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Bank, Katie

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Katie Bank

William Byrd's *Come, woeful Orpheus* in context: motion as visual and musical affect

THE importance of 'motion' in 16th-century art is discussed in Giovanni Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan, 1584), which was partially translated into English by Richard Haydock as *A tracte containing the artes of curious painting, carvinge & buildinge* (Oxford, 1598). According to Haydock's translation, 'motion' is the means by which our various interior thoughts and emotions manifest physically on the outward body, how they are perceived by the eyes of viewers, and how such thoughts and emotions can in turn imprint themselves on the respective viewer's own inner emotions. It is a multifaceted term that describes not only physical movement, but also an internal state, 'spirit', 'Grace' or 'Fury'.¹ Connected to the movements of the elements, four humours and seven planets, 'motion' is a 'stirring vertue' that is 'continually lying hid in the harte ... outwardly shewed forth, in the body'.²

Haydock defines motion in visual art as 'a Correspondency to the nature of the proportion of the forme and matter thereof: And herein consisteth the whole *spirite* and *life* of the Arte'. Indeed, such motion is a 'necessitie' sometimes deemed 'the excellency of the arte'. In particular, paintings of living human subjects should demonstrate a 'more significant expressing of the inward affections of the minde'.³ In other words, it is the showing forth of 'affections and passions' through 'motion' that indicates life in human subjects.⁴ Although the manifestation of the motions arises from the five senses, there is an element of subjectivity in how individuals respond: 'because each man is subject to some one of the Planets, and therefore is more speciallie inclined to some one affection, it will not bee amisse

to shewe how uppon occasion, anie affection whatsoever, may be stirred up in a man of any condition or constitution'.⁵

Lomazzo's original illustrates how motion imbues art with emotional life by quoting two lines from Horace's discussion of decorum and sympathetic affect in his *Ars poetica*: 'si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia laedent' (if you would have me weep, you must first feel grief yourself: then will your misfortunes hurt me).⁶ Haydock not only paraphrases Horace in his English verse but extends it beyond what is quoted by Lomazzo:

(whence the Poet saith,

*If thou in me would'st true compassion breede,
And from mine heavy eies wring flouds of teares:
Then act thine inward griefes by word and deede*

Unto mine eies, as well as to mine eares)... And, that which is more, will cause the beholder to wonder, when it wondereth... to have a fellow-feeling when it is afflicted.⁷

Haydock argues that successfully painted motion in images will encourage a sympathetic response in the viewer's body—the central Aristotelian argument adapted by many commentaries on the moral and social benefit of music, poetry or art. Visual art can 'also performe the selfe same effects which the natural doe. For as he which laugheth, mourneth, or is otherwise affected, doth naturally moove the beholders to the selfe same passion of mirth or sorrow'.⁸ Moreover, Haydock suggests 'motion' manifested on the body (including via the sound of the voice) communicates interior states better than words alone.⁹ He later elaborates, explaining that

'motion' is 'for the more significant expressing of the inward affections of the minde, by an outward and bodily Demonstration; that so by this meanes, mens inward motions and affections, may be as well, (or rather better) signified; as by their speech: which is wrought by the proper operations of the bodie.'¹⁰ It is the collective perception of the ear and eye, alongside appropriate word and action, that creates wonder and connection between people ('fellow-feeling'). As such, success in visually capturing the spark of human life is dependent on stimulating fellow feeling. Even if one is gazing upon a painting alone, there is a spectre of another in the process through which meaning or connection with the object or image is generated.

Haydock suggests that fellow feeling is best created through a multisensory, embodied experience. Though sight and hearing often competed for the apex in hierarchies of the senses, writers of the time acknowledged that sensing is rarely experienced in isolation and could indeed be enhanced through co-experience. For example, in 1599 the composer Richard Allison tapped into beliefs surrounding the co-functionality of the senses in the dedication of his collection of psalms:

And that our meditation in the Psalmes may not want their delight, we have that excelle[n]t gift of God, the Art of Musick to accompany them: that our eyes beholding the words of David, our fingers handling the Instruments of Musicke, our eares delighting in the swetenesse of the melody, and the heart observing the harmony of them all: all these doe joyne in a heavenly Consort, and God may bee glorified and ourselves refreshed therewith.¹¹

Whether through ekphrasis (vivid poetic description), musical word-painting, or the visual presentation of singing bodies, ideas were experienced and cogitated through visual and aural means. As Simon Smith notes, 'the sights of performance are overwhelmingly presented in early modern texts as integrated and critical to the experience of music.'¹² This article explores how late 16th- and early 17th-century ideas about motion across the arts might have informed experiences of music in early modern England.

Considering the shared motif between William Byrd's *Come, woeful Orpheus* from his printed collection *Psalmes, songs and sonnets* (1611) and the

Orpheus overmantel at Haddon Hall (Derbyshire), this article gives an example of how music and visual culture, within a shared space or social sphere, provided reciprocal somatic and symbolic cues. Symbolic meanings such as iconography may trigger a showing forth of passion on the body or encourage a specific activity, while embodied activities such as music-making can contribute to the meanings of iconography or those accrued within specific spaces. The current article considers how the Orpheus trope, cogitated and embodied through visual and musical media, worked to produce 'fellow-feeling' or affect in related ways.

Although many aspects of the 'inward affections of the minde' (to borrow Haydock's term) are culturally contingent, I believe we can still glimpse an historical experience of music by considering specific rhetorical and representational responses, including visual stimuli. It is not possible to reconstruct experience 'from within' an historic individual, yet Bruce R. Smith argues that by casting a mould around the object of enquiry we can get an idea of its general shape: '[b]y reading fictional texts against the evidence of diaries, conduct books, medical treatises [etc] ... we can surround the unrepresented (perhaps unrepresentable) moment' of emotion in action.¹³ This requires the interpreter to 'take words, not as symbols, signs with only an arbitrary relation to the thing toward which they point, but as indexes, signs with a natural or metonymic connection with somatic experience.'¹⁴ The current article strives to imagine how the Haddon Hall overmantel and Byrd's song might have been used within their shared artworlds, to show how our understanding of an historical musical experience might be enriched by considering its interplay with related visual tropes. The figure of Orpheus was not only cogitated through text, but also lived with and encountered regularly through sight and sound. This is just one example of how a multi-modal figure such as Orpheus might provide us with indications of early modern affective experience in practice.

