	the more it gives
En lampa blir ej svag	A lamp will not be weak
för att man tänder andra	because you turn on others
Den märker intet,	The one that does not see,
som intet ser	does not lose anything
Välgörighet bör man aldrig klandra	Charity is a thing you should never scold
Men min tönt sa,	But my churl said,
ingen ska få nosa din ros!	– no one shall scent your rose
Det som han har kan han ej förmera	That which he has, he cannot multiply
Det som jag har kan jag ge till flera.	that which I have, I can give to several.

So I have twisted the mean bits from bad to worse, making the wife patronize her husband. In the second verse, the expression “turn on” has the same double meaning in Swedish. Still, my success varied from time to time. In Gothenburg it went well. On other occasions the song illicited no reaction at all. I remember especially one concert at a small castle where a number of businessmen had made their annual retreat. I thought they would be boisterous, and perhaps a bit drunk, but they all turned out to be silent, non-drinking Puritans. All my best pronunciation did not help, so what was wrong? The question intrigued me so much, it was actually the initial question for my whole thesis: “how can Thomas Campion’s songs with female personas be made humorous again?”

“Silly boy ’tis fulmoon yet”

I translated this song to Swedish many years ago and have almost never performed the English version. The recording is also in Swedish (CD track 22). In my translation I made the song even more malicious than before, and also omitted the last verse. Here is my Swedish translation and a re-translation of it:

Dumma gosse, ser du ej?
 Din natt är klar som dagen!
 Det du kallar dunkel sorg
 Är ljust som sommarhagen
 Rosig är din kind och mun,
 din svendom är ej tagen

Silly boy, can you not see
 your night is clear as the day?
 What you call sombre sorrow
 is light as the summer meadow.
 Rosy is your cheek and mouth
 thy (here comes a word that has no
 equivalence in English, but it means
 male virginity) svendom is not
 taken.

Ej besvikelse ännu
 förvrider anletsdragen.

Disappointment does not yet
 distort your features.

Dina tillgjorda manér
 Och dina lagda lockar
 Skall du glömma inom kort
 När verklig kärlek pockar.
 Dina komplimanger
 snart I halsens krås sig stockar
 Naken som en knotrigrig gås
 när flickorna dig plockar.

Your affected manners
 And your ordered locks
 You shall forget before long,
 When real love insists.
 Your compliments
 will soon get stuck in the lace of your neck,
 Naked as a granulated goose
 when the girls shall pluck you.

Kanske är du lite blyg
 Fast du så fagert skryter?
 Kanske din ståndaktighet
 Och låga ändå tryter?
 När din stolta flod av sorg och tårar
 sakta flyter
 Finns ej någon villig hop av flickor
 som dig snyter.

Maybe you are a little bit shy
 Although you brag so beautifully?
 Maybe your steadfastness
 And flame still will run short?
 When your proud flood of sorrow and tears
 slowly floats,
 There will be no willing girls
 to blow your nose.

Some of the puns Campion uses cannot be translated into Swedish, and some of the puns I use cannot be translated into English. When I translated, I concentrated on the rhymes, using the same rhyme throughout every verse the same way Campion does. I also wanted the song to sound old-fashioned and I used words to, for instance, indicate a lace collar. As Campion uses the word “maidenhead” in “My love hath vow’d”, I took pleasure in using the ancient Swedish word for male virginity, “svendom,” seldom used nowadays.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

As in “I care not for these ladies,” when Campion uses the word *country* as *cunt-ry*, I used the word “*ståndaktighet*,” where the first syllable “*stånd*” is translated “erection,” but when the rest of the word comes, the meaning is “steadfastness” instead, although I was not quite pleased with the outcome, since the note for the first syllable in “*ståndaktig*” was not long enough to project that effect. Still, when the song is in print, perhaps the reader gets the pun.

As Campion consciously uses vowels to get certain effects (like “*duly*” in “A secret love or two,” or the massive use of “*ee*” in “Think’st thou to seduce me then?”), I used the Swedish vowel “*y*” – phonetically written /y:/ – an ee sound pronounced with protruded lips on the top note of verse three of “Silly Boy.” The sound is very narrow and can be used to belittle the boy even more. In the same verse the /y:/ also comes back in every rhyme. The word for getting stuck is “*stockar*,” which literally cuts the air off with the strong “*k*.” In verse two I wanted to project the image of how embarrassed the boy would be among a group of girls making him look like a plucked goose with a skinny neck and no feathers.

“So quick, so hot, so mad”

In “So quick, so hot, so mad” the persona expresses her disgust for a wooer who is too hot. The persona says the man is tedious, perverse, rude, and she even threatens to cut his tongue off, but it takes three verses to say it. If she only wanted to despise him it would not have taken so long. Maybe she just wants to plant an idea of courting to a reluctant lover? In that case the semiquavers could be shudders of feigned disgust. Therefore, I have tried to emphasize the semiquavers so that they appear as an embossed relief on the melody. That is possible only if I do not sing too loud, or with too much legato or continuous vibrato. In the end of each verse Campion lets the $\frac{3}{4}$ -time turn into $\frac{2}{4}$ -time. I interpret this as if the persona’s determination makes her abandon the swaying $\frac{3}{4}$ -time.

In my translation I used “*h*” in the three first adjectives (“*Så hemskt, så hårt, så hett*”) because I wanted the breathy sound of “*h*” to make the persona sound like she is panting. In the line where the woman threatens to cut the wooer’s tongue off, I used the word “*knipsade*” instead of a one-syllable word like *cut*, as can be heard on the recording (CD track 13) What happens then is the “*p*” shuts your mouth, after which comes a pause before the rest of the word is pronounced.



In that way the singer is really silenced for a while, as she wants her wooer to be. The word “knipsa” does not mean to cut, but something more like to snip with a pair of pincers. It is a word you would not use for cutting short a speech, and is more associated with castration, something the next adjective, “långa,” which means long, enhances. I was happy to place that word on the long half-note.

In the end of verse two, I once again used the technique Campion uses in “I care not for these ladies,” placing a syllable on a long note to make the audience anticipate another ending to the word than the one that actually comes. It is in the line “en timmes sam-tal med dig,” where the syllable “sam” on a half-note could make the audience think “an hour of intercourse” (*samlag*) instead of how the word turns out – an hour of conversation.

Here is my Swedish translation and a re-translation of the first verse to English:

Så hemskt, så hårt, så hett är ditt frieri,	So terrible, so hard, so hot is your wooing,
Så dumt, så onödigt långt, och	So stupid, so unnecessarily long, and
så klumpigt genomfört	so clumsily performed
Att glatt jag knipsade av ditt långa giljeri	That happily I would pince off your long (“giljeri” is an ancient word for wooing)
Och bad dig hålla mun,	And ask you to shut up,
innan du allt förstört	before you have destroyed everything
du allt En timmes samtal med dig	An hour of conversation with you
blir för trist	would be too boring,
Och alla skulle skratta ut mig förvisst	And everyone would laugh at me.

In the second verse it is time to suggest to *not* go for a walk. To be outdoors, knowing what “country-matters” meant in Campion’s day, makes it easy to interpret all the metaphors of what the persona does not want. The hills are too high, the briar is full of thorns, the ground is full of snakes and frogs. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Campion uses the symbolism of snakes and thorns, something I tried to pick up in my translation. I also used the sound “kry” twice, in the words “krylla” and “kryp.” In Swedish, its onomatopoea indicates something disgusting actually crawling on your body.

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I placed the unwanted walk not only on a hill but also in a more humid place, a swamp. I used narrow vowels in the end of the verse where the frog shows up on the song’s highest notes, exaggerating the narrator’s fear.

Men det blir ej tal om att gå	But there will be no suggesting of going
med mig på promenad,	for a walk with me,
För berget är för brant för min lilla fot	Because the hill is too high for my little foot
Uti skogen finns törnen och träsk,	In the woods are thorns and swamps,
vars åsyn gör mig svag	which scare me by the sight of it,
Och ängarna kryllar av kryp,	And the meadows crawl with creeps,
ormar och hemska hot	snakes and terrible threats
En liten groda kan skrämman mig så	A little frog would fright me so,
Att jag av fruktan faller som en ridå.	That I of fear would fall like a curtain.

I used the song in my performance *Stravinsky never baked sponge cake*.¹³ When it was premiered in 1990 a performance like this was still unusual. It consisted of songs and texts, some written by me, in different genres ranging from opera to jazz. Some of the songs were composed by Stefan Forssén, a highly gifted composer and jazz pianist, who also served as my accompanist at the performances, together with Thomas Melin. My persona was a woman who had been dumped, which was indicated by torn stockings, but there was no actual story-line or information about what had happened or what was going to happen to her. Some of the monologues and songs were comical; some were not. Champion’s songs happened to end up in this context because of the comical ideas in them, as in “So quick, so hot, so mad.” My dear friend and colleague Ingvar Grimberg acted more as my prop than as my co-star in this song. I fetched him from one side of the stage sitting in a shopping cart. Ingvar, who is two meters tall and very thin, was dressed in black leather trousers and boots and a black t-shirt with the arms cut off, wearing dark sunglasses with little red, twinkling lamps on them. His head was shaven and he had a three-day stubble. His task was to sit still without reacting, whatever I did. I tried to seduce him but with such little success that the situation became absurd, which was the desired effect. When I mentioned my little foot, I put it in his lap, and when I mentioned falling I

13. *Stravinskij bakade aldrig sockerkaka* was performed in two Göteborg theaters, the Atalante in 1990 and Teater Uno in 1992, and toured the Swedish West coast and northern Sweden.

actually fell over him, but since he did not move I fell on the floor. By the last verse I had given up and used rather harsh words:

Eftersom jag på jorden ej finner någon ro	Since I cannot find calmness on earth
I himmelen ska vi mötas med fröjd till slut.	in heaven we shall meet with joy at last.
Tills dess, för änglarnas skull,	Till then, for the angels sake,
håll upp med att glo!	stop glaring!
Och tänk ej på att kyssa mig	And do not even think about kissing me
med din fula trut!	with your ugly mouth!
I himmelen möts vi en dag på	In heaven we will meet one day on
Guds äng	God's meadow
Men aldrig som du hoppas, här i min säng.	But never, as you want, here in my bed.

In the last verse the persona says they will never meet, neither in bed nor grave. To me, she had finally realized there will not be any love, and I sang the last verse in anger or sadness. When I sang about the kiss that never was going to happen, I was supposed to hit Ingvar. Of course I would be acting the punch and not really hitting him, but Ingvar, who has his own ideas about good acting, wanted me to be as angry with him as possible, and used to provoke me behind stage before this scene. Unfortunately, he did so well one night that I actually hit him quite hard. I wonder what Campion would have said... Of course I could have interpreted the song as if the woman actually *was* as tired of her wooer as she says, but this struck me as less fun. However, that interpretation would work wonderfully if the singer is a man in drag.

“If thou long’st so much to learne”

“If thou long’st so much to learne” is also a song I have used for many years. The lyrics are rich and dense. It is difficult to do justice to this song in Swedish, but almost impossible to get the meaning across when sung in English, so I have translated it.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Vill du veta vad kärlek är
Och känna min hemlighet?
Bara se på mig, jag är här
Och jag kan lära dig det.
Kanske skäms du för min skull
och för vad som passar sig
Men av lusta är du full
och min eld ska bränna dig!

Vi ska gå till en lummig lund,
Bestiga kullar där,
Dricka vatten ur en brunn
Och äta söta bär.
Annars kan vi lägga oss
på en vacker sommaräng,
Och I timmar eller mer
drömma vakna I dess säng.

När din åtrå stod som högst
Så tröttnade jag på dig.
Andra älskare som jag mött
Stod plötsligt runt om mig.
Tjugo stycken föll för min fot,
tjugo strupar brann av törst,
Och till alla gav jag bot.
Bara du blev utan tröst.

Då blev du nog lite putt,
Och ville dra dig ur.
Men för sent min lille plutt,
Jag öppnar inte din bur.
Minnet av de stunder vi haft,
brann väl I ditt sinne än,
Och hur du än ville ta dig loss,
aldrig blev du fri igen.

Do you want to know what love is
And feel my secret?
Just look at me, I am here
And I can teach you.
Maybe you are embarrassed on my behalf
and of what is suitable,
But you are full of lust
and my fire will burn you!

We shall go to a leafy grove,
Climb the hills there,
Drink water from a well,
And eat sweet berries.
Or we can lay down
on a beautiful summer meadow,
And for hours or more
dream awake in its bed

When your desire was at its height,
I would get tired of you.
Old lovers, that I have met,
Stood suddenly around me.
Twenty fell before my feet,
twenty throats burned of thirst,
And I would cure all,
Only you would not be comforted.

Then you would probably be miffed,
And want to withdraw.
But too late, my little shrimp,
I will not open your cage.
The memory of the time we had had,
would surely still burn in your mind.
And no matter how you tried to get loose,
you would never be free again.

I have made choices similar to those my other translations, favoring the rhymes that can be made using an “oldish” language. The CD contains two versions, both in Swedish. In track 15, I sing with the clavichord, using Campion’s own music. In track 16, I wanted to enhance the intimacy and the contemporary qualities of the song by singing an octave lower with modern guitar. I have also “reduced” the melody and taken away some of the melismas. The guitar plays other harmonies than Campion’s own.

As in the other translations, I worked with rhymes, alliterations, internal rhymes and sometimes the use of similar vowels. In the second verse I used the words “lummig,” “lund,” “kullar,” and “brunn,” not only because of the sensuality of the sounds, but because of other words that rhyme, but are *not* in the lyrics, like *mullig*, *bullar*, *knullar*, *hull*, and *mun* (curvy, buns, fuck, body fat, mouth). To use those words explicitly would make the song crude, but as you read or listen to the lyrics, those words can have a ghostly presence somewhere in the listeners’ minds and yet be experienced as products of their own fantasy.

