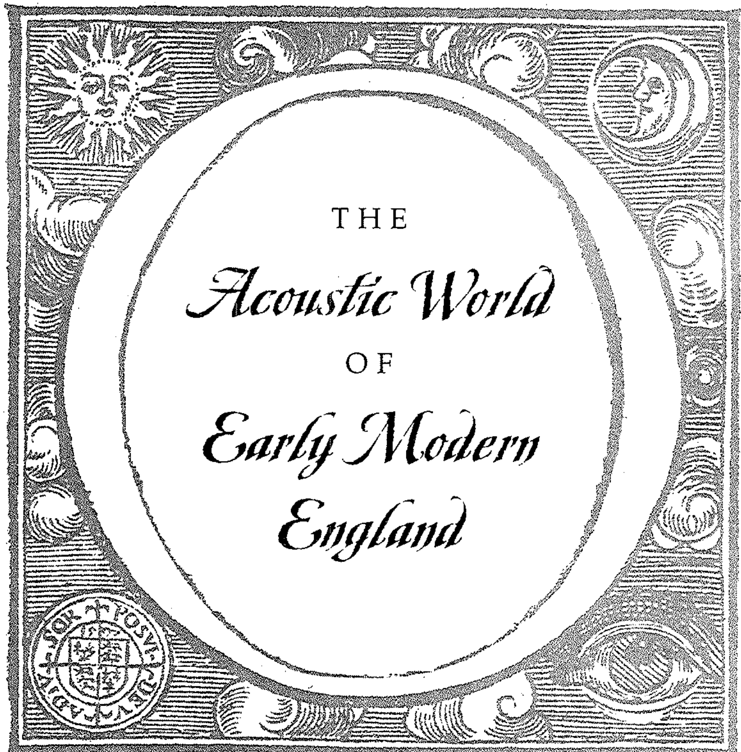

ATTENDING TO THE O-FACTOR

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FOR

Mae Reed Chunn,

Elias F. Mengel Jr.,

AND

Maggie Patten Smith,

THREE WHOSE VOICES

ABIDE.

ing"—Feld has proposed the term "acoustemology" (1996: 91, 97). As hearing (*akoustikos*) + *logos*, acoustemology recognizes that cultures establish their identities not only through things seen but through things heard and said. By combining Hymes's idea of speech communities with Truax's idea of acoustic communities, and framing them with Feld's idea of acoustemology, we arrive at something like an ecology of speech. At the very least, the acoustemology of early modern England should prompt us to investigate whether people heard things—and remembered what they had heard—in ways different from today. But first let us return to Geoffrey Streamer and help him sort out the chaos of sounds in southern England.

The Soundscapes of Early Modern England: City, Country, Court

A sense of future shock reverberates from *New Atlantis* in Francis Bacon's description of the "Sound-Houses" he would install in his utopian college, places *"wher wee practise and demonstrate all* Sounds, *and their* Generation." In addition to musical instruments, the houses contain equipment for altering sounds, for breaking them into their constituent frequencies, amplifying them, and broadcasting them beyond the range of natural hearing:

> *Wee represent* Small Sounds *as* Great *and* Deepe; *Likewise* Great Sounds, Extenuate *and* Sharpe; *Wee make diuerse* Tremblings *and* Warblings *of* Sounds, *which in their* Originall *are* Entire. . . . *Wee haue also diuerse* Strange *and* Artificiall Eccho's, Reflecting *the* Voice *many times, and as it were* Tossing it: *And some that giue back the* Voice Lowder *then it came, some* Shriller, *and some* Deeper; *Yea some rendring the* Voice, Differing *in the* Letters *or* Articulate Sound, *from that they receyue. Wee haue also meanes to conuey* Sounds *in* Trunks *and* Pipes, *in strange* Lines, *and* Distances. (1626: 41)

The realization of Bacon's vision in the twentieth century has altered forever the conditions under which human beings all over the world now hear. Two inventions—electricity and the internal cumbustion engine—make it difficult for us even to imagine what life in early modern England would have sounded like.