Setting the scene

Haddon Hall was one of the residences of the Manners family, whose primary seat was at Belvoir Castle on the edge of Leicestershire. As David Price

has shown, the Manners family had a strong tradition of musical education crossing several generations during the 16th and early 17th centuries.¹⁵ At Belvoir Castle, Thomas Manners, 1st Earl of Rutland (c.1497–1543), had occupational household musicians; evidence suggests his children and their families may have engaged in household music-making including singing and the use of instruments such as viols, virginals and the lute. Price says Belvoir’s papers ‘give the impression of almost continuous musical development from the 1530s onwards’ and that ‘the family itself became genuinely interested in musical education, books and instruments.’¹⁶ Thomas’s second wife and the mother of his children was Eleanor Paston (c.1495–1551). Their second son, John Haddon (c.1534–1611), inherited Haddon Hall through his wife, Dorothy Vernon (1544–84).¹⁷

By blood and marriage, the Manners of Haddon—John and his son George (1569–1623)—had connections to many of the country’s most well-established musical gentry and patrons, including the Pastons, Sidneys, Talbots/Cavendishes, Villiers and Cecils.¹⁸ Indeed, Price is ‘surprised’ that there is no printed music book dedicated to the Manners, given how established were their musical connections, musical literacy, and their investment in musicians and music education.¹⁹ For example, Thomas Morley was probably called upon in 1587 by Edward Paston to become the household music teacher for John Haddon’s nephew at Belvoir.²⁰ In 1593 George married Grace Pierrepont (c.1575–c.1650). Grace was a granddaughter of Bess of Hardwick and William Cavendish—another well-established musical family who educated their boys and girls in music.²¹ While little specific is known on the musical activities of the Manners of Haddon, their upbringings and the musical interests of other branches of their family suggest that their household too would have been invested in music.²²

Haddon Hall has a 12th-century foundation with many subsequent additions. The sumptuously decorated Long Gallery, designed by Robert Smythson and added around 1600, offers panoramic views of the garden, encompassing guests within a surround of visual delights, including wainscotting and a ceiling covered in intricate plasterwork.²³ Social entertainments for guests at Haddon in the early 17th century might have taken place either in the Long

Gallery, Hall or Great Chamber. As in other country houses in this period, the Great Chamber had functions including formal dining and postprandial entertainment such as psalm singing, dancing, plays and music; Long Galleries were sometimes furnished with instruments, and they were also used for masques, games and the reception of important guests.²⁴ Sources claim that a 1623 inventory of Haddon shows three harpsichords and a gilded organ in its Long Gallery, as well as ‘a viall chest with a bandora and vialls.’²⁵

After socializing in the Long Gallery or Hall, select guests may have been invited into the more intimate Withdrawing Chambers for further diversions which may have included music. As Emily Cole discusses, by the late 16th century, Withdrawing Chambers were used as a private sitting room or for ‘the entertainment of selected guests’, and they typically contained some stools or chairs and a table, as seen in the upper-left quadrant of the cross section of Wadley House in the well-known portrait of Sir Henry Unton (illus.1). A withdrawing room was ‘a more intimate setting [where] people conversed, played games, ate and listened to music; in 1629, the “best Drawing Chamber” at Apethorpe Hall contained a harpsichord, while the “great withdrawing chamber” at Kirby Hall contained (in c.1619) a billiard table.’²⁶ The practice of withdrawing is also described in George Whetstone’s *An heptameron of civill discourses* (1582). After dinner in the Great Chamber, ‘Queene Aurelia with a chosen company, retyred her selfe, into a pleasant drawing Chamber’ immediately ordering a ‘faire Eunucke Boy’ to sing a song accompanied by lute.²⁷ Elements of such domestic entertainments can also be glimpsed in the detail from the Unton portrait, including a masque with broken consort in the Great Chamber and smaller-scale social music-making with partbooks and viols in the upper-left room.

What transpires next might be an evening social scenario much like the one outlined in Claudius Hollyband’s *The French schoolemaister* (1573), a bilingual book describing various everyday scenes to help self-taught students learn French. This publication was dedicated to Robert Sackville of Knole House, another prominent musical family of the period, and may have been based upon the Sackvilles’ domestic life, as Hollyband was their



1 Detail from Unknown artist, memorial portrait of Sir Henry Unton (c.1558–96) (National Portrait Gallery NPG 710; © National Portrait Gallery, London, by permission)

tutor.²⁸ After dinner, a fire is started, and musical recreation offered from partbooks. Songs in four parts are fetched from the owner's closet:

Who shall sing with me?
 You shall have companie enough:
 David shall make the base:
 Jhon [sic] the tenor: and James the treble.
 Begine: James, take your tune: go to: for what do you tarie?

I have but a rest.
 Roland, drinke afore you begine,
 you will sing with a better corage.²⁹

Recreational music-making from partbooks could have involved members of the household, their guests and/or occupational musicians in any combination of voices and/or viols. Given how the Manners family invested in musical objects, musicians and their

own musical literacy, one can reasonably imagine they participated in social music-making to some degree.³⁰

At Haddon, the innermost room now known as the Orpheus Chamber or the State Bedroom features an imposing plaster overmantel of Orpheus playing his lyre to tame the beasts (illus.2). As this room is directly off the Long Gallery, it could have been used around 1600 as a Withdrawing Chamber for more intimate conversation and recreation.³¹ The main structure of this Withdrawing Chamber dates from the 14th century, but the plasterwork in the bay window and some of the cornicing has been tenuously dated to around the time of the installation of the Long Gallery. The date of the Orpheus overmantel itself is uncertain, though it may also be from c.1600.³²

Orpheus, with a large fashionable moustache upon his lip, sits under a tree holding his instrument,

hand poised to strum. Though he looks straight outwards, his vantage point makes him look beyond the viewer, just above one's head. He is surrounded by a variety of animals, predators and prey in harmonious composition. Orpheus is the shaper of his environment, as trees and beasts incline towards him. Notably, the two deer, representing the animal species symbolically allied with the sense of hearing, look outwards to the room, in contrast to the other animals who are depicted with apparently little awareness of the viewer's presence. Could the artist be suggesting that the deer's acute hearing is piqued by whatever melodious offering is heard within the space?

Anthony Wells-Cole has identified the design of the overmantel as based upon a continental engraving by Virgil Solis (Frankfurt, 1563) (illus.3).³³ However, the composition of the scene and the variety of animals has much more in common with a



2 Orpheus overmantel at Haddon Hall (With sincere thanks to The Trustees of Haddon Hall. ©The Trustees of Haddon Hall, Bakewell, by permission)



3 Orpheus playing the lyre. From *Ovidii metamorphoses illustratae*, engr. Virgil Solis (Frankfurt, 1563) (Daniel Kinney, University of Virginia. Used with permission)

1625 image printed by Roger Daniel (illus.4).³⁴ Given that the Haddon Long Gallery was installed c.1600 and that there is no certain date for the Haddon Orpheus, it is possible the overmantel was inspired by a print produced at some point between these two examples. The most notable differences in the Haddon Orpheus figure from Daniel's engraving are in Orpheus's face. In the print, he is depicted mouth agape and clean shaven; at Haddon, his mouth is closed and with a moustache.