In the last verse I used the words “putt,” and “plutt” (miffed, shrimp), words that are almost slang. When I sang them I shortened the vowels so the prolonged half note became an eighth note, leaving a long pause.

Då blev du nog li - te putt, och vil - le...
Men för sent, min lil - le plutt! Jag öpp - nar...

The effect further diminished the “boy” who was already beaten to the ground.

The persona destroys her lover deliberately – yes, with a smile! Is she a seventeenth-century pornographic image, a dominatrix? She is cruel and promiscuous. She is man’s worst fear. For four verses she rages freely, without shame or regret. I wonder what kind of feeling the song aroused in Campion’s days? I also wonder why no other researcher has mentioned the extraordinary cruelty of this song compared to the rest of Campion’s production.

I have sung the song often, mostly in my own Swedish translation. It occurred in *Lady Essex’ Hemlighet* in a seduction scene with my accompanist. I think even the melody itself is seductive, especially the very start. Most of the time I have directed it to someone, either to the accompanist who has been forced to put up with my caresses or to someone else on stage. As mentioned before, Ingvar Grimberg has been my target many times. I have also

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used a doll, a “Ken,” in this song. The doll has lost his arms and legs during the song. That is hardly shocking now, but it was still shocking in the nineties.

The reactions I got from the audience were a surprise, something like, “Did they really write things like that four hundred years ago? Who sang songs like this? How were they received? What other songs did this Campion write?”

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

In “Think’st thou to seduce me then?” (CD track 21), we hear the voice of a patronizing woman who wants to correct her wooer, and she is not nice. She is arrogant and aloof. In fact, this is one of the meanest songs Campion ever wrote. It has no complicated melody or harmony but rhythmically the song turns itself inside out. The syncopations give the song a limping manner. Both the music and the words encourage an interpretation of meanness, childishness, and patronizing and belittling humor and spite. The song is really mean! I like it very much and have sung it often, but I found it difficult to make anyone else appreciate it as much as I did. It has also been too difficult to translate to Swedish.

Two Jacobean pastiches

During my time as a voice coach at the Academy of Music and Drama in Gothenburg, I wrote two songs when I could not find any proper challenges for two of my students.

Later I included them in my artistic practice. I took up certain ingredients from Campion in them. Campion’s penchant for simplicity and brevity can be found in “Första dagen” (The first day tracks 11 and 12) with its four repeated bars plus four repeated bars. I recorded it on the CD *Du som har vingar* (You who have wings; 1995) with the guitarist Mats Bergström who played a Swedish-built alto guitar. The instrument has ten strings instead of the guitar’s six, and has a resonance that functioned as an echo from ancient times, we thought.

The lyrics were tailor-made for a girl who was asked to be more sensual and playful. Still that challenge did not seem enough on its own for me, so I added some ingredients of fear and death:

Se morgonrodnans stolta glöd	See the aurora's proud glow
Den allra första dagen,	Of the very first day,
Se solen, pånyttfödd och röd,	See the sun, reborn and red,
Som oblygt visar magen.	Who unashamedly shows her belly.
Och likaledes utan skam,	And similarly without shame,
Jag ligger här och tänker	I lie here and think
På dig min skatt, mitt ljuva lamm,	Of you, my treasure, my sweet lamb,
Som liv och vällust skänker.	Who gives life and lust.
Jag ser ej mer med avund	I see no more with envy
På de andra, lyckostinna,	At those others, replete with happiness,
För denna enda kärleksstund	For this moment of love alone
Må hela livet rinna.	May the whole life pass.
Tills allt som heter stort	Until everything which is called great is
släcks ut,	extinguished,
Tills himlarna må bäva,	Until the heavens tremble,
Ja, även om vi dog till slut	Yes, even if we died eventually
Vår kärlek skall dock leva.	Our love will surely live.
Vår lycka gav sig säkert av	Our happiness would surely go
Bland himlarna att simma,	Among the stars to swim,
Om vi än ligger i vår grav	Even if we lie in our grave
till evighetens timma.	until the hour of eternity.

All stanzas rhyme and I used old-fashioned words like “bäva,” “likaledes,” and “vällust”. I also invented a word that does not exist: “lyckostinna,” to suggest the persona had in the past seen other happy people as “full with happiness.” The metaphor of the sun showing her belly means that now, for the first time, the persona has eaten and is full of the same joy.

I also had Shakespeare’s play *Romeo and Juliet* in mind: young people who sacrifice their lives for one night of love.

The persona would risk society’s condemnation for what she had done, but would take that risk into account for having experienced bliss once in her life. So I wanted the lyrics to reflect utter happiness, but also her suspicions of a future catastrophe. My hope was that those fears would add something more challenging for the drama student, allowing her to choose which aspects of the song she wanted to stress: joy or fear.

I have always found it more difficult to write or sing a happy song, than a sad one. When I sang “Första dagen” in my performance “Du som har vingar,” I was in early pregnancy. I used that fact to give yet another layer to

my interpretation, thinking I was singing the song to my baby. It was a very strong image and source of inspiration. Although the song is in Swedish, I have included it in my recording, since I think it is possible to hear in what way it is an answer to *Campion*, even if you do not understand the words. On the CD, tracks 11 and 12, you can hear it in two versions: one from 1995 and one from 2011.

The other pastiche I wrote for a student was “Varför föddes jag?” (Why was I born? CD track 24) I have not used it as much as the other one, because it has a male persona. This song is also short and rhymed, crammed with ancient words like “mannamod,” “kyskhet,” “fägring,” and “belägring”:

Varför föddes jag till styrka	Why was I born so strong
Med mannamod av stål	With such manly courage
När kyskhet som en kyrka	When chastity like a church
Slår bojor kring min bål?	Put my body in chains?
Vad tjänar denna kaka,	Of what use is this cake,
En pastej av yttlig fägring,	A pastry of shallow beauty,
När ingen den får smaka	When no one is allowed to taste it
Och njuta min belägring?	And enjoy my siege?
Jag ser små damer dåna	I see little ladies faint
Och svimma tusenfalt	And swoon in thousands
Var gång de ser min långa	As soon as they see my tall
Och ståtliga gestalt	And grand figure.
Ack om jag bara finge	Alas, if I only could
Få lindra deras kval!	Quench their anguish!
Men därtill har jag alltför	But for that I have much too
Beundransvärd moral	Admirable morals!

With this song I tried to write male satire, which made me understand much more of the exquisite layers available to *Campion* in his female personas. I found it really difficult to write a nuanced satire of the opposite sex. We used the song in the performance *Lady Essex' hemlighet*. The guitarist Thomas Melin sang it, portraying Robert Carr, the man with looks but no wits. The song has no contradicting layers like “Första dagen,” but it was still a challenge for the male drama student to whom it was dedicated from the beginning, since I believe acting stupid can be demanding. Of course, if one would like to work with it, the man might not be as stupid as he pretends. The song is in the recording for the same reason as “Första dagen.”

Chapter 8

Singing Campion as artistic research

During my doctoral project, the way I have sung the songs has changed, with inspiration from various accompanying instruments and from the historical facts I presented in Part I. In this chapter I explore more about the songs' comical and dramatic effects.

An underdog perspective

One of the first things I did as a doctoral student was to try Campion's songs with female personas with a new accompanying instrument. Some songs found their way from the lofty rooms of the aristocrats to the theater: John Dowland's "*Lacrimae*," for instance. In the play *The knight of the burning pestle* the merchant's wife says: "No, good George, lets ha' 'Lacrimae'" (Beaumont 1986, 57). According to the 1605 London Correction Book, the famous thief and transvestite Molly Cutpurse sang licentious songs at taverns and at the *Fortune* theater for an audience of two thousand:

Upon the stage in the publique viewe of all the people there presente in mans apparelle & playd upon her lute & sange a songe. (Korda 2006, 71)

What songs could she have sung? Could Campion's songs have been among them? Also, Rosseter's preface in the Rosseter collection suggests Campion's songs had a life of their own outside Campion's control, as quoted earlier:

privately emparked to his friends, whereby they grew both publicke, and (as coine crackt exchange) corrupted. (Rosseter 1601)

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

My conjecture was that this uncontrolled journey of the songs descended through the social classes. To get an underdog perspective could make my own background useful. I wanted to look at the Renaissance from the other side, both in terms of social class and time. The hurdy-gurdy, a medieval beggar’s instrument, was something you could hear on the streets of London. I used my knowledge of Campion’s time not as an excuse, but as an inspiration about how to sing.

Singing with the hurdy-gurdy

Anders Ådin is one of the finest folk music players on the Swedish west coast, and one of the few in Sweden to play the ancient hurdy-gurdy. Anders’s instrument is far more sophisticated and elaborate and produces more colours of tone than any instrument a beggar could ever have afforded in the seventeenth century, but to get the combination of Campion’s music and a skilled, trained, and independent folk musician was more important to me than getting a historically more correct instrument.



Figure 7: Anders Ådin’s hurdy-gurdy.
Photo supplied by Anders Ådin.

Encountering the hurdy-gurdy was an exciting experience. One thing Anders’s instrument has in common with the hurdy-gurdies of four hundred years ago is that it is loud. It is an outdoor instrument. The instrument’s loudness, the

continuous sound, the scratching of the bow, the rough strings and pattering keys, but most of all the characteristic drone strings, made making music together unlike anything I had done before. Even though our collaboration was very short, and the outcome was not very flattering to my voice, it resulted in many thoughts about Campion's songs. The purpose now was not to be funny, but to see what other musical qualities the songs had, or could have.

Intonation

The drone strings and my voice created a sound and an intonation I had not experienced before. I have sung in the internationally renowned Rilke Ensemble since 1980. One of the things we try to do is to sing low major thirds and high minor thirds. I have also performed with instruments in meantone, such as the newly built Baroque organ in Örgryte New Church and the Brombaugh organ in Haga Church, both in Gothenburg. But the hurdy-gurdy took me to quite a different place. To make music together was very physical. I had to strip my voice of vibrato and resonance. If I sing with a combination of orchestra and choir I normally use my *bel canto* technique, which can make me audible through massive sounds. But to adjust to the drone meant I could not use any vibrato, for that made the intonation less exact and the resonance made my voice too different from the hurdy-gurdy, yet I was forced to sing very loud. So I let my voice be strong and squeaky, using no vibrato, minimal resonance but maximum air support. This was quite hard on my vocal chords and made me hoarse sometimes. I think it was just too different from my usual way of singing, and had I wanted to go on longer with the experiment, I am sure my vocal chords would have found a way to adjust to it.

When singing "Good men show," which was a new song to me then, the instrument helped my interpretation. I really felt as if I was a devastated woman singing in a crowd on the street, trying to survive day by day. I have kept that feeling in mind ever since, and it has served as an inspiration every time in that song. When performing it, we prolonged the second-to-last bar, thinking of how a rock star would have ended the song, which you can hear on the recording (CD tracks 3 and 4). The drone strings also meant we had to re-harmonize and transpose Campion's songs. The hurdy-gurdy certainly manifested Philip Rosseter's worst fears: it corrupted the music.

Another very nice thing was Anders's ability to stress rhythms; the instrument works as a percussion as well as a chordal instrument. Altogether, it was good fun to meet the musician Anders Ådin and get acquainted with

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the hurdy-gurdy. I do not think, however, that I am the kind of singer who is going to make the ultimate companion to this loud and exciting instrument.

Singing Campion with a female quartet

I have sung in vocal ensembles all my life, and it struck me that it would be interesting to sing Campion's songs in a female quartet. One reason why I chose a female and not a mixed quartet was because I wanted the jostling feeling when the parts are really close together. Another reason was that I wanted the female personas to be played? by female individuals only. In that way we would be able to use our own experiences as individuals. We were old enough to have experienced some of the things Campion's personas express: being abandoned, being seductive, being malicious. The idea was that the audience should see not one abandoned or malicious or experienced persona, but four, in four different ways.



Figure 8: Johanna Ericsson, Mia Edvardsson, Marianne Ejeby, and Katarina A.Karlsson. Photo: Tina Carlsson.

The people I chose for the quartet were colleagues from the Rilke Ensemble, because I knew then that we would share the same aesthetics. Marianne Ejeby and I have been singing side by side once a week since 1982. The other two were Mia Edvardsson and Johanna Ericsson, two singers whom I also

admire and respect. What I failed to realize, though, was that we were all used to having a leader and to performing according to instructions. I was hesitant to command my colleagues, since they are my peers. That is one of the reasons why only the first soprano sings the lyrics, and the rest of the group harmonizes wordlessly most of the time, as you can hear on the recording.

In the beginning, I tried to arrange the songs with inspiration from Campion's *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint*: that is, to let the melody be the highest part, to have the bass line in the bottom, and then to fill the gap between the two with "pleasing parts," as Campion says. But I also had to keep the range of the voices in mind. The first soprano should not be too high, or she would sound either like an opera star or a hummingbird, and the second altos would not be comfortable below tenor E-flat.

With all this in mind I started, and my goal was to arrange all twelve songs. After a while I got bored with the *New Way* and started to arrange differently, taking more liberties with Campion's music. I felt "Good men show" needed a different costume. With the hurdy-gurdy version in mind, I used a lot of parallel fifths and octaves. I wanted it to be a kind of call-and-response singing, but ended up letting each member of the quartet have a solo verse accompanied by the others. In that way, the song became confessions from four women complaining about faithless men in four different ways.