To begin with, we have to contend with much louder sounds. A glance at figure 3.1 will reveal how the very loudest sounds that a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century listener might encounter—early modern physiologists specify them to be thunder, cannon-fire, and bells—fall within a range of decibel intensities that would nowadays almost rate as normal events (Paré 1634: 189; Crooke 1616: 585, 588). More subtle changes in hearing have been affected by changes in the matrix of sound, in the "ground" against which individual sounds are heard as "figures." As "keynote" sounds in both urban and rural environments today, internal combustion engines and large-scale electrical apparatus like air conditioners have transformed soundscapes with respect to both the frequency and the intensity of audible sound. Automobile traffic, even at a distance, produces a broad band of frequencies. The result is a masking effect, blotting out other low-

Figure 3.1. Comparative Intensities of Common Sounds

Intensity (in decibels)	*Source of sound*
180	rocket launching pad
140	gunshot blast, jet plane
120	threshold of pain thunderclap pneumatic hammer at 3 feet amplified rock music performance in large arena
110	interior factory noise
100	chain saw
95	motorcycle at full throttle at 3 feet
90	lawn mover applause in an enclosed auditorium
85	large trucks at 50 feet
80	average city traffic garbage disposal alarm clock at 2 feet
75	human shout at 3 feet moderate surf at 10 to 15 feet telephone ring at 10 feet
70	passenger cars at 50 feet large dog barking at 50 feet vacuum cleaner hair dryer noisy restaurant
60	conversation at 3 feet birds at 10 feet air conditioner at 20 feet automobile at 30 feet
50	light traffic quiet office noise
40	subdued conversation wind in trees at 10 miles per hour refrigerator
30	quiet garden whispered conversation
20	ticking of watch at ear
10	rustle of leaves
0	threshold of audibility

frequency sounds and reducing the distance at which sounds of all kinds can be heard. The "acoustic horizon" shrinks, producing for the listener a relatively constricted sense of space. Electrical hums are more focused, periodic sounds than traffic noises, but they likewise reduce the variety of sounds that can be heard. Against the constant drone of an electricity-driven machine, other sounds have to be more intense to command attention (Truax 1984: 22–23).

Equally disruptive is the capacity of electricity to amplify sound and to convey it across long distances. Cut off from its natural sources of energy, voice and music become disembodied: they are transformed into artefacts (Truax 1984: 46–47). It is just possible today to escape the sounds of automobile engines and electrical equipment—but only in wilderness preserves that are devoid of people as well as machines. Truax's conclusions with respect to the small number of pre-industrial societies still existing in the world would also have been true for all of early modern England:

> few high intensity or continuous sounds exist in the preindustrialized world. Therefore, more "smaller" sounds can be heard, more detail can be discerned in those that are heard, and sounds coming from a greater distance form a significant part of the soundscape. In terms of acoustic ecology, one might say that more "populations" of sound exist, and fewer "species" are threatened with extinction. (1984: 70–71)

If soundscapes are more than the background to human communication, if soundscapes involve constant interaction between speech communities and their acoustic environment, then we must expect to find in the culture of early modern England fundamental differences from our own culture not only in the range of available sounds but in the degree and quality of the interchanges.

Music provides a particularly telling instance of how such interactions happen. Cultures all over the world, throughout history, seem to have taken delight in listening to sounds in the natural world, devising instruments for replicating those sounds, and imposing on them a human meaning, sometimes by adding words, sometimes by means of instruments alone (Truax 1984: 43). As Don Ihde points out, music may begin as an imitation of natural sounds, but its ultimate reference is to the human listener (1976: 158–159). Music mediates between soundscape and speech: it moves nonhuman sounds in the direction of speech, and speech in the direction of nonhuman sounds. The music of early modern Europe is full of bird songs turned into madrigals (Martin Peerson's "Pretty wantons, sweetly sing . . . Jug, jug, tereu, tereu"), of chickens set to harmonious clucking (Robert Jones's "Cock-a-doodle-doo, thus I begin") (Fellowes 1967: 181, 121). Mediations of natural sounds in music find their counterpart in medi-

Musical quotation 3.1

Derrie ding, ding, ding, Das-son, I am Iohn Ches-ton, we weed-don we

wod-den, we weed-on, we wod-den, Bim bom, bim bom, bim bom, bim bom.