An overmantel depicting Orpheus is not only a material object, but also the centre of a space in which recreational music could come alive. The Withdrawing Chamber at Haddon is a suitable size for small group music-making. Though Orpheus

was not the most common figure in fixed interior decoration, he was rarely used as mere ornament and is primarily found in places for conspicuous display.³⁵ Moreover, as will be discussed shortly, Orpheus was a figure with a complex history of often contradictory symbolic meanings, cogitated not only through literature, story, theatre and visual culture, but also song.³⁶

My thought experiment considers the potential shared artworld of Haddon's Orpheus overmantel and Byrd's consort song *Come, woeful Orpheus*. This is just one piece of music among hundreds that might have been sung in such a space. But it should be acknowledged that there is potentially more than a chance connection between the song



4 Depiction of Orpheus, from *Animalium quadrupedum ... A booke of beast [sic], birds, flowers, fruits, flies, and wormes* (London: to be sold by Roger Daniel, 1625) (Cambridge University Library, Syn.4.62.17)

and overmantel. The Manners of Haddon had family connections with the elite circles where Byrd's music circulated, including the Paston family. George Manners's paternal grandmother, Eleanor Paston, was a daughter of William Paston (c.1479–1554). Edward Paston (1550–1630), William's grandson, shared Byrd's recusant circles and held a large collection of Byrd's music in print and manuscript. Moreover, one of the emblem texts set by Byrd in his *Psalmes, songs and sonnets*, 'In crystal towers', was, in Witney's original, dedicated to Edward Paston. Additionally, Paston was the author of another of Byrd's 1611 texts, 'Crowned with flowers I saw fair Amaryllyllis'.³⁷

Given the connections between the inhabitants of Haddon and the circulation of people and materials

affiliated with Byrd, the imagined scenario where this song and space come together seems plausible, even without firm evidence of a specific performance of this consort song in Haddon. Byrd's song and Haddon's image existed within a shared social sphere and a robust artistic culture that drew repeatedly upon the figure of Orpheus. The visual trigger of the Haddon Orpheus might have reminded viewers to try singing Byrd's song or might have put the tune in their head. The song, sung elsewhere, might recall images seen at Haddon. Or perhaps one happened to gaze upon the overmantel after playing Byrd's song in another room of the house earlier in the evening, thereby helping to recall ideas about Orpheus encountered through poetry or other means. This type of thematic overlap allowed

for varied understandings and renderings of the Orpheus trope to develop over time.

Feeling and thinking with Orpheus

Few existing studies of the Orpheus figure in England consider the multisensory encounters that educated individuals might have had with multimedial representations of the mythological musician.³⁸ Members of the elite such as the Manners family and their guests, or even visiting musicians, may have encountered Orpheus (or any number of other intellectual tropes) not only through text, but also in song, emblem, furniture, embroidery and other household decoration.³⁹ They might have memories of encountering the figure of Orpheus in musical-theatrical entertainments experienced in London or in private homes, or imagined through reading, such as Thomas Campion's *The Lords maske* (1613). Orpheus was the central character in this masque, which featured memorable visuals by Inigo Jones (who also had connections to the Manners family).⁴⁰ In it, Orpheus speaks on behalf of the company, 'For love into our musick will inspire/ The power of passion, that their thoughts shall bend/ To any forme or motion we intend', exhibiting his symbolic function at the heart of ideas surrounding music, passion, motion and the resulting actions.⁴¹

According to the printed description of Jones's set, as Orpheus appears:

*The Scene was divided into two parts from the roofo to the floore, the lower part being first discovered (upon the sound of a double consort, exprest by severall instruments, plac't on either side of the roome) there appeared a Wood in prospective, the innermost part being of releave, or whole round, the rest painted.*⁴²

The scene is thus literally framed by the sound and sight of the musicians placed on either side, with attention also given to the techniques of relief and painting used to depict the wood. This is just one example of the multimedial encounters with Orpheus that may have contributed to understandings of the figure and his musical powers.

While many ideas about Orpheus were shared across sources, the interpretation and use of the figure and his mythology could vary widely. In 1632 George Sandys used the figure of Orpheus to explain the power of music over the affections as an

Aristotelian conception of sympathetic resonance between the motions of music and the spirits. In his lengthy commentary, Sandys explains his understanding of the physiological effects of music upon the body and spirit, likening it to how Orpheus 'allured their affections with his musick'.⁴³ This conception of Orpheus's power concerns not only the physical motion of music, but also the motion of the animal spirits that motivate our interior emotions. It is through this physiological process that our bodies and minds negotiate the complex nexus between music (or art more broadly), passion and action.⁴⁴ As the anonymous author of *The praise of musicke* (1586) wrote, Orpheus brings even 'senselesse things', and 'lifelesse creatures to a lively stirring and motion'.⁴⁵

Indeed, Orpheus and the concept of motion were intricately connected. In several contemporary interpretations, including the anonymous quotation above, Orpheus acts as the symbolic driving force that brings life to the materiality of music, objects, bodies and art. In other instances, Orpheus was an astrologer who, as Alexander Ross explained in 1647, showed the Grecians 'the motion, harmonie, and order that was among the seven planets'.⁴⁶ Even Haydock credits Orpheus in his chapter discussing motion and the planets, ideas inspired by 'Indians, Orpheus, and other ancient Poets'.⁴⁷ Writers enjoyed the wordplay between physical, musical and emotional motion.⁴⁸ Robert Green prefaced his 'Orpheus Song' (1599) with 'if it please you to allow of my motion, to make us some music, I will raise up the Ghosts of Orpheus and Arion'. Then, when the materialized Orpheus sings, he proclaims himself, 'He that did sing the motions of the starres'.⁴⁹ As one who bends the trees and moves beasts to his will with song, Orpheus was an ideal symbol for how music and poetry moves our passions.⁵⁰ Early modern writing shows that Orpheus was both a reminder to control one's passions, but also (and perhaps simultaneously) a wellspring of supremely affective music.