When I got to "Fain would I wed" (CD track 18), I arranged the song in a different style for every verse, more and more modern and in the end reminiscent of Kodaly. I suppose it is hard to write for female choir at all, without being inspired by Kodaly. It was a pleasing contrast to the other songs, although the content of the lyrics partly disappeared. But, by then I had a different idea about how to get the content of the song across. My idea was that sometimes the music must be able to communicate what the lyrics cannot. In this song, the persona is a common person, but as the music gradually grows more complex and contemporary, the persona becomes more sophisticated and mysterious, by which device the music also slows down.

We gave two concerts cross-dressing in modern male costumes. Emelie Sigelius directed the first concert, encouraging us to use personal experiences of intimate conversation among groups of women when singing. The second one was in Hull, in the UK, in the form of a lecture-recital, but still using parts of the work we had done with the director. We were told that even if the music was familiar to the audience, the way we performed it was not. Even though

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we had not been able to work so much with Mrs Sigelius on this particular event, there were still strong traces of her directing in our output.

“Oft have I sigh’d”

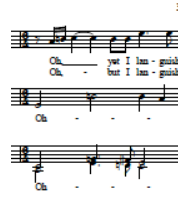
When I arranged “Oft have I sigh’d” for the female quartet (CD track 8), I composed an introduction of twenty-four bars with my own lyrics in Swedish. A man abandons Campion’s female persona in the song. My lyrics are about compromising so much that, in the end, you actually abandon yourself. The music of my introduction is contemporary but with a Campion twist. It is rhythmically and tonally inspired by Campion but also a little bit by Samuel Barber and by folk song. The original song is obviously without any irony at all. It is a love song and I cannot help thinking it has Thomas Campion’s own true feelings for a man in it, as my own introduction has.

“Oft have I sigh’d” has a special position among Campion’s songs with female personas. It is the most beautiful, the longest, the most intricately composed, and the most serious of them all.

The placement of this song directly after such a compassionate preface (discussed in Chapter 5) makes me think – was there real love between Campion and his patron Mounson?

I wanted the quartet to sing it softly and as simply and beautifully as we could. The many dissonances made us use vibrato very sparingly. To hold a long note without letting it tremble is like holding onto something without letting it go, like the word “languish” of the song. Once again Campion works emblematically with his lyrics, making the music portray the feeling of “languish.” The pain of the heart will never go away: that is why one cannot let go of the voice and use vibrato. “I languish still, still constant mourn for him that can break vows but not return.”

Because of the range, I wanted to share the melody between the first and second soprano. When we rehearsed, someone complained about the slow tempo. As I tried to explain the reason for the tempo to the group, I realized that I wanted this slow tempo because the persona is not sure she will be able to sing the song at all. She might give in at any minute. After this conversation, the expression of the abandoned woman was enhanced for everyone and I was happy with the outcome. The changes between minor and major took some rehearsals to master. There is also a short moment when the first soprano has a “c” and the second a “b” that I wanted to get across as a tormented heart.



However it is difficult to enhance such a thing without sounding “clever.” It is just a short moment, a pang, but if you sound as if you want to show off your good intonation and awareness of the interval, the pang is obviously lost. When listening to the recording, I think we avoided that.

“My love hath vow’d”

In the four-part female quartet, the lead soprano Mia Edwardsson sang the melody beautifully. There was no reason to try to do anything else with the song than let it happen. The melancholy of the music mirrors the contents of the lyrics. While rehearsing it, the quartet has never found anything the least bit comic about it. I find the melody genuinely sad and the persona heartbroken, especially in the last falling phrase:

I will go no more a-maying.

Once again the sentence in Antonia Fraser’s book *The weaker vessel* – a woman with a lost reputation is like the living dead – haunts me as if it was nailed to the song.

When I sing the song to the clavichord, that one sentence is the sole inspiration, as can be heard on the CD (track 2).

Singing with modern guitar and microphone

The guitarist Thomas Melin has accompanied me for many years. Unfortunately, our collaboration stopped when he moved away from Gothenburg. In the spring of 2009 I thought it would be interesting to sing *Campion* in a more intimate way, using a microphone, so I turned to Thomas again. My idea was to perform *Campion* as if his music was written not four hundred, but forty years ago by the Swedish songwriter Cornelis Wreswijk, as can be heard on track 16, “Vill du veta vad kärlek är?” (“If thou long’st so much to

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learne”). Thomas had no difficulties playing like that, and I recognized how all the work we had done in the past was still there to connect to. To sing with Thomas is, in a way rather close to how the songs were intended. Since he follows me so closely with his guitar, it is almost like I accompany myself. But I cannot play the guitar; I can only accompany myself at the piano. And I find it much more interesting to have at least one other person to negotiate with, although being the singer and instrumentalist at the same time would be very close to a historically informed practice.

Whenever we meet and rehearse, Thomas Melin adds something new to the music and its interpretation. The rehearsals are often as much talking as singing, and include private matters in a way that is inevitable if you want to get to the core of music-making, I find. When we met for the recording session, our many years of collaboration made the guitar versions the most free and independent interpretations of the CD included in this thesis.

Among the new things Thomas added in 2011 were new arrangements for my own songs “Första dagen” and “Varför föddes jag.” On the CD one can hear “Första dagen” twice, first with Mats Bergström 1995 (CD track 11), and then Thomas Melin 2011 (CD track 12). I find it interesting to hear what has happened to the song in sixteen years. The most recent recording is like an echo of the earlier. The female persona has survived that night in her youth when she thought she was going to die, and was willing to risk that. In the second recording she looks back as if it was the loved one who died instead, and the memory of it is touching and yet distant, making the tempo much slower than in the first version. When singing the male persona in “Första dagen” (CD track 24), I thought of Dan Berglund who is a singer and also a friend of mine. His exceptionally low voice and immaculate, even exaggerated pronunciation were an inspiration.

Singing with clavichord

I never reached my goal to arrange all of Champion's twelve songs with female personas for the female quartet. Instead, I found it more interesting to juxtapose Champion's music to Swedish folk music and a contemporary composition for three female voices called “Davids Nimm” by Karin Rehnqvist at the two concerts with the quartet.

So the first time I sang twelve of the songs in a row was with clavichord at an informal concert at GOArt in 2010. The clavichord is very close to a lute in volume, tone and expression, and my supervisor Joel Speerstra plays

it, so what could be a better way to get supervision in artistic research than making music together? Since the clavichord's volume can be so weak, I could allow myself to sing almost inaudibly weak, and thereby project more of the "private moment" quality of Campion's songs, as can be heard on the CD, track 2, "My love hath vow'd."

To sing all the songs at one time turned out to be a good idea. The songs formed a story line, when put in the order they appear chronologically. They start with the young woman in "My love hath vow'd," a song I sang more or less like a sad folk song. In "Good men show if you can tell" (CD track 3), the girl loses her temper, which was intended to be a surprise to the audience who might think they have just heard a song that tells them what kind of concert they are attending, nice, old, sad, beautiful, English songs: expectations I wanted to break with the angry woman in "Good men show."



Figure 9: Katarina A. Karlsson singing "So many loves have I neglected" in 2009. Photo: Tina Carlsson.

In "So many loves have I neglected," I used the same reading as I had made with the vocal quartet previously; I started the song as if I were twenty years old, then aging twenty years with every verse, ending up being eighty. you can her the audience react to this journey in the live recording on the CD. With the quartet we all transformed into hens in the end, but Mr Speerstra and I nearly fell asleep instead (CD track 19, live). And all because of the

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pauses that David Scott added in 1967! Had we used Campion’s own music, the song would have turned out completely differently, but as you can read in the introduction to the transcriptions, I have only recently discovered that these pauses were not Campion’s own. We decided to keep our age also in the next song, “A secret love or two.” That was an interpretation I had never tried on that song before, and turned out to be a good idea. The eighty-year old woman chuckling while thinking of her many lovers and Joel Speerstra as the jealous ninety-year-old husband was comical. I had just had foot surgery, and had to use a cane, which became my prop. I was sitting, leaning my hands and head on the stick, I felt at ease with my high age, myself, and my absent-minded husband. When he fell asleep by the clavichord I had to wake him up with the cane.

The next song, “Maids are simple,” struck me as a portrait of an immensely stupid girl. I had not thought of it before, but suddenly I felt – this woman is really an airhead. The more I sang the short song with all its one-syllable words, the worse I sang it, ending by singing deliberately out of key.

“If thou long’st so much to learne”

There is one part of Pamela Coren’s essay which immediately brings “If thou long’st” to my mind:

Such a woman singer, if we are to consider the moralists’ strictures as socially effective in Jacobean England, would most likely be a prostitute singing to clients. (Coren 2001, 225)

Many years ago I came across a couple of women who had worked as prostitutes. They were among the unhappiest people I have ever met. One of them committed suicide later. I have always suspected that the Swedish expression, “the happy whore,” is an image some men have invented to calm their own consciences, to be able to think of themselves as decent people. Still, knowing much of all material on the internet today is pornographic, and knowing prostitution, theater, and music were so intertwined in Campion’s day, Coren’s words make sense. However, I did not know if I would be able to use that image without being overwhelmed emotionally.

I found it difficult to sing the song in my concert with the clavichord. No exciting images came to my mind, so I had to settle with a more matter-of-fact attitude: “being seductive is after all everyday life for some people.” When

I did, the beginning of the song became like something performed as a routine, while the end of the song, the revenge part, came alive much more.

Interpreting the song with more focus on the cruelty and less on the seduction did not enter my mind before. It does not matter whether the women in Campion's days were able to be cruel or not. The cruelty is there in the song. A performer can use it as he or she likes.

Still, I found the song difficult to enjoy. In this case knowing more about a song did *not* render the experience of singing it more fulfilling. Quite the opposite happened, and I cannot think of any occasion upon which this has happened to me before. I usually find a way around obstacles, inventing new interpretations. For a while I suspected I would abandon the song completely. I did not like to sing it any more, since it made me sad. But, as often is the case when something is difficult, the sadness has eventually turned into a quality of the song which I can choose to use or to leave out. The song is even more interesting to me now than it was before, and in my mind more contemporary (CD track 16).

What happens when a song gets worn out?

Although I had used *Silly boy* before, and translated it to Swedish long ago, I did not include it in the thesis until my last year, which means it was not included in any concert until the last one with the clavichord. Normally I want a song to be able to adjust to the state of mind I happen to be in when I sing it. Ideally, I should be able to surprise myself every time I perform, so the song is as fresh to myself as to an audience who has not heard it before. But with this song I have found it difficult to vary the interpretation.

The persona is not nice. The word "boy" (in Swedish, *gosse*) implies someone of lower power than the persona, which makes the whole song bullying and menacing. That is not a pleasant thing to portray, so I tried to make the song more amusing by picturing an underlying power structure in which the boy is not a helpless victim, but someone of good breeding and wealth. But then, since the boy is not there, the audience has no idea of the power structure and the persona still comes across as unpleasant. So I had to do something else to her. What I did was to let her make a fool out of herself by exaggerating the vowels, especially the "y," because the persona is really, really in love with the boy. She finds him so cute and small that she wants to cuddle him like a little teddy bear. His shortcomings are not irritating, just cute. That is why she pronounces the words the way she does, the way you would talk to a baby or a pet.

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“So quick, so hot, so mad,” was also worn out. Previously I had used a fellow actor in the song, but now I was alone. The lyrics are massive. It is really impossible to hear and understand it all when you only hear it once, even when translated. The little melismas signal something special to a contemporary audience. They are very antique, like echoes from a lost world, something that marks a distance between now and then – but also, in the worst case, a distance between the audience and myself. With the quartet I sang the song like a mini-dictator, not caring much about the lyrics any more. With the clavichord I exaggerated the yellow frog and the gray snakes, making all the vowels very narrow, so that the object of the fun was no longer the foolish lover, but the persona herself.

Singing is not always the same

Singing and making music has its ups and downs. The voice can be different and need a different kind of warm-up, but not just that; sometimes you get bored. Sometimes I find my voice and my sound precisely that: just a “sound” and not singing. It can be hard to be enthusiastic. I cannot make myself sing songs I do not like anymore. I cannot hide it when I find a song tedious.

When I arranged “Young and simple” for the female quartet, I had never performed it and was not very happy with my arrangement. I did not quite know what to make of it, perhaps because I did not like the song at all. Being stupid is one way of doing it, but maybe not the best one. But was I being stopped by my own preconceptions? Maybe I should just use it and counter-balance it with a new song, with a different answer to the same situation? In a discussion during our recording session, our sound engineer Harald Svensson came up with the suggestion that I should think of my own daughter, who is the same age as the persona could be. That did not really work, but I remembered another fourteen-year old girl I know, who thinks of herself as very clever. As you can hear on the CD (track 6), because this girl is not particularly musical, I also indulged in some out-of-tune singing.

“Oh love, where are thy shafts?”

To sing the very short and exquisite “Oh love, where are thy shafts?” was a relief after that. I had no story behind the song at all; I just sang it, enjoying the beauty of it. It is the song I have sung the least of all twelve songs with female personas, but I find its images of the hurt lover very moving. I also feel this could be a song of love from one man to another.

And maybe I should emphasize here, that singing *without* a story behind the words or even without any interpretation at all can be an excellent performance, because then the audience can fill in their own stories, or even none at all, just enjoying the music. I think most music is performed like that and sometimes it can be the best way. The music can be so inspiring you do not need any other source of energy. In my own artistic experience, however, it has seldom been an option. I get too easily bored, both as a listener and a performer. When I hear or suspect that someone is giving a recital just to show off a pretty voice or a technical skill, I lose interest most of the time, and endure the rest of the concert out of politeness. I can sing without emotion when a song is very difficult or I have not learned it well enough, but then I once again have the depressing feeling that I am not singing, only producing sounds.