(Ravenscroft 1611: no. 17)

ations of speech sounds, especially in the "fancies" by Thomas Weelkes, Orlando Gibbons, and Richard Dering, who take the street cries of London and arrange them into a harmonious musical sequence (Brett 1967: 102–147). Thomas Ravenscroft's collection *Melismata, Musicall Phansies Fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours* (1611) carries out a similar project, but on three fronts. Among the "Cittie Rounds" is a canon on cries for shoes, oysters, cockles, straw, pippins, and cherries, with the night-watchman's warning bringing all to a close. "Country Rounds" are replete with nonhuman sounds (see musical quotation 3.1). At quite a different point along the arc from speech to soundscape are "Court Varieties," a collection of artful love songs, with some lustier interjections from pages and servants. Ravenscroft's typology of city, country, and court suggests a plan for mapping the soundscapes of early modern England that happens to coincide with the three speech communities assembled at Kenilworth in 1575. Maps, travelers' accounts, "characters," prints, and passing allusions in plays, poetry, prose fiction, and pamphlets provide evidence in each case for a repertory of sounds. The challenge is to take the local specifity of this graphic evidence and to position it within the far more elusive coordinates of space and time.

CITY

Even without internal combustion engines and large-scale electrical equipment, early modern London was notably full of sound. When Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, rode into the city on September 12, 1602, he and his entourage were astounded by what they heard:

> On arriving in London we heard a great ringing of bells in almost all the churches going on very late in the evening, also on the following days until 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening. We were informed that the young people do that for the sake of exercise and amusement, and sometimes they lay considerable sums of money as a wager, who will pull a bell the longest or ring it in the most approved fashion. Parishes spend much money in harmoniously-sounding bells, that one being preferred which has the best bells. The old Queen is said to have been pleased very much by this exercise, considering it as a sign of the health of the people. (Gerschow 1892: 7)

Paul Hentzner, a German jurist who had made the same trip in 1598 and wrote it up in his pan-European *Itinerary*, observes that, in general, English people are "vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise" (1901: 83). No less impressed with the custom was Orazio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador in London in 1617 and 1618, who notes that the boys made bets "who can make the parish bells be heard at the greatest distance" (1995: 169). Such wagers sound like deliberate attempts to breach the parish's acoustic horizon, to transcend the boundaries marked out in rogation processions.

Church bells functioned as the most obvious "soundmarks" in the acoustically dense soundscape of early modern London. In addition to providing recreation for the youths of the parish, they were actually rung to summon people to services—but with ostentatiously Protestant restraint (Busino 1995: 169). According to Frederic Gerschow, the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania's secretary, bells were never tolled for the dead, even if they were sometimes rung to spread news of a grave illness in the parish (1892: 7). Loudest of all, apparently, was the bell of St. Mary-le-Bow. John Stow, who in the *Survey of London* pronounces the church "more famous then any other Parish Church of the whole Cittie, or suburbs," notes how the bell's ringing signaled rhythms of the workday. Any lateness would prompt apprentices to complain, *"Clarke of the Bow bell with the yellow lockes,/ For thy late ringing thy head shall haue knockes"* (1971, 1: 254, 256). A proverbial association between the bow bell's sound and your true Londoner was already current by 1617, when Fynes Moryson could tell a Europe-wide readership that "Londiners, and all within the sound of Bow-Bell, are in reproch called Cocknies, and eaters of buttered tostes" (Moryson 1617: III2). Was the name "cockney" (from Middle English *coken*, "of cocks") inspired by a cock-shaped weathervane atop the church's belfrey? Or by Londoners' loud loquaciousness? Or by their boastfulness? Whichever the case, the bow-bell rang out over an acoustic community that was also an identifiable speech community, with its own dialect, its own varieties, its own registers.