Anna-Maria Hartmann cautions that the relationship between myth and interpretation in early modern England is not always one of uncovering a single hidden truth.⁵¹ In Ross's 1647 reference guide to the symbolic interpretation of mythical figures, he listed 14 examples of how Orpheus might be interpreted.⁵² According to Ross, it is due to Orpheus's

'want of moderation in his affection to his wife that he could not forbear looking back upon her'.⁵³ Or 'Orpheus did too much bewayle', suggesting one might learn moderation from his excessive feeling and outward emoting.⁵⁴ Conversely, '[b]y Orpheus charming of stons trees, birds and beasts with his musick, is meant how Governours at first by their wisdom and eloquence did bring rude and ignorant people ... to civilitie'.⁵⁵ Through his role as astrologer, Orpheus is viewed as the commander of knowledge and order, civil harmony symbolized by his seven-string lyre.⁵⁶ He also represents a pastor recalling stray sheep or even Christ himself.⁵⁷ Yet in this 'civilizing' role that brings order (or indeed salvation), Orpheus was still playing on emotion as the link between sensation and reasonable action. As Heather Dubrow observes, Orpheus was portrayed as the exemplar of rationality and also its opposite.⁵⁸

The uneasy tension between controlled civility and unbridled feeling surrounding Orpheus makes him a particularly intriguing figure for interior decoration, as such imagery is hard for a viewer to ignore (unlike an image in a book that can be closed). It is apparent from Ross that the meanings of mythological iconography are not singular or fixed, but rather are likely to shift and adapt depending on the subjectivity of the viewer and the context of the activity taking place. In the case of the Orpheus overmantel in Haddon Hall, I am concerned with the reciprocal ways in which the possible activities in that space shaped the meanings drawn from the overmantel, and how that imagery helped define the experiences of those activities. As Tara Hamling observes, there is 'a shortage of documentary sources to shed light on the relationship between decoration within the domestic interior and patterns of life taking place around it'.⁵⁹ This is why an active imagining of how such relationships might work is a productive exercise. As Alfred Gell says, 'decoration is intrinsically functional, or else its presence would be inexplicable'.⁶⁰

My analysis builds upon these ideas to demonstrate how musical and visual expressions of Orpheus may have interacted with related embodied activities. When iconography is interpreted strictly symbolically, for instance as a symbol of 'harmony', or removed from its original context and taken to a museum, a portion of the meaning generated

through the situational embodied experience is lost. Aspects of the tension carried by the Orpheus figure in relation to emotion and affect may not be apparent unless the body is physically presented with activities that generate and shape emotional experience. In the case of the Haddon Hall overmantel, these activities could include playing, listening and reading music, as well as memories invoked of past musical experiences. Interior decor depicting Orpheus had not only a symbolic function, but one tied to motion, affect and recreation. As Alan Davison has observed, 'we strive to add movement and sound to images that show music-making. This striving, however, does not result in something that can be simplistically measured, as both visual and musical competency (knowledge of the object category) are crucial in influencing the level of response of an individual'.⁶¹ Though many aspects of the inner workings of sensing and passions are culturally contingent, I believe we can still get a glimpse into an historical experience of music by casting a mould around the object of enquiry and considering specific rhetorical and representational responses, including visual stimuli.

Byrd's *Come, woeful Orpheus*

Orpheus might seem an obvious avatar for a musician imagining himself, and yet the figure makes surprisingly few appearances in vernacular song from early modern England.⁶² Still, a study of specific musical compositions from this era can be enriched by an exploration of the interconnections between music and visual culture. As is already known, Byrd's *Psalmes, songs and sonnets* (1611) engaged with visual culture by drawing several texts from Geoffrey Whitney's *A choice of emblems* (1586), including 'Of flattering speech' and 'The Eagle's force'.⁶³ Byrd's consort song *Come, woeful Orpheus* supports the need for understanding Orpheus in an embodied capacity by presenting a version of the figure in relation to chromaticism and affective performance:

Come woeful *Orpheus* with thy charming Lyre
 And tune my voice unto thy skilful wire,
 Some strange Chromatic Notes do you devise
 That best with mournful accents sympathize,
 Of sourest Sharps and uncouth Flats make choice,
 And I'll thereto compassionate my voice.

Ex.1 William Byrd, *Come, woeful Orpheus*, bars 1–7

Cantus primus
Cantus secundus
Contratenor
Tenor
Bassus

Come, woeful Orpheus, with thy charming

Come, woeful Orpheus, with thy charming

4
Come, woeful Orpheus, with thy charming Lyre,
Lyre, And
Lyre, with thy charming Lyre, thy charming Lyre,
Come, woeful Orpheus, with thy charming Lyre,
Come, woeful Orpheus, with thy charming Lyre,

Like most of the consort songs in Byrd's *Psalmes, songs and sonnets*, *Come, woeful Orpheus* can be performed in a variety of ways, including: with one vocal line sung, usually the *cantus primus*, and the other parts played by a viol consort; a version for five unaccompanied singers; or by a combination of voices and instruments. With the exhortation, 'Come', the first-person sung voice implores Orpheus to make them a better musician. The lyrics cast Orpheus as a composer, the 'deviser' of the song, guiding the singer. Orpheus must 'make choice' of 'sourest Sharps and uncouth Flats' and then the singer will 'compassionate' or bring their performance into sympathy with the affective quality of the music. While imitative writing is to be expected in such consort songs, it also allows for

interplay between the voice-parts and at the opening gives the illusion that the voices are establishing sympathy between each other (see [ex.1](#)).

A crucial element of *Come, woeful Orpheus* is its use of chromaticism, a device long associated with stirring the passions. As John Danyel's 'Can dolefull notes to measur'd accents set' (1606) declares, 'Chromatic Tunes most lyke my passions sound'⁶⁴ Thomas Morley's advice for 'When you would expresse a lamentable passion' reminds readers that it is not only harmony that expresses passion, but also melodic 'motion':

but those cordes [notes] so taken as I have saide before are not the sole and onely cause of expressing those passions, but also the motions which the parts make in singing do

greatly helpe, which motions are either naturall or accidental. The naturall motions are those which are naturallie made betwixt the keys without the mixture of any accidental signe or corde, be it either flat or sharpe, and these motions be more masculine causing in the song more virilitie then those accidentall cordes which are marked with these signes. ♯. ♭. which be in deede accidentall, and make the song as it were more effeminate & languishing then the other motions which make the song rude and sounding: so that those naturall motions may serve to expresse those effectes of crueltie, tyrannie, bitterness and such others, and those accidentall motions may fittly expresse the passions of grieffe, weeping, sighes, sorrowes, sobbes, and such like.⁶⁵

Morley thus clarifies the affective meanings inherent in features of pitch organization such as ‘naturall’ and ‘accidental’ motion.⁶⁶ It seems plausible that in affective terms, Orpheus is the author of accidental motion with its associations of effeminacy and languishing, therefore he is represented with chromatic notes by Byrd.