“Oh love, where are thy shafts?” can be heard in two versions on the CD. With the clavichord, track 9, the persona laments. On track 10, I sing an octave lower, which makes the bitterness of the persona more present. In one phrase, “O then we both shall sit in some unhaunted shade,” hope comes back, which makes the voice rise an octave, but when hope is lost, the voice returns to the lower octave.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”: singing and masks

During my doctoral project this song changed. I have often found that being menacing is a counterproductive feeling for me in a performance. Most of the time it is no fun, if you are alone on stage and have no one upon whom to project all those feelings. It is always more rewarding to have the fun at your own expense than someone else’s. So, in the end I sang it as someone who has difficulties pronouncing “th” and “s.” The paradox of someone correcting someone else while still having obvious problems of her own is nice.

I took my inspiration from Keith Johnstone, the Canadian author and drama teacher. He is an internationally recognized authority in the field of improvisation. Once he visited the Academy of Music and Drama while I was working there. I had the opportunity and privilege to watch him working with the students a whole week. Later I read his book *Impro* (Johnstone 1985) and used some of the exercises when I worked with childrens’ choirs.

The summer of 1987 was the worst summer ever. Midsummer’s Eve had the same temperature as New Year’s Eve: 8–10° C. The Rilke Ensemble had its annual rehearsal week at the Gerlesborg Art School. There was not one single

day in June without rain. Gunnar Eriksson, our leader, had a toothache and we never sang louder than *pianissimo*.

On the other side of the wall, Keith Johnstone was working with professional actors and masks. We heard loud screams, laughter, people throwing things or bumping into the walls or falling on the floor. Now and then a person, wearing a mask, was seen outdoors. Polite and nice people, whom we had met at dinner, suddenly acted completely irrationally, talking with strange voices, if at all. Some only groaned.

I had read about Johnstone’s work with masks in *Impro*, but I had not understood it.

For us in the Rilke Ensemble, their exercises seemed a lot more fun than our own. One day the whole group was trying to convince someone wearing a mask to step into a small rowboat. Everyone, both the actors and we singers, was outside in the rain watching the engaging scene. After that week I read *Impro* again, and this time I only read the chapter about masks. One of the things Johnstone described was when an actor watches him- or herself in a mirror with a mask on for the first time. These masks only covered half the face and the actor was instructed to form his own face to fit the expression of the mask. When looking into the mirror, the person must try to follow the intentions, emotions and movements of the mask. The mask then comes alive, Johnstone says; it takes on a life of its own, as it were. The actor gets the sensation that the mask represents a personality that has moved into the actor’s body.

Some actors have masks without wearing them, Johnstone claims. When Greta Garbo had found the combination of make up and haircut that formed her formidable look, she never changed it again. It became her trademark and her mask and she never lost the magic of it.

I have also been impressed by the one-person shows of extraordinary women like the director/actor Maria Lexa, the comedian Maria Cassi, and the actor/director Karina Holla. With them I encountered a physical way of acting that I had been watching during my time as a voice coach in Sweden. I have participated in master classes with all three of them. One of the exercises Maria Cassi and Maria Lexa used was imagining something happening to your body while you try to fulfil a task, like trying to sing a song even though ants are invading you or a hunch is growing out of your back. The increasing unease makes the urgency of the singing ridiculous and even if the ant invasion is only in the actor’s mind, the outcome can be hilarious. Needless to say, the annoying thing that is happening to you also affects the voice production in unexpected ways. This is what I tried to do in “Think’st thou to seduce me.”

The song makes fun of a lousy speaker, but what if the singer also is one? The speech impairment gradually overtook the singing.

The first time the song made any impact at all, I think, was with the female quartet. We placed it right after “So quick, so hot, so mad,” in which I sang the lead like a female dictator. So in “Think’st thou to seduce me” the dictator got even more hysterical. With the clavichord I had to change the interpretation because the song came after “O love, where are thy shafts,” which we performed without any irony at all. After a beautiful song like that we suddenly noticed the massive use of “th” and “s,” particularly in verse two:

Learn to speak first, then to wooe
 To wooing much pertayneth
 He that courts us wanting art
Soon falters when he faineth
 Looks asquint on his discourse
 And smiles when he complaineth

And so the idea grew of a gross speech impairment. Not stuttering, but a lisp that worsened in every verse until it broke both time and melody. But I did not let myself become hysterical. I tried, as in Johnstone’s masks sessions and the masterclasses with Cassi and Lexa, to let go of myself completely and let the lisp be a mask that took me where it wanted. To do that, I need complete concentration and an audience, so what you can hear on track 21 on the CD is more an echo of how it could be done.

“Fain would I wed”

This song was also new to me when I started my doctoral project. The female persona starts very blatantly. It is as if she blurts out something she has been thinking for a long time.

The first time I performed it was with the quartet. In our interpretation we sang the song more slowly with every verse, partly because of the intricate arrangement I had made, making it more and more mysterious and difficult. With the clavichord we stressed folk rhythms. I sang it in Swedish without stressing the lyrics. The song was more of “go with the flow.” The following autumn I had the opportunity to use some of Campion’s songs in a completely new surrounding.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Lucia di Lammermoor meets Pajazzo

Gunilla Gårdfeldt is a professor in stage interpretation at the Academy of Music and Drama at Gothenburg University. Gårdfeldt has recently been working with issues of gender and violence within the framework of artistic research, but has also taught acting for many years and has long experience as an actress, singer, and comedienne. In a project that included the PhD student Elisabeth Belgrano, opera and music students at the bachelor’s and master’s levels and a professional pianist performed opera scenes where violence occurs. I was invited to use Campion songs as a means to link the scenes together and comment on the play. I decided to sing the Campion songs without accompaniment because I wanted to be able to sing the songs without adjusting to someone else, and there was not time for enough rehearsal.



*Figure 10: Molly Cutpurse in a woodcut illustration from Thomas Middleton’s play “The Roaring Girl.”
(Taken from Wikimedia commons)*

The person I chose for my character was the eccentric Molly Cutpurse (1584–1663), not because I think I have a lot in common with her, but because I wanted to do Campion’s songs as a female transvestite. The clothes were chosen based on a picture from Thomas Middleton’s “The roaring girl.” I also performed the part of Taddeo in “Pajazzo.” When I created my actor’s

biography of Molly Cutpurse I did not use real, historical facts, but made up a story of a woman with many tragic experiences. In my story she was a cynic with a good heart, a pragmatic and criminal woman trying to avoid death. “Good men show,” with new lyrics in Swedish, became an invitation to a party; “Oft have I sigh’d” was an ironic pastiche commenting on the love-sick Tatiana; “Young and simple” was a warning to the audience after a murder scene. In Act Two I sang the second and third verse of “If thou long’st” in Swedish to tell the lovers about the sweet and bitter facts of love, while the last verse was saved for Pajazzo after he had killed Nedda.

I translated “Fain would I wed” in the autumn of 2010 to fit into the staging of *Lucia meets Pajazzo*. The song was an answer to the Duke’s aria from Verdi’s opera *Rigoletto*, in which the Duke boasts about his conquests of women. In the staging I was Molly Cutpurse, the female transvestite, and in “Fain would I wed” I acknowledged my sex as being female, but still used the same bragging tone as the Duke, as if my conquests were equal to his. I directed the song to my male co-actors on stage, bonding with them as if I was male. One of the surprises of this performance was that when co-acting with male actors, dressed as a man, I experienced an exclusive fellowship with men as I had never done before. I had not even known that there was any such thing, and that when I participated in their view of women on stage, it was with the power structure that the women were inferior to “us.”

For this translation I chose a different language from my other translations. I avoided the old-fashioned words, and favored a more folksy and up-to-date speaking tone.

As usual I wanted all stanzas to rhyme, but I had a few rather crude double-entendres:

Snygg ska han va å grann	He must be handsome and good-looking
som en da	as a day
Den man ja ska ha i sängen.	The man I shall have in the bed.
När ja är trött och livet är dött	When I am tired, and life is dead
Då piggar han upp mig, den drängen.	Then he cheers me up, the stooge.

In the original the man is young. Here I could not fit that fact into the rhymes, so I hinted it with the use of the noun “drängen,” which is an old word for a farm worker, but also means “boy” in Norwegian and Danish. Thus the persona hints both that the man would work for her, and that he is young.

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Kvinnor är fulla av trånande längtan
som gör oss så fruktansvärt svaga.
Och ifall männen är slappa och lata
tar kvinnorna sig av daga.

Women are full of a longing yearning
that makes us so terribly weak.
And if the men are soft and lazy
the women will kill themselves.

In this verse the persona makes fun of other women, although she is one herself, but in the following stanzas, she also makes fun of men in the old Campion way, by questioning their capacity as lovers.

Många har försökt att få mig
in i det äkta ståndet.
Men om jag ska gifta mig
förlorar jag förståndet.

Many have tried to get me
into the sacred matrimony.
But if I shall marry
I will lose my mind.

The word “ståndet” means erection, but in combination with “äkta” it means matrimony, so the double meaning is not elegant. Also, by hinting that marriage is nothing for the persona, which Campion also does in the original, the persona tells the audience “what kind of girl” she is. But as she will say in the following lines, this is a deliberate choice she has made:

Något i mig tråkas ut
när allting blir för stadigt
Är det syndigt? Vad vet jag?
Det blir bara tradigt.

Something in me, is bored
when everything is too certain
Is it sinful? How would I know?
It is just so square.

The next lines are a bit confusing, as the persona threatens to go to a convent, while talking in an every-day modern language. But the intended time period of the staging was very ambiguous: the clothes I wore indicated the seventeenth century, while Pajazzo and Nedda were dressed in a more medieval style, and the Tchaikovsky characters wore nineteenth-century clothes. So the hint of a convent went well along with the agreement we had with the audience, that the time period was all times at the same time.

Kanske borde jag ge upp
mitt liv och gå i kloster
Sluta limma på var karl
som ett begagnat plåster

Maybe I should give up
my life and go to a convent?
Stop gluing every man
as a used plaster

Since the movement from the thought of entering a convent to the next thought of living life once again happens so quickly – and I still did not want to interrupt the folksiness by breaking the time – I added an exclamation before the last stanzas. Also, at the common word “plåster”, which is slang for someone you cannot get rid of, there was a reaction from the audience, which had to be allowed for before I went on.

Äh!

Fick jag leva om en gång
 göra ännu ett par språng
 Skulle jag göra detsamma!
 Herrar som jag haft nån gång
 och hela himlens änglasång
 Skulle tacka min mamma!

Pooh!

If I could live once again
 do a couple of more leaps
 I would do the same!
 Men, whom I had had once
 and the angelsinging of the whole heaven
 would thank my mum!

By the end of the song I had approached two men on state and was offered a beer. We toasted each other, and that was the end of Act One. The translation can be heard on the CD track 17.

I had seven co-actors, four musicians, and a costume that gave me another character. I used my voice from *d* to *f#*². I sang opera in my head voice and *Campion* in my chest voice. I walked, ran, crawled, sat, stood, and lay down. So the work I normally do with the songs when I am on my own with the audience and an accompanist was too intense to fit in with all the other tasks. Still, I know *Campion's* songs well enough to use them to any purpose, I found.

We had three performances of *Lucia meets Pajazzo*, after which I did another concert with the clavichord. To sing again and be able to choose myself when and where to act was so much easier now that I could sing, for instance, the folksy, happy “Fain would I wed” by just enjoying the music. This concert was the first one to include “Never love unless you can.” Since it does not come across as a female persona song, I had not found it interesting before. When singing it, I felt it really was a male persona’s advice to young women, (although the persona talk of men as “they”) – a male persona who could have been a character in a book by Oscar Wilde; an idle, aristocratic *Besserwisser*. The first reason for that is the rhyme: “require-retire,” with the last syllable of each word (normally pronounced now almost as two) sung clearly

as a single aristocratic and exaggerated syllable. The second is that the idea in the song that killing animals would be a worthier deed than talk seems far from what a woman would say, since talking can solve so many problems and killing an innocent animal is just meaningless violence. I also find the idea of “hawking” as a manly and important sport both silly and cruel, although I know Sir Thomas Mounson, Campion’s friend, was King James’s falconer. I do not think anyone in the seventeenth century would share my point of view in these matters, be it man or woman, so is it just my own twenty-first-century prejudices that make the persona inevitably male?

Chapter 9

Think'st thou to seduce me then?

What kind of seduction is Campion inviting us to? Not only are Campion's songs with female personas "amorous," they have a seductive quality. The more I examined them, what I first believed to be funny songs revealed other qualities. I have no doubt these songs were highly appreciated by Campion's friends. The songs provided a titillating entertainment in closed company in rooms we know very little about. They were surrounded by acts and words we can only imagine. And these rooms will remain closed, because Campion wanted them to be. But some of the more or less hidden layers defined in chapter 5 allow us to open the door just a tiny bit, to a world where the very act of playing hide and seek with words is both the means and the goal itself.

The simplicity that meets the eye is both deluding and seductive. I find the same kind of simplicity in the Finnish author Tove Jansson's books about the Moomin trolls. You think they might be children's books, but once you start reading them all, from *Finn Family Moomintroll* to *Moominpappa at Sea*, you realize they are books about what it is to be a human being and how to deal with life when what you long for is both beyond what you can accomplish and near to hand. The books tell you how different from one another people can be, and that is just the way it is. Some people are "filifjonkor"; they cannot think of anything but trying to do the right thing. Some are "homsor"; they wonder constantly why everything is the way it is and not totally different. Some are "hattifnattar," who drift helplessly towards the horizon, not realizing that once you reach the horizon it has moved and you have a new horizon to long for. Some are "misor," who feel sorry for themselves all the time; they cannot walk into a room with polka-dot wallpaper without believing someone wants to remind them of their freckles. And because they are all

trolls of different kinds, it is useless to try and change them. All you can do is to understand them, and once you understand them, they are not really trolls any more; they are each and every one of us, and they hold our own secrets. For instance, Tove Jansson has revealed that the two little trolls Tofslan and Vifslan who steal the huge red ruby from the wizard represent herself and the director Viveca Bandler. Knowing that, it is not outrageous to suggest that the ruby they are guarding is their secret love.