As a soundscape, early modern London was far too diffuse to be contained by parish boundaries. Within the acoustic horizon of a single parish, for example, might live several different speech communities. Overseas visitors were impressed with the number of foreign-speakers, primarily merchants and Protestant refugees, who made their homes in London. Thomas Platter, visiting from Switzerland in 1599, mentions churches that held services in Dutch, French, and Italian. Platter and his entourage stayed at the Fleur-de-Lys, an inn kept by a Frenchman, in Mark Lane northwest of the Tower, and attended services in a French-speaking chruch. Hentzner gestures toward a center of German-speakers when he points out the hall belonging to the Hanseatic Society (1901: 40). John Chamberlain's letters from the reign of James I twice mention "the Italian ordinary" as a popular eating and gathering establishment (1939, 2: 120, 501). What was true of different languages was also true of different dialects and varieties of English: the custom of servants and apprentices living in the households of their masters brought together under one roof persons from a variety of speech fields.

The distinctive sounds of different trades and workshops were other factors contributing to a soundscape that might or might not fit within the acoustic horizons of parish bells. Dekker's description of *The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London* (1606) conjures up a street scene that sounds as noisy as it looks frenetic:

> hammers are beating in one place, Tubs hooping in another, Pots clinking in a third, water-tankards running at tilt in a fourth: heere are Porters sweating vnder burdens, there Marchants-men bearing bags of money, Chapmen (as if they were at Leape-frog) skippe out of one shop into another: Tradesmen (as if they were dau[n]cing Galliards) are lusty at legges, and neuer stand still: all are as busie as countrie Atturneyes at an Assises: how then can *Idlenes* thinke to inhabit heere? (1963, 2: 50–51)

Stow looks back almost nostalgically to a time when each trade and manufacture had its own distinctive street or ward. However, "Men of trades and sellers of wares in this City haue often times since chaunged their places, as they haue found their best aduantage" (1971, 1: 81). Only Lothbury, still the site of metal-founding in Stow's day, is singled out for its sonic distinctiveness. With their "turning and serating," the makers of candlesticks, chafing dishes, spice mortars, and the like create "a loathsome noice to the by-passers, that haue not been vsed to the like, and therefore by them disdainedly called Lothberie" (1971, 1: 277). La Primaudaye singles out blacksmiths as likely to be "thicke of hearing, beause their eares are continually dulled with the noise of and sound of their hammers & an-

uiles." People who work with artillery run the same risk (1618: 375). Though their sounds go unremarked by Stow, shoemakers were still tapping away in St. Martin's Lane, and the sounds of horses, oxen, sheep, and swine could be heard in Smithfield, just outside the walls. Despite the dispersal of trades all over the city, early modern London was becoming increasingly segregated with respect to where goods were produced and where they were sold. A. L. Beier's analysis of burial entries and other data suggests that economic activity within the city walls between 1540 and 1600 was devoted 53 percent to the manufacturing of goods, 28 percent to exchanges of goods, and 19 percent to other enterprises. Outside the walls the figures were an overwhelming 70 percent for manufacturing, only 7 percent for exchanges, and 22 percent other. From 1600 to 1700 the contrast between intramural and extramural activity only sharpened (1968: 141–167). In production of decibels these figures are telling: hammering, pounding, tapping, cutting, scraping, and the vocal interjections that go with such activities were more likely to be heard outside the city walls than within.

To the cross-currents of multiple speech communities and dispersed manufacturing should be added the complications of time. Each segment of the day—sunrise, morning, midday, afternoon, sunset, night—would bring its own round of activities, and its own distinctive panoply of sounds, even in the same place. The Exchange in Threadneedle Street provides a good example. Built at his own expense by Sir Thomas Gresham and proclaimed the *Royal* Exchange by a herald and a trumpet blast in 1570, the structure was on every foreign visitor's list of sights. Platter, like the others, was aware that the Exchange was lively at certain hours of the day and not others: before lunch at eleven and afterwards at six the colonnades and courtyard were full of several hundred merchants, "buying, selling, bearing news, and doing business generally" (1937: 157). Hentzner, who notes "the assemblage of different nations" as one of the things to be admired about the Exchange, implies that speech communities from several different quarters could, at these hours, be heard all in one place (1901: 40). Congregation at the playhouses was an event of the afternoon; recreational bell-ringing, an event of the evening.