For *Come, woeful Orpheus*, Oliver Neighbour notes ‘the heart of the song lies not in the “sourest sharps and uncouth flats” prompted by the text, but in the subtler, lengthy setting of the less specific final line.’⁶⁷ This idea is elaborated by Megan Kaes Long, who notes that Byrd contrasts two distinct types of chromaticism in this piece. First, he presents a passage of ‘sourest Sharps and uncouth Flats,’ or what Thomas Morley would call ‘accidental motions’ (bars 22–9), which is then contrasted with a more ‘natural’ diatonic approach for the final line of text (bar 29 onwards; see *ex.2*).⁶⁸ The more diatonic phrase, ‘And I’ll thereto compassionate my voice,’ is given extended treatment by the composer, who repeats this strain of text several times, also in the customary repeated final couplet. While this latter passage still contains accidentals, Kaes Long argues that ‘syllable-invariant counterpoint allows Byrd to exploit flat and sharp pitches that are not supplied by the signature without introducing chromatic semitones,’ therefore ‘most Renaissance musicians would describe the procedure as diatonic, not chromatic.’ In these two passages, Byrd ‘illustrates how different the flat and sharp pitches introduced by syllable-invariant counterpoint are from true chromaticism.’⁶⁹

Kerry McCarthy proposes Byrd’s use of chromaticism in *Come, woeful Orpheus* ‘may well be a dig at the chromatic excesses of some early seventeenth-century English madrigalists.’⁷⁰ If so, the latter, more

diatonic passage perhaps allowed the musicians space for a more sincere affective performance, in contrast to a potentially exaggerated ‘Italianate’ affect delivered through the chromaticism. Indeed much of the affective result of *Come, woeful Orpheus* is left up to the performers, as the text draws attention to how a singer expresses this piece. If, as McCarthy proposes, Byrd is making fun of overly chromatic Italian-style music, is this echoed in the performers’ faces?⁷¹ Or would they not pick up on Byrd’s reference? Or might they feel differently about it all together and lean into the clashes (in their gestures and/or vocal expressions)?

Regardless, Orpheus’s role as composer (and Byrd’s) only goes so far, as ultimately affect is reliant on how musicians ‘compassionate’ their voices to his tune. Byrd knew his music was only given life when the right notes were sung or played with appropriate feeling. In the prefatory material to *Psalmes, songs and sonnets*, he wrote: ‘Onely this I desire; that you will be but as carefull to heare them well expressed, as I have beene both in the Composing and correcting of them. Otherwise the best Song that ever was made will seeme harsh and unpleasant, for that the well expressing of them, either by Voyces, or Instruments, is the life of our labours.’⁷² But the skill of hearers matters too. As Morley’s Master says, music can ‘moveth and causeth most strange effects in the hearer, being aptlie framed for the dittie and well expressed by the singer, for it will draw the auditor (and speciallie the skilfull auditor) into a devout and reverent kind of consideration.’⁷³ As professed by the composer, Byrd’s notes on the page have been well corrected, and it is now up to the singers to work together to bring them (accurately) to life through appropriate motion.

In any sung performance of *Come, woeful Orpheus*, the last words to ring out will be ‘my voice’ on the final cadence for all voice-parts. If we are considering only the notated composition on the page, the poem’s embodied directives are not yet possible. In Spenser’s words, Orpheus’s music is ‘wise words with time concentrated’⁷⁴—arguably, words and time do not come together until the moment of performance, as the notation represents only the possibility. Particularly in a first-person piece that draws attention to ‘my voice,’ there is no ‘my’ and no ‘voice’ until there is a singing body.

Ex.2 Byrd, *Come, woeful Orpheus*, bars 22–33

22

Cantus primus
Of sour - est Sharps,

Cantus secundus
- ise, Of sour - est Sharps,

Contratenor
Of sour - est Sharps make

Tenor
- ise, Of sour - est Sharps, and un -

Bassus
Of sour - est Sharps, of sour - est Sharps, and

25

and un - couth Flats, and un - couth Flats make choice, make

and un - couth Flats, un - couth Flats, and un - couth Flats make choice, make

choice, and un - couth Flats make choice, and un - couth Flats make

- couth Flats make choice, of un - couth Flats make choice, make choice, make

un - couth Flats, and un - couth Flats make choice, make

29

choice, And I'll there - to com - pass - ion - ate my voice,

choice, And I'll there - to com - pass - ion - ate my voice, and I'll there -

choice, And I'll there - to, there - to, and I'll there - to com - pass -

choice, And I'll there - to, there - to com - pass - ion - ate my voice, com -

choice, And I'll there - to com - pass - ion - ate my voice,

In this way, Byrd's song also gives us a hint of how to approach Orphean visual culture. It shows, both textually and through enactment, how to create affect (or 'fellow-feeling') between subjects. The bodily gestures and motions involved in affective performances are suggested by Richard Haydock, who observed that 'singing hath actions sometimes more sharpe, sometimes more flatte, according to the sharpnesse or flatnesse of the voices'. Explaining how a painter might depict singers, Haydock noted how facial expressions change based on the music:

For we see that Musicke sometimes causeth a man to blow up the cheekes, sometimes to dilate them, and sometimes to draw them in; sometimes to thrust forward the lippes, sometimes to rowle the eie lasiviouslie, sometimes it makes the countenance looke stedfastly, sometimes it inflames the face, and sometimes not. Which diversity of motion is caused, not only by the varietie of the notes and the tunes of the voice, but also according to the difference of the dispositions of the Singers.⁷⁵

Haydock's advice suggests that painters depicting musicians should imagine or hear what was played or sung to know how to render the scene appropriately, in addition to imagining or imbuing the figures with individual dispositions. It is amusing, and perhaps instructive, to imagine how Haydock might have illustrated musicians singing 'sourest Sharps' and 'uncouth Flats'. These words suggest that Haydock's conception of 'flatnesse' and 'sharpnesse' is not only a quality of pitch, but also describes the corresponding physiological and physiognomical motions upon the singing body. To Haydock, the most advanced painters 'learne how to expresse not onely the proper and naturall motions, but also the accidentall: wherein consisteth no small part of the difficulty of the Arte, namelie in representing diversities of affections and passions in one bodie'.⁷⁶ As Morley's conception of interval (natural and artificial motion) and affect is intertwined, so too is Haydock's.

Through knowledge of physiognomy and a harnessing of motion, composers, painters and singers alike could animate their works with, to use Haydock's phrase, 'inward affections of the minde'. According to Martin Porter's account, Thomas Browne showed that 'physiognomy happened not only between people but also between people and nature, and between people and visual and sonic representations of nature'.⁷⁷ 'Motion' was also believed

to be the mechanism through which 'fellow-feeling' transmits from singer to hearer. According to an English translation of the writings of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, singing 'easily penetrateth by motion, with the refracted and well tempered Air, the aerious spirit of the hearer, which is the bond and soul of the body; and transferring the affection and mind of the Singer with it, it moveth the affection of the hearer by his affection'.⁷⁸ Agrippa's use of 'motion' conveyed the physical vibrations of air involved in transferring sound, and also the necessary movements of humours and passions to communicate emotional states from singer to hearer. As explored earlier, Richard Haydock acknowledged the physiological nature of the voice as a body part, working together with gesture and expression: '*Then act thine inward griefes by word and deede/ Unto mine eies, as well as to mine eares*'. In this way, a 'well-expressed' song is fundamentally connected to the body, tapping into classical physiognomy's specific vocal dimension.⁷⁹ To make Byrd's song 'well expressed', affect communicated through 'my voice' is paramount.