I am not stating that Thomas Campion had a homosexual (if we were to use the word) relationship with either Sir Thomas Mounson or Philip Rosseter. I simply think we should be open to the possibility: a possibility which might be embedded in Campion's songs with female personas. And if we consider the possibility that Thomas Campion codifies his love for his male friends by refusing to state the persona's gender in some songs (“Oft have I sigh'd” and “O love, where are thy shafts”) and deluding us into believing the persona is female, because it directs its love to a “he,” then Campion has something in common with Jansson.

A flair for simplicity is another parallel between Campion and Jansson. Some of Thomas Campion's songs with female personas are as short as eight bars. Campion favors one-syllable words. Most melodies are uncomplicated and the range is seldom more than a tenth. But to sing a simple song is not necessarily easier than to sing a more elaborate one. In such a song you are completely exposed, and any lapse of attention or engagement on the singer's part makes both the song and the singer appear dull. Behind the words in Campion's songs, just as in Tove Jansson's books, there is a world of its own with double and triple meanings, allowing the possibility of reaching further if you want, or staying at the pleasant-enough surface if you prefer. The simplicity is not a lack of refinement; it is a disguise, a curtain you can draw back to reach other, deeper meanings.

But the difference between Thomas Campion and Tove Jansson is that she does not present these codes in highbrow poetry, but in books for children. Maybe this is because she is a woman. Campion, on the other hand, perhaps breaking the same taboo, chooses to blend his “vain ditties” with noble, learned, yet humorous songs in books for the London aristocracy. And those who have investigated his writings have not been interested in cracking the code, because to them that would be demeaning to Campion himself, his work, and his accomplishments.

There are other parallels between Tove Jansson and Thomas Campion. Campion had his “deeper studies,” his Latin poetry and epigrams, while

Jansson had her work as a visual artist. Both of them valued something besides what simply caught the eye.



Figure 11. Photo: Tina Carlsson

I am very attracted to the kind of simplicity both Jansson and Campion use. When I compose songs I have always strived for short words and a logical melody. Still, I do not want to be banal. I want both the melody and the harmonies to walk into unpredictable territories, which, once entered, seem inevitable, although they were impossible to imagine in advance.

Conclusion

If Campion does *not* express same-sex desire at all, what would that mean? It would mean that Campion has a psychological eye for women's feelings that reaches far beyond that of most of his contemporaries and his predecessors. Then one would have to ask why he would want to express such a variety in his songs with female personas. To contradict or counterbalance the prevailing misogynistic tradition, as Reitenbach suggests? Why would he want that, when in other songs he says women are the evil with which men unfortunately are mixed? "Kind are her answers" and "If Love loves Truth," from Book 3, are nothing but a catalog of women's bad habits and characters. And if Campion really was so fascinated with women, why did he not marry?

Reitenbach, Lowbury, Salter and Young suggest that some unhappy love affair in his youth broke his heart, a theory for which they see evidence in his poems in Latin, where he expresses love for his Mellea and Caspia. All of the people Campion should have bonded with when he was a child disappeared – in addition to his birth parents, he probably also had a wet-nurse he had to part from, as was commonplace in a well-to-do family.

A family life was apparently not what Campion wanted. Maybe he had seen enough of the miseries of family life before he moved away from home? Campion’s own real life started when he moved away from home, when he made friends. He kept those friends and looked after his friendships all his life. With his friends and especially with the Latinists, he found a network where he could feel at home, where he was allowed to belong. With them he felt he could rise above the vile masses, being of a better sort himself, belonging to those knowing, skilled, and learned ones. If you remain at a certain distance to people, you can also control what kind of relation you have to them. Married men in those days were certainly free to do most things they wanted, including having same-sex relationships, if that was the issue at stake. So I do not think Campion’s unmarried state can be used as a proof of his sexual preferences. I think we can say with safety, however, that he does not quite fit the nineteenth- and twentieth-century hetero-normative pattern.

If Campion expresses *both* same-sex desire and not, if Campion wants us to decide what to say with the songs, then he is logical and illogical at the same time, in the same way Thomas Nash is when he first scolds bawdy verse, and then writes one of the longest ones himself. Society also condemns sodomy, but the public eye turns a blind eye to same-sex practice. Considering the tradition of puns and the love of multi-layered lyrics, would not “both same-sex desire and not” be the most plausible alternative?

Since this is a thesis in the tradition of artistic research, I must also answer the question of whether these possibly contradicting meanings make any difference to my artistic practice. And my answer must be as logical and illogical as the songs themselves: to suspect the songs express same-sex desire *does* not influence the way I sing them, because we live in a time where these things can be imagined and accepted. There are other aspects that have more impact, such as the possibility that the songs were sung by men. If the songs were not even intended for women, I cannot sing them the way I did before, when I stressed only their entertainment value. I have to ask myself if the songs really were that amusing even when they were new, because the Renaissance dug

up a great deal of Antique misogyny. I got the feeling of being tricked into portraying women who act badly. There are bad women, of course, as there are bad men. And sometimes portraying a crooked character is more interesting than being the good one. But before, I did not think I was taking part in a canon that demeans women. Now that I know, I need new means to stay in command of what I am projecting onto the audience. Thus, when I think Campion wants to put on a female disguise to entertain his male friends and participate in a misogynistic tradition, it is less fun for me. It is an obstacle I have to overcome by cross-dressing, or by putting the song in a context where I can put my own strong personal mark on it, as for instance in a written play or a lecture-recital. And that is obviously what I have done. Having gone through the analytical process in this dissertation I am much more aware of the political agenda of these songs.

In the serious songs like “Oft have I sigh’d,” however, it works the other way around. When I sing that song I can identify with the sorrow, bitterness, and longing of the persona, thinking they were Campion’s own deep emotions for an equal – a man – because then the song mirrors the kind of love I recognize and appreciate.

The secretiveness and the codes also encourage me to continue to make up contradicting stories behind the songs, and to have secrets I hide or eventually show to the audience.

My relation to the songs has deepened. I no longer find it important to revive the jolly humor that was the reason that the songs attracted me in the first place. And I am grateful for that. The songs made me take a journey and put words to my real reason for singing: it is not just the beauty that matters, not just the humor, not just the accuracy, but most of all it is bringing pieces of life into music that you can present to an audience and to yourself. Campion’s songs, with all their layers of hidden meanings or pure simplicity, do just that, in a more complex way than many others, although Campion’s music may seem simple enough.

What kind of relation to women does Campion reveal in his songs with female personas? I feel he watches us women, tries to figure us out. And yes, sometimes Reitenbach is right; he wants to talk for us. In Book Three there is a progression in the songs from misogyny, via a more balanced look at women, to a mere defense of them, as if he is guiding the depressed Mounson, to whom the book was dedicated, from one opinion to another, in the end saying “Life is worth living,” and “It is not as bad as it looks.”

Would that not be a fine gift from a four-hundred-year-old man, and something that might make us stop looking down on the Renaissance as a time when people knew less than we do today?

Life is worth living. It is not as bad as it looks.



Figure 12: Cover photo session from her 1990 CD “Vanilla Dreams.”

Summary

Think'st thou to seduce me then? Female personas in songs by Thomas Campion (1567–1620) is a thesis within artistic research, which means Campion's songs are investigated through the artistic practice of singing and performing. It is also a thesis that uses a gender-historical perspective to look at Campion's time; the one-sex model by Thomas Laqueur is important. Bruce R. Smith's method of describing desire-directions in the book *Homosexual Desire In Shakespeare's England – A Cultural Poetics*, is used as a tool to understand in what way Campion's songs with female personas address the listener/singer/reader/spectator.

Previous research has suggested that men sang these songs to a male audience. The thesis investigates that suggestion in depth. As a consequence, same-sex desire in Campion's and the songs socio-cultural context is one of the parameters that this thesis elucidates.

Thomas Campion wrote the main bulk of his production in Latin and sometimes he creates windows and bridges between his songs and his writings in Latin. By opening these windows and by looking at the dedications from these collections and how the songs are placed within each collection, the author shows hidden messages about same-sex desire to a homosocial coterie.

The artistic practice is described in four chapters in the second part of the thesis and in enclosed CD-recordings. The artistic practice's experience shows that the seductive simplicity in the songs, keeps their many-layered contents hidden unless the singer is conscious of the way in which Campion uses the phonemes. Repeated speech sounds such as uu, ee or th are no coincidence, but are used consciously to create emblematic meanings; for

instance uu can suggest a kiss, ee can be teasing. The author has experimented with this method in the Swedish translations of the songs.

The practice also shows that the interpretation of the lyrics is stated through the meter of the songs, folksy or more highbrow, the choice of accompanying instrument can enhance or undermine that.

The thesis shows that Campion's more misogynistic songs can be altered by cross-dressing or with a strong personal mark from the performer.

Campion's fourteen songs with female personas (whereof two have more dubious personas) are contained in the Appendix to this dissertation. The author has transcribed them from the lute tablature and adjusted them to a modern piano and music notation. In the process of transcription, errors made by previous editors have been corrected. In *So many loves have I neglected*, two pauses were added, which now have been taken away. Four of the arrangements made for female quartet are also enclosed.

Sammanfattning

I avhandlingen *Think'st thou to seduce me then? Kvinnliga berättarjag i sånger av Thomas Campion (1567–1620)* utforskas fjorton sånger av Thomas Campions dels genom konstnärlig praktik i form av instudering, arrangemang, översättning och offentligt framförande, dels genom en genusvetenskapligt inspirerad undersökning av de normer som rådde i det samhälle sångerna skapades. Den konstnärliga praktiken går som en röd tråd och interagerar med avhandlingens två delar.

Avhandlingen inleds med ett exordium som på ett litterärt sätt beskriver mordet på Sir Thomas Overbury, en hovskandal som påverkade Thomas Campions liv och framför allt hans tredje och fjärde sångsamling där de flesta kvinnliga berättarjagen förekommer. Medan Campions kvinnliga berättarjag alla är fiktiva, möter läsaren i exordiet en verklig kvinna och hennes öde: Frances Howard, som var dotter till hovskattmästaren och gift med Jakob I:s favorit, Robert Carr. Exordiet antyder en kärleksrelation mellan Thomas Campion och hans bästa vän, Philip Rosseter, till vilken han testamenterade sin kvarlåtenskap.

I en kort biografiskt kapitel framhålls att Campion tidigt blev föräldralös. Från den internatskola där han började som trettonåring finns bevarade räkningar som är baserade på femtiotvå veckor om året. Man kan alltså anta att han inte reste hem på skolloven, något som kan förklara varför vänskap blev så viktigt för honom.

Campion skrev gärna om kärlek och erotik. Det sistnämnda är något som tidigare forskare inte varit bekväma med, t ex Kastendieck, Vivian och Eldridge. Campion levde i en tid när puritanska värderingar blev alltmer påtagliga i det engelska samhället, samtidigt som kungen och hovet levde i överflöd och mycket av statens utgifter handlade om underhållning för hovet. Till denna underhållning bidrog Campion med bl a flera maskspel.

Del I

I avhandlingens första del problematiseras begreppet kvinna genom amerikanen Thomas Laqueurs teori om enkönsmodellen. Renässanstidens förståelse av man och kvinna grundade sig på Aristoteles (384–322 f kr) och Galenos (129–199) teorier, framför allt uppfattningen att människan bestod av ett enda kön där mannen var normen och kvinnan en avvikelse, ett resultat av ett avlelseögonblick försämrat av kyla och fukt. Även könsdelarna hade samma namn hos man och kvinna; kvinnan bar sina på insidan, mannen på utsidan, men kvinnan kunde genom oförsiktiga rörelser eller ett alltför aktivt liv förvandlas till man om organen föll ut.

Därmed blev uppdelningen i passiv–aktiv sådan att en passiv man i förlängningen kunde uppfattas som en kvinna och en aktiv kvinna som en man. Bruket under Shakespeares tid att låta kvinnorollerna spelas av unga män förstärker denna könsliga ambivalens. Renässansens syn på det biologiska och sociala könet har betydelse när möjligheten att Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag sjöngs av män diskuteras.

Kvinnliga berättarjag hade en plats i erotisk renässanspoesi och även i kvinnosatir, en genre med rötter i det antika Grekland som förts vidare i en obruten tradition genom bl a munkars och kyrkofäders skrifter fram till Campions (och våra) dagar.

Avhandlingen placerar sångerna i den sociokulturella kontext de skrevs, genom att försöka förstå vilket öde som kunde ha drabbat dem av Campions kvinnliga berättarjag som förlorat sin oskuld och sedan övergivits, om de varit verkliga kvinnor. De kvinnliga berättarjag som genom sin öppna otrohet och/eller dominans bryter mot renässanssamhällets normer om hur en kvinna skulle vara, kan av Campions samtid ha uppfattats som absurda och komiska. Mannens plats som kvinnans överhuvud var lika självklar som Guds makt över människan, vilket inte utesluter att många kvinnor trots detta kan ha liknat de fiktiva kvinnorna i Campions sånger.

I två essäer av poeten och litteraturvetaren Pamela Coren föreslås att Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag inte avsågs att sjungas av kvinnor utan av män. Sannolikheten i detta påstående undersöks genom att beskriva aspekter som knöts till musik och/eller kvinnor under renässansen: känslor, intimitet, magi och häxjakt.

Hur Campions musik och lyrik samverkar undersöks ur sångarens synvinkel. Därmed ringas renässansens emblemantik in med utgångspunkt i en sångarpraktik. Med emblemantik menas den symbolförståelse som

renässansens intellektuella delade genom de emblemböcker som var populära under den här tiden. Ett emblem består av ett motto, en bild och en dikt. Emblemerna var resultatet av en samverkan mellan tre konstarter: bildkonst, poesi och boktryckarkonst. Genom att låta blicken vandra mellan mottot, bilden och dikten skulle betraktaren få en förståelse som emblemets delar inte kunde ge var för sig, en sorts synergieffekt. Emblemerna blev så populära att de kom att kännas igen även utanför emblemböckerna, när ingen bild fanns, och kunde användas i överförd bemärkelse. Att Campion var bekant med emblematik visar hans maskspel *The Somerset Masque*, där delfiner, träd, skepp och örnar förekommer som symboler för kungahuset. I sången *Now winter's nights enlarge*, fungerar texten på tre olika nivåer simultant, enligt en analys av John T. Irwin. Även Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag kan ibland förstås i flera nivåer t ex *A secret love or two* där rimmet *duly-truly* används i varje vers på sångens mest betonade och centrala toner, för att trumma in det motsägelsefulla budskapet otrohet/trohet och trägenhet/uppgivenhet, samtidigt som munnen formar ett "o", vars likhet med en kyss författaren betonar. I *Think'st thou to seduce me then?* hamnar vokalen 'i:' på nästan alla betonade taktodelar och frasslut i första versen, och varje fras slutar med en fallande sekund vars båda toner har lika stark betoning. Därmed blir sången retsam, på ett sätt som påminner om barns sätt att håna. Även i *So quick, so hot, so mad*, fungerar musiken emblematiskt genom att de utskrivna sextondelsornamenten hamnar på de dramatiska adjektiven "snabb", "het" och "tokig". Ornamenten påminner därmed om rysningar av fruktan, spelad eller äkta. Eftersom Campion skrev både text och musik själv, föreslår författaren att Campion låter musiken understryka och betona vissa ord och vokaler för att uppnå en ironisk eller komisk effekt. Musiken är för det mesta underordnad texten, något som visar sig i sångernas rytmik, harmonik, fraslängd och tessitura. I t ex sången *I care not for these ladies*, som inte ingår i avhandlingen, använder Campion ordvitsen *cunt-ry*, som även Shakespeare använder i *Hamlet*.

Bruce R. Smiths sätt att kategorisera historieberättande i boken *Homosexual Desire In Shakespeare's England – A Cultural Poetics*, används som ett redskap för att förstå på vilket sätt Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag riktar sig till sina lyssnare/sångare/läsare/åskådare. Smith visar hur renässansens författare använder sju olika arektypiska berättarmodeller för att uttrycka samkönat begär. De flesta av Campions sånger hamnar i modellen "den förtrolige" (*the secret sharer*), dvs sångerna är en sorts monologer där lyssnaren behandlas som en som får ta del av hemligheter i förtroende.

Sångaren berättar en hemlighet som om han/hon var ensam, publiken lyssnar som om de fick höra något förbjudet.

Fortfarande med Pamela Corens essäer som grund undersöker avhandlingen hur Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag kunde ha fungerat i sin samtid om de sjöngs av män för en manlig publik. Till följd av detta är samkönat begär en av de variabler som belyses, både i Campions sociokulturella kontext och i sångernas innehåll.

Dedikationerna och företalen i Rossetersamlingen (1601) och bok tre och fyra (1617), alla riktade till sir Thomas Mounson, antyder ett särskilt förhållande mellan Mounson och Campion. Sångernas inbördes ordning och sångsamlingarnas dedikationer öppnar för möjligheten att samkönat begär kan ha varit en av variablerna i Campions samkönade nätverk.

Thomas Campion skrev huvuddelen av sin produktion på latin och skapar emellanåt broar och fönster mellan sina sånger och sina latinska skrifter. Även Robert Burtons *Anatomy of melancholy* från 1621, som är skriven på engelska, använder latin när innehållet är avsett enbart för en bildad elit. Ett intressant sammanträffande är att Burtons längsta latinska ”fönster” handlar om just samkönad praktik. Även om Burtons bok trycktes efter Campions död, kan Campion ha använt latin på ett liknande sätt eftersom få kvinnor och inte alla män kunde läsa latin.

Campions latinska skrifter innehåller ca 200 epigram och två längre dikter. I en av de långa dikterna, *Umbra*, förvandlar sig en manlig gud till en kvinna för att vinna en dödlig mans kärlek.

O, om jag fick veta vilken uppenbarelse som kunde tända dina eldar! Om det vore en pojkes, kvinnas eller mans, hur ivrigt skulle jag inte anta alla dessa former för dig!...
...Och med detta antog han tusen vackra skepnader, ändrade sin ålder och sitt kön, och lade till olika ornament till var och en...

Författaren föreslår att de som läste dikten *Umbra* kunde ha varit intresserade av att använda en liknande förklädnad. Därmed skulle Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag kunna fungera som en mötesplats för mäns samkönade begär på liknande sätt som det som Eve Sokofsky Sedgwicks beskriver i boken *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, (1985). Sedgwick menar att 1700-talsromaner med triangeldramer där två män förälskar sig i samma kvinna, egentligen handlar om männens möte, medan kvinnan fungerar som platsen där männen möts.

Del II

Den konstnärliga praktiken beskrivs i fyra kapitel i avhandlingens andra del och dokumenteras i cd-inspelningar. Författaren avgränsar sig gentemot tidigmusikrörelsen genom att avstå från ornamentering, tidstroget textuttal, lutackompanjemang och anspråk på autentisk röstproduktion. Röstproduktion och sångteknik problematiseras istället genom att författaren ifrågasätter västerländsk sångteknik såsom den lärdes ut på svenska musikhögskolor på nittonhundrasjuttio- och åttiotalet.

Vidare beskrivs hur författaren använt Campions sånger före och under doktorandarbetet. I sceniska föreställningar med sång och talad text har sångerna fungerat som en del av ett sammanhang där författaren använt motsägande undertexter. I föreställningen "Stravinskij bakade aldrig sockerkaka" blev *So quick, so hot, so mad* ett misslyckat ragningsförsök.

Föreställningen "Lady Essex' hemlighet" byggde på delar av Overbury affären och innehöll sånger av Champion, Dowland och Katarina A. Karlsson, som även stod för översättningar och manus. Thomas Melin agerade medmusiker och skådespelare. Två sånger som komponerats direkt för studenter på Teaterhögskolan vid ett projekt om tidig dans och poesi, har senare använts som kommentarer till Campions sånger. *Första dagen* fungerar som ett svar till flera av de sånger som handlar om flickor som begråter sin förlorade oskuld. *Varför föddes jag?* skrevs som ett försök att skriva mansparodi, vilket visade sig vara mycket svårt och ledde till ytterligare funderingar om hur Champion kunde skriva så många, så nyanserade och så individuella sånger med ett berättarjag av motsatt kön.

Den konstnärliga praktiken erfarenhet visar att den förledande enkelheten i sångerna gör att deras mångbottnade innehåll går förlorat om inte sångaren är medveten om på vilket sätt Champion använder språkljuden. Att fonem såsom 'o', 'i' eller 'th' ofta återkommer är sällan en slump utan ett medvetet sätt att skapa emblematiske meningar: Exempelvis kan ett 'o' antyda en kyss i *A secret love or two*, på ett sätt som man inte upptäcker förrän man sjunger sången. I författarens översättningar till svenska har samma sorts onomatopoetiska effekter använts t ex 'kryllar' och 'kryp' i sången *So quick, so hot, so mad*.

Praktiken visar också att textens läsart anges genom musikens taktart: folklig eller mer högstämmd. Sångaren kan själv förstärka eller försvaga olika läsarter genom val av ackompanjemangsinstrument, vilket en stor del av själva doktorandarbetet har kommit att handla om.

Vevlira var ett instrument för tiggare på Campions tid. Folkmusikern och vevliraspelaren Anders Ådin fungerade som medmusiker i en praktisk undersökning av Campions sånger. Sången *Good men show*, fick genom vevliran en kvalitet som blivit en inspiration för senare framföranden. Vevlirans bordunsträngar gjorde att sångerna fick harmoniseras om.

Författaren har arrangerat åtta av Campions sånger för damkvartett. Arrangemangen inspirerades till en början av Campions egen teori att melodin och basstämman är sångens skelett och att avståndet däremellan ska fyllas ut med välljudande stämmor. Efterhand blev arrangemangen mer personliga; exempelvis fick *Good men show* en mer medeltida prägel med parallella kvinter och kvarter, medan *Fain would I wed'* fick en musikalisk dräkt som blev mer komplicerad och samtida med varje vers. Campions mer kvinnofientliga texter hanterades genom crossdressing eller genom ett starkt personligt uttryck/avtryck. Damkvartetten framträdde i herrkostym i två konserter, en i Göteborg och en i Hull, UK. Konserterna blandade musik av Campion med Karin Rehnqvists *Davids Nimm* (för damtrio) och svenska folkmelodier på samma tema som Campions sånger, dvs övergivna kvinnor. Genom regissören Emelie Sigelius arbete, blev kvartetten fyra individer med var sin historia att berätta.

Att använda herrkostym blev också en del av metoden i ett konstnärligt utvecklingsprojekt som leddes av professor Gunilla Gårdfeldt. Där fick författaren, iklädd herrkostym från sextonhundratalet, prova Campions sånger och manligt nätverkande på scenen tillsammans med operastudenter från Högskolan för scen och musik i Göteborg i en föreställning som var ett collage av operascener där våld förekommer.

Herrkläder har kunnat fungera som ett sätt att hantera kvinnofientligheten i en del av texterna, men avsikten i varje framträdande har inte varit att sjunga i drag, utan använda cross-dressing på ett sådant sätt att könsmarkörerna kan flyttas från sång till sång. Med damkvartetten togs exempelvis läppstift på under konserterna.

Andra ackompanjemangsinstrument som undersöks i avhandlingen är klavikord och gitarr. Klavikordets tonsvaghet ger möjlighet till en röstvolym som förstärker känslan av privat förtrolighet i Campions sånger. Vid två konserter sjöngs först tolv av Campions sånger, sedan fjorton. När sångerna placerades efter varandra i den kronologiska ordning de är utgivna och placerade inbördes inom varje sångsamling, visade det sig att de stundtals formade en spontan historia genom berättarjagens olika grad av erfarenhet och ålder. På CD-inspelningen som medföljer är sångerna organiserade efter en mer genomtänkt historielinje från ung till gammal.

Tillsammans med gitarristen Thomas Melin, som fungerat som författarens medmusiker under många år, bl a i föreställningarna Stravinskij bakade aldrig sockerkaka (1990), Lady Essex' hemlighet (1993) och Du som har vingar (1996), gjordes den fjärde och sista inspelningen under doktorandprojektet. Syftet var att komma så nära den svenska vistraditionen som möjligt. Förebilder i den delen av projektet var bl a Cornelis Vreeswijk och Dan Berglund. Även i den här varianten harmoniserades sångerna om och flera av sångerna oktaverades ner för att betona berättandet i sångerna.

Till avhandlingen har fogats en notutgåva av Campions fjorton sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag (varav två där berättarjagets kön är mer oklart) som författaren transkriberat från lut-tabulatur och anpassat för modernt piano. Detta är första gången en separat samling med enbart Campions sånger med kvinnliga berättarjag ges ut. Till skillnad från originalen och alla andra transkriptioner är all text införd i notbilden. *Oft have I sigh'd* som i andra transkriptioner har återgetts i 4/4-takt, finns här i originalet 4/2-takt. Sången *So many loves have I neglected*, som av tidigare utgivare försetts med några extra pauser, återges här i en version som författaren anser vara mer samstämmig med Campions notering. Även här har sångarpraktiken varit avgörande. På CD-inspelningen framförs sången dock med de tillagda pauserna, eftersom transkriptionen gjordes så sent i processen. För att kunna inrymma pauserna i sångens budskap försågs berättarjaget med dåligt minne, eftersom pauserna ger intryck av att sångaren glömmet att sjunga.

Ett par av de fyrstämmiga arrangemangen är med som exempel. Dokumentationen omfattar även rörlig bild, vilken dock inte ingår i avhandlingen.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Appendix A: The Songs

Introduction to the transcriptions

For the transcriptions I used Rosseter 1601, Campion 1613 and 1617.

I have added a separately notated bass line to the keyboard score when there is a discrepancy between the tablature and the bass line. I have consistently put all of the lyrics into the score. My experience as a singer is that it is easier to learn the lyrics that way. I have modernised most of the spelling, but kept all of Campion's punctuations and capital letters.

In "A secret love or two," I noticed the same mistake as transcribers before me: in the seventh bar there is a "g" and "b" notated in the tablature, which does not make sense, and is illogical compared with the way the rest of the song is harmonized. I agree with David Scott (1967), that it should be a "c sharp" and an "a" instead.

In "So many loves have I neglected" David Scott (1967) has put in a half-note pause in the fifth bar, something which I cannot find in Campion's score. In my musical practice, I have always found the pause strange, but did not look at a facsimile copy until after I made the recordings. It is an odd break in the song, I find it more natural to follow Campion's intention and break the common time with $2/4$ for one bar. David Scott has also added a half-note pause before the repeat in the second phrase, which Campion has not indicated. With both of these pauses taken away, the song has a natural, lilting evenness, which seems much closer to Campion's musical language.

That the melody ends on b-a instead of a-g when the lute tablature shows an ordinary cadenza in G, must be a mistake, something also David Scott has corrected. The lyrics are not set to the music as accurately as Campion

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

normally does, and I have followed David Scott’s suggestions instead.