Orpheus in song and space

If one of Orpheus's roles was to bring 'senselesse things', and 'lifelesse creatures to a lively stirring and motion',⁸⁰ singing any song, let alone a song that directly invokes him, would be doing just that. But I would argue that Orpheus's contradictory relationship with affect corresponds to an early modern approach to viewing visual culture: images often elicit connection or contemplation that resonates at a particular moment based upon the state or activities of the viewer, rather than providing fixed answers or steadfast guidance.⁸¹ In matters of fellow feeling or sympathetic affect, the mode through which one experiences an idea is important, particularly if the relational exchange which generates such connection to others is addressed not only through the activity taking place, but also symbolically by way of singing about, or in the presence of images of, Orpheus.

As Byrd's song and Haddon's overmantel had the potential to be experienced at the same time, or within the same domestic sphere by the same individuals, there is reason to suggest an exchange of ideas between

artforms surrounding the creation of motion, both artificial and natural, that would shape the experience of affect. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly have argued that the links between art and music, 'rather than directly representational, are often indirect and elusive'.⁸² Yet the connections between Byrd's 1611 collection and Whitney's emblems show that this music was already engaged with visual culture to some extent. Haydock's theories help us imagine how the visual and aural may have interacted in live music-making. From Haydock we might infer not only that Byrd's Orphic song is about chromaticism and affect as encoded in musical notation, but also that these were concepts that physiologically impacted performance at the time, a factor that should be taken into account by modern performers. In this song's overt reflection upon affect and music, the role of sight may be overlooked without a consideration of the physicality of performance. As the body, and particularly its voice, is a key component in affective expression (according to Haydock), it is therefore vital to an interpretation of the piece. This suggests that a deeper understanding of the creation of motion and affect in visual culture can help us understand how musicians and audiences might approach sung performance. Orpheus is invoked not only in the song's poetic discussion of affective performance, but also by the musical medium through which the words are transmitted. He is also invoked in the gestures, facial expressions and other techniques of the performers, which draw further attention to the physical embodiment of vocal presence. Fellow feeling is created between musicians, or musicians and hearers, through the successful expression of the piece.

At the same time, this article's consideration of possible musical activities in Haddon's Orpheus Chamber shows not only how domestic interiors are shaped by the symbolic meaning of iconography, but also how any meanings produced through decoration can change depending on the activity

occurring in those spaces. Reflecting upon the previous night's music and revelry as he stepped into an empty Great Chamber, George Whetstone wrote in 1592 that 'the Poets fayned not without reason, that *Amphions Harp gave sence unto stone Walles*'.⁸³ His character then picks up his cittern and plays a song which lures those within earshot back to his company. In poetic early modern terms, Whetstone reminds us that the meanings bestowed upon a room and its iconography are accrued not only through the activities within, but also through the interpersonal connections created when activities breathe life into those spaces. Hearts turn in emotional affinity to the music, but also whole bodies are compelled towards the siren-like song. As Haddon Hall's Orpheus overmantel is the centrepiece of the room, perhaps it suggests the power of music, akin to that described by Whetstone, that can summon guests into this Withdrawing Chamber.

Still, Orpheus is associated with the tensions involved in music's affective power, between rhetorical mastery on the one hand and dangerously unbridled emotion on the other. Such frictions are more broadly echoed in the 'tension between presenting music as a cerebral or physical act'⁸⁴—in this case a static, plaster Orpheus depicted as playing music—and may also be perceived in notated song. Interpretation of Orphean iconography is reliant upon an understanding of the experience of motion and affect between subjects, an idea echoed within Byrd's piece. This motion arises not only from the textual matter or the notes on the page, but also from the sociable context of recreational music-making that enacts and produces fellow feeling. Within the nexus between space, activity, object and idea is the expressive human body and voice that moves to create connections to others. Though the plaster does not move, we take up Orpheus's motion and bring the activity to life.

Katie Bank is Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in the Department of History at the University of Birmingham. Her work reflects an interdisciplinary attention to the role of recreational song and visual culture within the intellectual history of early modern England, particularly music's intersection with natural philosophy, the passions, and concepts of sense perception. Publications include a monograph, Knowledge building in early modern English music (Routledge, 2020), as well as articles in journals such as Arts Journal, Early Music and Renaissance Studies. With Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler, she co-edited Byrd studies in the twenty-first century (forthcoming from Clemson University Press in December 2023). k.n.bank@bham.ac.uk