As others before me, I also noticed the different handwriting and more elaborate lute part in “My love hath vow’d,” which may indicate the handwriting of Philip Rosseter, not Campion.

I recommend that the pianist use the piano score as an outline. It is not necessary to repeat all of the tones, and I would even recommend leaving out some of the octaves to adjust to the volume of the singer’s voice, since the lute has a much weaker tone than a piano. The notes that can be omitted are for instance the fifths or the keynote if it is doubled.

My Love hath vowed

T Campion

1. My love hath vowed he will for - sake me, And I am al - read - y
Far o - ther pro - mise he did make me, when he had my mai - den



2. Had I for - seen what is en - su - ed, And what now with pain I
Un - hap - py then I had esch - ew - ed This un - kind e - vent of
3. Dis - semb - ling wretch, to gain thy plea - sure, what didst thou not vow and
So didst thou rob me of the trea - sure Which so long I held so
4. That heart is nea - rest to mis - for - tune That will trust a feig - ned
When flatt' - ring men our loves im - por - tune, they in - tend us deep - est



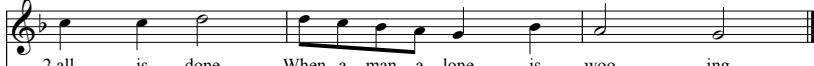
5. sped. head. 1. If such dan - ger be in play - ing, And sport must to



2. prove, love. 2. Maids for - know their own un - do - ing, But fear nought till
3. swear? dear? 3. Now thou prov'st to me a stran - ger, Such is the vile
4. tongue. wrong. 4. If this shame of love's be - tray - ing But this once I



9. 1. earn - est turn, I will go no more a - may - ing.



2. all is done When a man a - lone is woo - ing.
3. guise of men When a wo - man is in dan - ger.
4. clean ly shun, I will go no more a - may - ing.



“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

My Love hath vowed

T Campion

My love hath vowed he will for - sake me and I
Far ot - her pro - mise. he did make me when he

SOPRANO 1
Had I for - see what is en - su - ed and what
Un - hap - py then I had e - schew - ed this un -

SOPRANO 2
Dis - semb - ling wretch to gain thy plea - sure what didst
So didst thou rob me of the trea - sure that so

ALTO
That heart is nea - rest to mis - for - tune that will
When flatt' - ring men our loves im - por - tune, they in -
an al - rea - dy sped. If such dan - ger be in pla - ying
4 had my mai - den - head. now with pain I prove, Maids for - know their own un - do - ing
kind e - vent of love. thou not vovand swear. Now thou prov'st to me a stran - ger
long I held so dear. trust a feig - ned tongue. If this shame of loves be - tray - ing
tend us dee - pest wrong.
8 and sport must to ear - nest turn I will go no more a - may - ing.
but fear nought till all is done, when a man a - lone is woo - ing.
su - ch is the vile - guise of men, when a wo man is in dan - ger.
but this once I clean - ly shun, I will go no more a - may - ing.

Good men show

T. Campion

1. Good men show, if you can tell,
Where doth hu - man pi - ty dwell?
2. O! if such a saint there be,
Some hope yet re - mains for me:

1. Far and near her
She (they say) to
2. Pray'r or sac - ri -
To re - lease me



3. Young I am, and far from guile,
The more is my woe the while:
4. Fair is he who vowed to me,
That he on - ly mine would be:
5. From me all my friends are gone,
While I pine for him a - lone,

3. False hood with a
Cas - ting mists be -
4. But a - las, his
And too late my
5. And not one will
That I think there



1. would I seek, So vex'd with sor - row is my breast.
all is meek; And on - ly makes th'un - hap - py blessed.
2. fice may gain From her im - plor'd grace re - lief,
of my pain, Or at the least to ease my grief.
3. smooth dis - guise My simp - le mea - ning hath a - bused,
fore mine eyes, By which my sen - ses are con - fused.
4. mind is caught With eve - ry gau - dy bait he sees.
flame is taught That too much kind - ness makes men freeze.
5. rue my case, But ra - ther my di - stress de - ride,
is no place Where pi - ty e - ver yet did bide.



“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Maids are simple

Maids are simp - le some men say, they for - sooth will trust no men:
Truth a rare flow'r now is grown, few men wear it in their hearts;
Sa - fer may we cre - dit give to a faith - less wan dring - Jew,
Love they make a poor blind child, but let none trust such as he;

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The piano accompaniment is in a grand staff with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

5

But should they mens wills o - bey, Maids were ve - ry simp - le then.
Lo - vers are more easi - ly known by their foll - ies than de - serts.
than a young mans vows be - lieve, when he says his love is true.
Ra - ther than to be be - guiled e - ver let me sim - ple be.

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment from the first system. It begins with a measure rest of 5 measures. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Young and simple

Young and simp - le though I am, I have heard of Cu - pids name:

I am not so foul or fair, To be proud, nor to de- spair;
 Faith 'tis but a foo - lish mind, Yet me-thinkes a heat I find,
 If it be, a - las, what then? Were not wo - men made for men?
 Yet no Churle, nor sil - ken Gull Shall my May - den blos-some pull:

5 Guess I can what thing it is, Men de- sire_ when they do kiss.

Guess I can what thing it is, Men de- sire_ when they do kiss.
 like thirst long - ing that doth bide E - ver on_ my wea - ker side:
 As good 'twere a thing were past, That must needs by done at last.
 Who shall not I soone can tell, Who shall would I could as - well:

9 Smoke can ne - ver_ burn they say, But the flames that fol - low may.

Smoke can ne - ver_ burn they say, But the flames that fol - low may.
 Where they say my_ heart doth move, Ve - nus grant it be not love.
 Ro - ses that are_ o - ver - blown Growe less sweet, then fall a - lone.
 This I know who_ ere hee be Love he must, or flat - ter me.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Oft have I sigh'd

T Campion

Oft have I sigh'd, oft have I
Had he but loved, had he but

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a half note C5. The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line with chords in the right hand. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is common time (C).

7
sigh'd, oft have I sigh'd for him that heares me not: Who
loved, had he but loved as com - mon lo - vers use, his

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line starts with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a half note C5. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is common time (C).

14
ab - sent hath both love and me for - got. Oh yet I
faith - less stay some kind - ness would ex - cuse: O yet I

The third system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line starts with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a half note C5. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is common time (C).

Appendix A

2

19

lan - guish still, _____ yet I lan - guish still, _____ yet I lan - guish
lan - guish still, _____ yet I lan - guish still, _____ yet I lan - guish

23

still _____ through his de - lay. _____ Days seem as
still, _____ still con-stant mourn _____ for him that

27

years when _____ wished friends _____ break their day.
can break _____ vows but _____ not re - turn.

“Think’st thou to seduce me then?”

Oft have I sighed

T Campion/K A Karlsson

SOPRANO 1




Han tog bort gläd-jen i så- ngen, och allt som jag trod- de,

SOPRANO 2



Han tog min gläd-je i - från mig, och allt som jag trod- de,

ALTO



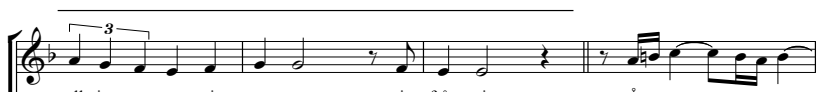
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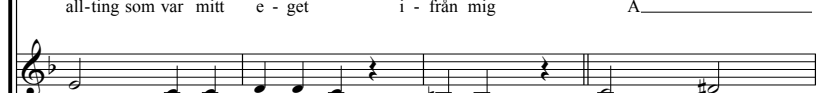
allt som jag trod-de fanns där, allt som jag trod-de fanns där i sång-en. Han




allting som var mitt e - get,



all-ting som var mitt e - get i - från mig



À



Appendix A

2

hur_ska jag nå_gon-sin för - lå__ ta mig själv, hur ska jag Å

Å själv, hur ska jag Å

nå-gon-sin för - lå - ta mig

Å hur_ska jag kun-na ha för - bar-man-de med mig själv, för-

själv Å ska jag kun-na ha - Å - - -

bar-man-de med mig själv? M - - - - - Oft have I Had he but

Oft have I sighed m - - - - - Had he but loved m - - - - -

sighed m him that hears me not who ab - sent loved, m com - mon lo - vers use his faith - less

- Oft have I sighed for him that hears me not m - - - - - Had he but loved as com - mon lo - vers use m - - - - -

sighed for him_ that hears me not - - - - - m

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

3

hath both love and me for - got. Oh, yet I lan - guish
 stay some kind- ness would ex - cuse Oh, - but I lan - guish

- love and me for - got Oh - - -
 - kind-ness would ex - cuse.

hath both, hath me for - got. Oh - - -
 stay some kind - ness would ex-cuse

still, yet I lan - guish still,
 still

- lan-guish still, yet I lan - guish still, through his de-
 Still con-stant

-still m lan-guish still, m - - - - -

o o m

lay days seem as years when lost friends break their day.
 mourne for him that can break vows but not re - turn.

- - - years when lost friends break their day
 can break vows but not re - turn.

O love, where are thy shafts?

Campion

O Love, where are thy Shafts, thy Qui-ver and thy Bow? Shall my wounds

No eyes are like to thine, though men suppose thee blind, So fair they
 Is my fond sight deceived? or do I Cupid spy Close ai-ming
 O then we both shall sit in some un-haunted shade, And heal each
 At large he wanders still, his heart is free from pain, While se-cret

6 one-ly weep and he un-ga-ged go? Be

le-vel when the mark they list to find: Then
 at his breast, by whom de-spised I die? Shoot
 oth-ers wound which Love hath just-ly made: O
 sighes I spend, and teares but all in vain: Yet

9 just and strike him too, that dares con-temn thee so.

strike, o strike the heart that beares the cru-ell minde.
 home sweet Love, and wound him that he may not fly.
 hope, o thought too vain, how quick-ly dost thou fade?
 Love thou know'st by right I should not thus com-plain.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

So quick, so hot

1. So quick___so hot___so mad is thy fond___sute; So rude___so
That fain___ I would___with loss make thy tongue___mute, And yeeld___some

2. But_ roofes too_ hot would_ prove for men all___ fire, And hills too_
The_ grove is___ charged with_ thornes and the bold___ bryer; Gray snakes___ the

3. Since then I___ can on___ earth no fit room___ find, In hea- ven I
Till_ then for___ hopes sweet_ sake rest your ti- red_ mind, And not so_

8 te- dious grown in___ ur- ging me. 1. An hour_ with thee I care
litt - le grace to___ qui -et thee.

high for_ my un - us - ed pace;
mea- downs_ shrowde in___ eve - ry place. 2. A yell - ow frog, a - las
am___ re- solved with___ you to meet:
much as___ see me___ in the street: 3. A hea- ven- ly mee- ting one

15 not to con- verse: For I would not be coun - ted too per verse.
will fright me_ so As I_ should start and trem - ble as I go.
day we shall have, But ne - ver as you dream, in bed or___ grave.

A secret love or two

T Campion

1. A sec-ret love_ or_ two I must con-fess, I kind-ly_ wel-come for
 2. The more a spring is_ drawn, the more it flows; No lamp_ less_ light re-tains
 3. Wise Ar-chers bear_ more_ than one shaft to field, the Ven-tu rer_ loads not with

7

change in close play-ing: Yet my dear hus-bond I love ne'er the less, His de-sires
 by light-ning o-thers: Is he a lo-ser his loss that ne'er knows? Or is he
 one ware his ship-ping: Should War-riers learn but one wea-pon to wield? Or thrive fair

14

whole or half, quick ly_ al-lay-ing, At_ all times rea-dy to_ of-fer re-dress.
 weal-thy that vast_ trea-sure smothers? My_ churl vows no man shall scent his sweet Rose,
 plants ere the worse for_ the slip-ping? One_ dish cloys, ma-ny fresh ap-pe-tite yeeld:

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

2

21

His own he ne - ver wants, but hath it du - ly,
His own e - nough and more I give him du - ly,
Mine own I'll use, and his he shall have du - ly,

25

Yet twits_ me I keep not touch_ with_ him tru - ly.
Yet still_ he twits me_ I keep_ not_ touch tru - ly.
Judge then_ what dep - ter_ can keep_ touch_ more tru - ly.

A secret love or two

T Campion

A se-cret love_ or__two I must confesse,) I kind- ly_ wel-come for

SOPRANO 1

The more a spring is__drawn the more it flows; No lamp_ less light re-tains

SOPRANO 2

Wise ar-chers bear_ more,than one shaft to field. The ventu- rer loads not with

ALTO

7 change in close play- ing: m m o o o o a) His de- sires

by light'n-ing o- thers Or is he

one ware his ship-ping. m o o o o a Or thrive fair

Yet my dear hus-band I love ne'er-the- less
Is he a lo- ser his loss that ne'erknows?
Should war-riors learn but one wea-pon to wield?

14 whole or half quick ly_ al- lay- ing,) At_ all times rea-dy to_ of- fer re- dress.

weal- thy that waste trea- sure smo- thers? My churl vows no man shall scent his sweet rose,

plants e'er the worse for the slip- ping? One dich cloys, ma-ny fresh ap- pe- tite yield:

“Thinkst thou to seduce me then?”

2)
21 His own he ne - ver wants, but hath it du - ly)
His own e - nough and more I give him du - ly,
Mine own I'll use, and his he shall have du - ly,
25 Yet twits me, I keep not touch with him tru - ly.
Yet still he twits me I keep not touch tru - ly.
Judge then what debt - or can keep touch more tru - ly.