- ¹ Richard Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge, carvinge & buildinge/ written first in Italian by Io. Paul Lomatius, painter of Milan and Englished by R.H., student in physik.* (Oxford: printed by Joseph Barnes, 1598), book 2, p.4. Throughout this article, quotations from primary sources are given in the original spelling, with the exception that the usage of i/j and u/v has been modernized. Lyrics of songs (including in music examples) have been modernized.
- ² Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, pp.4, 12, 17.
- ³ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.4.
- ⁴ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.23.
- ⁵ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.22.
- ⁶ Horace, *Satires. Epistles. The art of poetry*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library 194 (Cambridge, MA, 1926), pp.458–9.
- ⁷ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.1.
- ⁸ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.1.
- ⁹ As shall be discussed later, the voice was a key component of physiognomy. R. Wistreich and J. Richards, 'The anatomy of the Renaissance voice', in *The Edinburgh Companion to the critical medical humanities*, ed. A. Whitehead and A. Woods (Edinburgh, 2016), pp.276–93; M. Porter, *Windows of the soul: the art of physiognomy in European culture, 1450–1780* (Oxford, 2005).
- ¹⁰ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.4.
- ¹¹ Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David in meter* (London: printed by William Barley, 1599), sig.A2r–A2v.
- ¹² S. Smith, "'I see no instruments, nor hands that play": Antony and Cleopatra and visual musical experience', in *The senses in early modern England 1558–1660*, ed. S. Smith, J. Watson and A. Kenny (Manchester, 2015), pp.167–84, at p.168.
- ¹³ B. Smith, 'Premodern sexualities', *PLMA: Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*, cxv (2000), pp.318–29, at p.326.
- ¹⁴ Smith, 'Premodern sexualities', p.326.
- ¹⁵ D. Price, *Patrons and musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1981), pp.133–40.
- ¹⁶ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, p.140.
- ¹⁷ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, p.137.
- ¹⁸ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, pp.132–3.
- ¹⁹ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, p.140.
- ²⁰ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, p.137.
- ²¹ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, pp.109–18.
- ²² At the time of writing, all records from Haddon were unavailable. The privately owned archives were being moved from Belvoir to Haddon with uncertain timelines.
- ²³ Haddon Hall is a sprawling structure that is notoriously difficult to date. A map with estimated dating for the structural aspects of the house can be found in the Haddon Hall guidebook and it dates some of the Orpheus Chamber's plasterwork and the Long Gallery to c.1570. B. Cleary and N. McCann, *Haddon Hall* (Manningtree, 2005). Tara Hamling, on the other hand, gives a date of c.1600 for the addition of the Long Gallery. T. Hamling, *Decorating the 'godly' household: religious art in post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, 2010), p.176.
- ²⁴ Hamling, *Decorating the 'godly' household*, p.148; E. Cole, 'The state apartment in the Jacobean country house 1603–1625' (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2010), pp.154–66.
- ²⁵ The Long Gallery's exhibit label mentions the three harpsichords and the gilded organ, while a report from the Historical Manuscripts Commission mentions the viols and bandora, also from the 1623 inventory. I was unable to consult the 1623 Haddon inventory myself, for the reasons mentioned above. Historical Manuscript Commission, *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., preserved at Belvoir Castle, Vol. II* (London, 1889), p.334.
- ²⁶ Cole, 'The state apartment in the Jacobean country house', p.156.
- ²⁷ George Whetstone, *An heptameron of civill discourses* (London: printed by R. Jones, 1582), sig.c2v. On how a selection of guests might have retired after dinner for more intimate social activity in a Withdrawing Room, see M. Girouard, *Life in the English country house* (New Haven, 1994), p.99.
- ²⁸ The musical activity of the Sackvilles is outlined in Price, *Patrons and musicians*, pp.16–18. Between scenes, Hollyband's narrator addresses 'you Master Robert'. Claudius Hollyband, *The French schoolemaister* (London: printed by W. How, 1573), sig.L1v.
- ²⁹ Hollyband, *The French schoolemaister*, p.128/ sig.K1v.
- ³⁰ Price, *Patrons and musicians*, p.138.
- ³¹ N. Cooper, *Houses of the gentry 1480–1680* (London, 1999), pp.292, 303. Also discussed in private correspondence with Tara Hamling.
- ³² A. Wells-Cole, *Art and decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (London, 1997), p.26.
- ³³ Wells-Cole, *Art and decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, pp.25–6.
- ³⁴ *Animalium quadrupedum* (London: sold by R. Danell [sic], 1625). I have determined that Daniel's Orpheus print was also a source of inspiration for two other large painted wall panels, one at Chirk Castle, and another at the Victoria & Albert Museum (probably originally from Knole). The plates for this print are attributed to Simon van de Pass (1595?–1647).
- ³⁵ My observation about the frequency and placement of Orpheus imagery in English plasterwork is from private correspondence with Tara Hamling, a leading authority on English plasterwork and fixed interior decoration in this period. As of now, I have seen examples of Orpheus

overmantels by English makers in Haddon, Knole, Chevithorne Barton and Chirk Castle, though I am sure this list is not exhaustive. T. Hamling, 'Guide to godliness: from print to plaster', in *Printed images in early modern Britain: essays in interpretation*, ed. M. Hunter (London, 2010), pp.65–86, at p.68.

³⁶ On the figure of Orpheus in ballads, see K. Butler, 'Changing attitudes towards classical mythology and their impact on notions of the power of music in early modern England', *Music & Letters*, xcvi (2016), pp.42–60, at pp.54–60.

³⁷ On why Paston may have been ideally placed to supply Byrd with such a text, see K. McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford, 2013), pp.197–8. For more on the musical and textual relationships between Byrd and Paston, see F. Knights, 'The Paston manuscripts as sources of Byrd's music', *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, lxxvii (2020), pp.56–84; H. Sequera, 'House music for recusants in Elizabethan England: performance practice in the music collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010); K. Bank, 'Dialogues of Byrd and Sidney: performing incompleteness', *Renaissance Studies*, xxxi (2017), pp.407–25.

³⁸ Studies of Orphean culture in English poetry and texts include H. Dubrow, *The challenges of Orpheus: lyric poetry and early modern England* (Baltimore, 2008) and M. T. M. Prendergast, 'The unauthorized Orpheus of Astrophil and Stella', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, xxxv (1995), pp.19–34. J. Hollander, *The untuning of the sky: ideas of music in English poetry, 1500–1700* (Princeton, 1961) focuses on poetry, though it does have supporting images. J. C. Mann, *The trials of Orpheus: poetry, science, and the early modern sublime* (Princeton, 2022) centres on the figure of Orpheus within Europe more widely; A. Hartmann, *English mythology in its European context, 1500–1650* (Oxford, 2018) looks

primarily at mythography. Other studies examine mythology and/or music through the meaning of music in myth or of myth to music, rather than on the experiences of tropes across media. See *Music, myth and story in medieval and early modern culture*, ed. K. Butler and S. Bassler (Woodbridge, 2019); Butler, 'Changing attitudes towards classical mythology', pp.42–60, as well as various contributions by Linda Phyllis Austern.

³⁹ The educational levels of visiting or household musicians are hard to gauge, but a certain level of knowledge and literacy, or at least experience in a variety of theatrical and musical spaces, can be presumed. For more on the education of musicians, see J. Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England', in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, ed. J. Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), pp.180–99, at pp.194–9. Examples of the figure of Orpheus on material objects can be seen in embroidery on an anonymously made mid-17th-century cabinet in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; in emblems in Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), p.186; and in keyboard instruments including the Theewes Claviorgan (Victoria & Albert Museum, 1579) and a Thomas White virginal (Hardwick Hall, 1653).

⁴⁰ Roger Manners and his wife Elizabeth Sidney were 'inclined to the patronage' of Inigo Jones. Jones travelled with Francis Manners in 1598 and also appears in the Manners' accounts in 1603 for unspecified work. Price, *Patrons and musicians*, pp.135, 139.

⁴¹ Thomas Campion, *A relation of the late royall entertainment given by the Right Honorable the Lord Knowles, at Cawsome-House neere Redding* (London: printed for J. Budge, 1613), sig.c1v–sig.c2r.

⁴² Campion, *A relation of the late royall entertainment*, sig.c1r.

⁴³ G. Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis (1632) online edition*, ed. D. Kinney, <https://ovid.lib.virginia.edu/sandys/10comm.htm>.

⁴⁴ The early modern connections between knowledge, passion and action are explored in detail by S. James, *Passion and action: the emotions in seventeenth-century philosophy* (Oxford, 1997).

⁴⁵ Anon., *The praise of musicke* (Oxford: printed by Joseph Barnes, 1586), p.15.

⁴⁶ Alexander Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter* (London: printed for Richard Whitaker, 1647), p.198; J. R. Glenn (ed.), *A critical edition of Alexander Ross's 1647 Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter* (New York, 1987), p.474.

⁴⁷ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.17.

⁴⁸ See examples of usage given in 'motion, n', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (accessed 1 October 2022).

⁴⁹ Robert Green, *Greenes Orpharion* (London: printed by J. Roberts, 1599), sig.B4r.