If thou long'st so much to learn

T Campion

- 1.If thou long'st so much to learn (sweet boy) what 'tis to love:
Do but fix thy thought on me, and thou shalt quick-ly prove.
2.With thee dance I will, and sing, and thy fond dall-i-ance bear;
We the gro-vy hills will climb, and play the wan-tons there.

- 3.When thy joys were thus at height my love should turn from thee,
Old acquaintance then should grow as strange as strange might be,
4.Thus thy sil-ly youth en raged would soon my love de-fy:
But a-las poor soul too late, clipped wings can ne-ver fly:

- 1.Litt-le sute at first shall win way to thy a-bashed de-sire:
5 2.O-ther-wiles we'll ga-ther flow'rs, Ly-ing, dall-y-ing on the grass,

- 3.Twen-ty ri-vals thou should find Break-ing all their hearts for me,
4.Those sweet houres which we had passed called to mind thy heart would burn:

- 1.But then will I hedge thee in, Sa-la-man-der-like with fire.
9 2.And thus our de-light-ful houres Full of wa-king dreams shall pass.

- 3.When to all I'll prove more kind, and more for-ward than to thee.
And could thou fly ev-er so fast, they would make thee straight re-turn.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Fain would I wed

T. Campion

Fain would I wed a fair_young man, that day_ and_night could please mee:
When_ my mind or bo - dy griev'd, that had_ the_pow'r to_ ease mee.

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The piano accompaniment is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

5
Maids are full_of long - ing_thoughts, that breed a_blood less_ sick - ness:
And_ that oft_ I heare men_ say,_ is on_ ly cured by_ quick - ness.

The second system begins with a measure rest of 5 measures. The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support.

9
Oft I have beene woo'd & prai'd, but ne - ver could be_ mo - ved: But this foo - lish
Ma - ny for a day or so I have most deare-ly_ lo - ved; If to love be

The third system begins with a measure rest of 9 measures. The vocal line concludes the piece. The piano accompaniment provides a final harmonic resolution.

Appendix A

2

14

mind of mine straightloaths the thing re - sol - ved. Sure. I think I shall at last fly
sinne in me, that sin is soon ab - sol - ved. When I once am sett-led there then

19

to some ho - ly Or - der; Yet I would not
can I fly no fur - ther: As I was by

22

die a maid, be - cause I had a mo - ther.
one brought forth I would bring forth an oth - er.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Fain would I wed

T. Campion

SOPRANO 1

Fain would I wed a fair young man who day and night could please me
when my soul or bo - dy grieved, who had the pow'r to ease me.

SOPRANO 2

Don don don don don don don do do don don

ALTO

5

Maids I hear are full of long - ing thoughts that breeds a blood lesse sick - ness.
And that oft I hear men say is on - ly cured by quick - ness

Do - - long - ing thoughts that breeds a blood lesse sick - ness
hear men say is on - ly cured by quick - ness

9

Oft I have beenwooded and pray'd but ne - ver could be mo - ved, But this foo - lish
Ma - ny for a day or so I have most dear - ly lo - ved If to love be

Oft I have beenwooded and pray'd but ne - ver mo - ved,
Ma - ny for a day or so I dear - ly lo - ved. Do do

Appendix A

2

14

heart of mine straightoaths a thing re - sol - ved. Sure I think I shall at last fly
sinne in mee that sinne is soon ab - sol - ved. When I once am set - tled there, then

do do do do do do

Sure I think I shall at last fly
When I once am set - tled there, then

19

to some ho - ly or - der Yet I would not
I can fly no fur - ther. As I was by

Yet I would not

to some ho - ly or - der As I was by
I can fly no fur - ther

22

die a maid be - cause I had a mo - ther.
one brought forth I would bring forth a - no - ther.

die a maid be - cause I had a mo - ther

one brought forth I would bring forth an - o - ther.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

Silly boy 'tis fullmon yet

T Campion

Sil - ly boy, 'tis full-moon yet, thy night as day shines clear - ly;
This is thy first mai - den flame that tri - umphs yet un - stai - ned;
Thy well or - der'd locks ere long shall rude - ly hang ne - glec - ted;
Yet be just and con - stant still, Love may be - get a won - der;

7

Had thy youth but wit to fear, thou could not love so dear - ly;
All is art - less now you speak, not one word yet is feig - ned;
And thy live - ly plea - sant cheer, read grief on earth de - jec - ted;
Not un - like a Sum - mers frost, or Win - ters fa - tal thun - der:

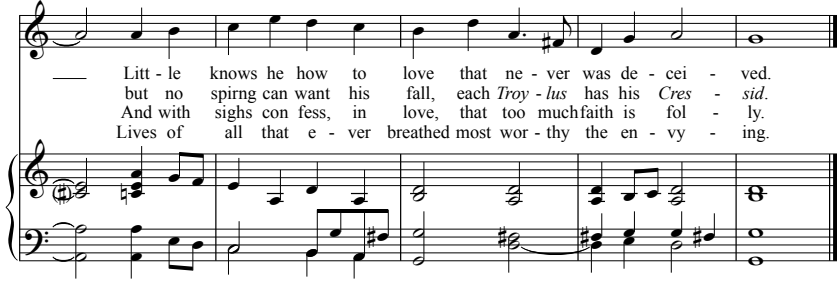
12

Short - ly will thou mourn when all thy plea - sures are be - reav - ed;
All is heav'n that you be - hold, and all your thoughts are bless - ed;
Much then will thou blame thy Saint that made thy heart so ho - ly.
He that holds his sweet - heart true un - to his day of dy - ing,

Appendix A

2

16



Litt - le knows he how to love that ne - ver was de - cei - ved.
but no spiring can want his fall, each *Troy - lus* has his *Cres - sid*.
And with sighs con fess, in love, that too much faith is fol - ly.
Lives of all that e - ver breathed most wor - thy the en - vy - ing.

Never love unless you can

Ne - ver love un - less you_ can bear with all the faults of man:
 Men that but one Saint a - dore, make a show of love to more:
 Men when their af - faires re - quire must a while them - selves re - tire;

5
 Men some-times will jea - lous be, though but litt - le cause they see, and
 Beau - ty must bescorned in none, though but tru - ly served in one; For
 Some - times hunt, and some - times hawk, and not e - ver sit and talk. If

9
 hang the head as dis - con - tent, and speak what straight they will re - pent.
 what is court - ship but dis - guise? True hearts may have dis - semb - ling eyes.
 these and such like you can - bear, then like, and love, and ne - ver fear.

Appendix B: The Performances

Concerts performed as part of my doctoral project

2007

Lecture/recital at Stenungsunds Society of Chamber Music, songs by Campion and John Dowland, with Magnus Larsson, guitar.

Concert at Stenungsunds Chamber Music Festival in Valla Church, Tjörn, sacred songs by Campion, Caccini and Handel with Pierre Torwald, baroque trumpet and Barbro Wiskari, organ.

Lecture/recital at Sundsby Herrgård, songs by Campion and Swedish folk songs with Anders Ådin, hurdy-gurdy.

2008

Oslo, MIDAS, conference, short presentation of my doctoral project including singing one Campion song with female persona.

Gothenburg University, Artisten, cross-dressed presentation of my doctoral project, including songs by Campion and my own songs, with Andreas Edlund, harpsichord and Per Buhre, countertenor.

Gothenburg University, Artisten, ELIA conference, presentation of my doctoral project, including singing songs by Campion.

“Think'st thou to seduce me then?”

2009

Gothenburg University, Artisten, doctoral student concert, songs by Campion with Thomas Melin, guitar.

Gothenburg University, Artisten, crossed-dressed quartet presentation of songs by Campion arranged for female vocal quartet, “Davids Nimm” by Karin Rehnqvist, and Swedish folk songs with Mia Edwardsson, soprano, Marianne Ejeby mezzo soprano, and Johanna Eriksson alto directed by Emelie Sigelius.

2010

Gothenburg University, Artisten, a scenic artistic project made and directed by professor Gunilla Gårdfeldt, with opera students, Campion songs, and theatrical performance in seventeenth century male costume.

Gothenburg University, Goart, lecture/recital, songs by Campion and Dowland with Joel Speerstra, clavichord.

Gothenburg, Organ Academy, Örgryte Church, songs by John Dowland.

University of Hull, UK, lecture/recital, crossed-dressed quartet presentation of songs by Campion arranged for female vocal quartet, Davids Nimm by Karin Rehnqvist, and Swedish folk songs with Mia Edwardsson, soprano, Marianne Ejeby mezzo soprano, and Johanna Eriksson alto directed by Emelie Sigelius.

2011

Plymouth State University, Plymouth, New Hampshire, USA, Medieval and Renaissance Forum. Paper (including three songs) about the homo-social coterie to which Campion belonged.

Gothenburg University, Artisten, lecture/recital cross-dressed in seventeenth century male costume, songs by Campion with Joel Speerstra, clavichord and organ,

Translations: songs

Dowland: Come again

His golden locks

The lowest trees have tops

Flow my tears

Campion: A secret love or two

If thou long'st so much to learne

Silly boy, 'tis fulmoon yet

So quick, so hot, so mad

What harvest half so sweet is?

Kinde are her answers

If thou long'st so much to learne

Thrice tesse these Oaken ashes

Fain would I wed

Performed before the doctoral project at the Academy of Opera and Drama, Gothenburg, Varieté Atalante, Gothenburg, tours at the Swedish West Coast and Northern Sweden, and at the National Swedish Broadcasting company.

Composed songs in Campion's spirit:

Den första dagen

Varför föddes jag?

Han tog bort glädjen i sången

Arrangements of Thomas Campion's songs for female vocal quartet:

Young and simple though I am

Faine would I wed a faire young man

If thou long'st so much to learne

Good men show if you can tell

Think'st thou to seduce me then?

Oft have I sighed

A secret love or two

My love hath vowed

So many loves have I neglected

Maids are simple

So quick, so hot, so mad

O, Love, where are thy Shafts

CD contents

The first track, *Music for a while*, is one of only three songs on this CD that are not by Campion. The other two are by Katarina A. Karlsson as answers to Campion’s female personas. *Music for a while* is included as an example of an interpretation described in Part II of the dissertation. The rest of the songs on this CD are organized in a story-line from the youngest to the most experienced personas. Tracks 23 and 24 represent the only two personas in the CD that are interpreted as male, although more of the songs in this study could be seen to have a persona of ambiguous gender. This is taken up in the dissertation.

1. *Music for a while* for solo and vocal ensemble. Music by H. Purcell. Arrangement by Gunnar Eriksson. Performed by the Rilke Ensemble.

YOUNG AND SIMPLE ONES

2. *My love hath vow’d* for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Live recording.
3. *Good men show* for solo and organ. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion.
4. *Good men show* for vocal quartet. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Arrangement by Katarina A. Karlsson.
5. *Maids are simple* for vocal quartet. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Arrangement by Katarina A. Karlsson.
6. *Young and simple* for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion.

LOVERS WITHOUT IRONY

7. *Oft have I sigh’d* for solo and guitar. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion.
8. *Oft have I sigh’d* for vocal quartet. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion and Katarina A. Karlsson. Arrangement by K.A. Karlsson.
9. *O love, were are thy shafts?* for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion.
10. *O love, were are thy shafts?* for solo and guitar (guitarist, Thomas Melin). Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion.
11. *Första dagen* for solo and guitar (guitarist, Mats Bergström). Music & lyrics by Katarina A. Karlsson. Guitar arrangement by Mats Bergström.

12. *Första dagen* for solo and guitar (guitarist Thomas Melin). Music & lyrics by Katarina A. Karlsson. Guitar arrangement by Thomas Melin.

EXPERIENCED, MALICIOUS LOVERS

13. *Så hemskt, så hårt, så hett* (So quick, so hot, so mad) for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Swedish translation by K.A. Karlsson. Live recording.
14. *En hemlig älskare eller två* (A secret love or two) for vocal quartet. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Swedish translation by K.A. Karlsson. Live recording.
15. *Vill du veta vad kärlek är?* (If thou long'st so much to learn) for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Swedish translation by K.A. Karlsson.
16. *Vill du veta vad kärlek är?* (If thou long'st so much to learn) for solo and guitar (guitarist Thomas Melin). Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Guitar arrangement by Thomas Melin. Swedish translation by K.A. Karlsson.
17. *Snygg ska han va!* (Fain would I wed) for solo and organ. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Swedish translation by K.A. Karlsson. Live recording.
18. *Fain would I wed* for vocal quartet. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Arrangement by K.A. Karlsson.

EXPERIENCED, YET ABANDONED LOVERS

19. *So many loves have I neglected* for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Live recording.
20. *So many loves have I neglected* for vocal quartet. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Arrangement by K.A. Karlsson.

EXPERIENCED, MALICIOUS PATRONIZERS

21. *Think'st thou to seduce me then?* for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Live recording.
22. *Dumma gosse, ser du ej?* (Silly boy, 'tis fulmoon yet) for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion. Swedish translation by K.A. Karlsson.
23. *Never Love unless you can* for solo and clavichord. Music & lyrics by Thomas Campion.

24. *Jacobean pastiche* for solo and guitar (guitarist, Thomas Melin). Music & lyrics by Katarina A. Karlsson. Guitar arrangement by Thomas Melin.

Quartet: Mia Edvardson, Katarina A. Karlsson, Marianne Ejeby, Johanna Ericsson

Organ & clavichord: Joel Speerstra

Alto guitar: Mats Bergström

Guitar: Thomas Melin

All solos on this recording, apart from those in the quartet recordings, are sung by Katarina A. Karlsson

Sound engineer: Harald Svensson

Sound engineer on track 1: Per Sjösten, with kind permission of Prophone/Proprius, Sweden

Sound engineer on track 11: Johannes Lundberg, with kind permission of Prophone/Proprius, Sweden

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