⁵⁰ For more on Orpheus in Italian iconography and as an 'esoteric symbol of the arts', see G. Scavizzi, 'The myth of Orpheus in Italian Renaissance art, 1400–1600', in *Orpheus: the metamorphosis of myth*, ed. J. Warden (Toronto, 1982), pp.111–62, at p.124.

⁵¹ Hartmann, *English mythography in its European context*, p.12.

⁵² Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter*, pp.196–9.

⁵³ Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter*, p.198; Glenn (ed.), *A critical edition of Alexander Ross's 1647 Mystagogus poeticus*, p.474.

⁵⁴ Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter*, p.197.

⁵⁵ Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter*, pp.197–8; Glenn (ed.), *A critical edition of Alexander Ross's 1647 Mystagogus poeticus*, p.474.

⁵⁶ Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter*, p.198; Glenn (ed.), *A critical edition of Alexander Ross's 1647 Mystagogus poeticus*, p.474.

⁵⁷ Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or The Muses interpreter*, pp.198–9; Glenn

(ed.), *A critical edition of Alexander Ross's 1647 Mystagogus poeticus*, pp.474–5.

⁵⁸ ‘The early modern preoccupation with Orpheus is notoriously difficult to explicate, for a range of narratives, often as contradictory or paradoxical as lyric itself, swirls around the figure.’ H. Dubrow, *The challenges of Orpheus: lyric poetry and early modern England* (Baltimore, 2008), p.20; see also J. Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1970).

⁵⁹ Hamling, ‘Guide to godliness: from print to plaster’, p.65. Hamling’s study determines that decoration within and of the home not only reflected and fashioned family religious identities, but also helped shape devotional practices.

⁶⁰ A. Gell, *Art and agency* (Oxford, 1998), p.74.

⁶¹ A. Davison, ‘Representing music-making’, in *The Routledge companion to music and visual culture*, ed. T. Shephard and A. Leonard (London, 2014), pp.87–94, at p.89.

⁶² In addition to Byrd’s song, the figure of Orpheus appears in a six-voice madrigal by Thomas Weelkes (1600) and a piece of Italianate ‘consort musique’ by Walter Porter (1632). Only Porter’s song tells a story from the familiar mythologies, describing Orpheus mourning Eurydice’s death. For Weelkes and Byrd, Orpheus plays a strictly figurative role.

⁶³ J. Rosenholtz-Witt, ‘The hidden politics of the emblem: William Byrd, Elizabeth I, and Cupid’, in *Byrd studies in the twenty-first century*, ed. S. Bassler, K. Butler and K. Bank (Clemson, 2023), pp.65–80; McCarthy, *Byrd*, p.197; P. Brett, ‘Musicae

modernae laus: Geoffrey Whitney’s tributes to the lute and its players’, in *William Byrd and his contemporaries: essays and a monograph*, ed. J. Kerman and D. Moroney (Berkeley, 2007), pp.60–65.

⁶⁴ John Danyl, *Songs for the lute viol and voice* (London: printed by T. East, 1606), sig.H1r.

⁶⁵ Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (London, 1597), sig.Aa2r; modern edition as Thomas Morley, *A plain and easy introduction to practical music*, ed. A. Harman (New York, 1963), p.290.

⁶⁶ For more on music’s expressive power based upon specific melodic and harmonic intervals, or ‘interval affect’ in continental music and music theory, see T. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the theory of interval affect: the ‘Musica nova’ madrigals and the novel theories of Zarlino and Vicentino* (Farnham, 2010).

⁶⁷ O. Neighbour, review of John Morehen (ed.), *William Byrd: Psalmes, songs and sonnets (1611)*, *Early Music*, xvi (1988), pp.441–5, at pp.441–2.

⁶⁸ M. Kaes Long, ‘Hexachordal solmization and syllable-invariant counterpoint in the vocal music of William Byrd’, *Music Theory Spectrum*, xlv (2023), pp.1–25.

⁶⁹ Kaes Long, ‘Hexachordal solmization’, p.17.

⁷⁰ McCarthy, *Byrd*, p.196.

⁷¹ McCarthy, *Byrd*, p.196.

⁷² William Byrd, *Psalmes, songs and sonnets* (London, 1611), preface.

⁷³ Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke*, sig.Aa3r, or Morley, *A plain and easy introduction*, ed. Harman, pp.292–3.

⁷⁴ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, iv.ii.2.

⁷⁵ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, pp.52–3.

⁷⁶ Haydock, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge*, book 2, p.23.

⁷⁷ Porter, *Windows of the soul*, p.25.

⁷⁸ Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia* was originally printed in Latin in 1533. Quoted from Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Three books of occult philosophy*, trans. J. F. (London: printed by R.W., 1651), sig. s1r.

⁷⁹ As explored by Wistreich and Richards, ‘The anatomy of the Renaissance voice’, pp.276–93.

⁸⁰ Anon., *The praise of musicke*, p.15.

⁸¹ I discuss this idea at length in K. Bank, ‘“Amphions harp gauē sence vnto stone wallēs”: the five senses and musical-visual affect’, *Arts Journal*, xii/2 (2023), forthcoming; It is also explored in relation to Renaissance *memento mori* in S. Perkinson, *The ivory mirror: the art of mortality in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, 2017), pp.67, 74, and in relation to medieval English aesthetic contemplation in M. Carruthers, *The experience of beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2016), p.60. On Protestant contemplation, see Hamling, *Decorating the ‘godly’ household*, p.127.

⁸² S. Boynton and D. Reilly (eds.), *Resounding images: medieval intersections of art, music, and sound* (Turnhout, 2015), p.15.

⁸³ Whetstone, *An Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, sig.H3r.

⁸⁴ Davison, ‘Representing music-making’, p.90.

Katie Bank

William Byrd's *Come, woeful Orpheus* in context: motion as visual and musical affect

Looking at William Byrd's consort song *Come, woeful Orpheus* (1611) and the Orpheus overmantel at Haddon Hall (Derbyshire), this article imagines how music and visual culture provided reciprocal somatic and symbolic cues within the domestic sphere. Using Richard Haydock's *Tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge* (1598), it considers how the Orpheus trope, cogitated and embodied through visual and musical media, could be used to produce 'fellow feeling' and affect through 'motion'. 'Motion' was not only fundamental to early modern

theories of affective communication but was thought to provide the spark of life that aided interpersonal connection.

This research explores the shared language between the theoretical and affective aspects of music and art in early modern England, stemming from classical sources on decorum and persuasive oration, to provide a more nuanced understanding of contemporary experiences of recreational music-making. I argue that the embodied and visual contributions of the performers are crucial to understanding Byrd's song, as early modern approaches to motion and affect relied upon the body and voice, and were best communicated through sight and sound.

Keywords: William Byrd; recreational song; Orpheus; domestic interior; England; sociability; affect; singing; materiality; visual culture; Richard Haydock