The factor of time points up the single most important contingency in any attempt to plot the soundscape of the city: people. On a given day, in a given place, at a given hour, people might or might not behave precisely according to habit. Early modern London was not a sociologist's grid but a range of possible paths the inhabitants might take through the day. In de Certeau's terms, the human soundscape of early modern London was created through "tactics" pursued from below, not through "strategies" imposed from above. If a strat-

egy is the attempt of an outside power—a king, a council, a guild—to exert control over space, a tactic is a subject's counterattempt to exert control over time, to act contingently, on the spur of the moment (de Certeau 1984: xix, 35–36). The aural diversity of London was all on the side of tactics. The soundscape of early modern London was made up of a number of overlapping, shifting acoustic communities, centered on different soundmarks: parish bells, the speech of different nationalities, the sounds of trades, open-air markets, the noises of public gathering places. Moving among these soundmarks—indeed, *making* these soundmarks in the process—Londoners in their daily lives followed their own discursive logic.

For a specific instance let us take the quarter inside Aldersgate where Baldwin's Geoffrey Streamer is supposed to have had his extraordinary experience of being able to hear everything within a hundred miles. What would Geoffrey, lodged in his friend's house just within the city wall, have been able to hear during, say, the morning? A detail from the so-called "Agas" map, probably dating from the 1570s, allows us to place aurally curious Geoffrey with some precision (fig. 3.2). Several major soundmarks present themselves. Closest to hand, or rather to ear, are the bells of St. Anne's Church, mentioned as a landmark in Baldwin's narrative and noted in Stow as newly repaired after a fire in 1548 (1971, 1: 307). Bells from the surrounding churches would help to define the acoustic horizon of St. Anne's: notably St. Buttolph's just outside Aldersgate, St. Michael's at the western end of Cheapside, and St. Michael's Wood Street. Just visible in the lower right is the belfry of St. Mary-le-Bow, producing a ring with an acoustic profile excelling all the others. The workaday significance

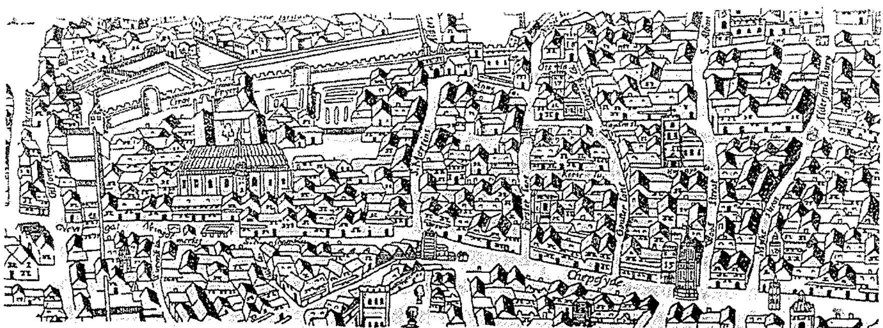

Figure 3.2. Aldersgate and Cheapside. From the "Agas" map of London (probably 1570s). Reproduced by permission of Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

of the bow-bell can be appreciated from the church's proximity to Cheapside, one of the major thoroughfares of the city and the site of one of the city's major markets. Traffic noises, the hawking of wares, and the sheer density of conversation would distinguish Cheapside as a soundmark in its own right. As routes in and out of the city, St. Martin's Lane and Wood Street would likewise be full of sound, especially in comparison with the narrower streets and lanes, particularly those running east and west. In St. Martin's Lane shoemakers' tapping on leather and cutlerers' clanging their wares would contribute distinctive low- and high-frequency sounds to the broad-band frequencies of cart wheels turning, horses clopping, and human feet shuffling (Stow 1971, 1: 81; Beier 1968: 141–167). In Baldwin's fiction Geoffrey has taken up residence in St. Martin's Lane so as to be near the printing house that is producing one of his books. The clinks and thuds of the press would, in the story at least, add to the ambient sounds of the morning.

The local soundmarks of St. Martin's Lane, the recurring sounds that marked the area as different from elsewhere, would take their place in the larger soundscape as it was created anew everyday by the city as a whole. Let us attempt to chart that larger soundscape, paying particular attention to keynote sounds, to the natural environment, to the built environment, and finally to a small group of soundmarks recognized by inhabitants and visitors alike as giving London its identity as a single acoustic community. In the absence of motorized traffic and heavy mechanical equipment, what would the keynote sounds have been? What would have provided the ground against which more prominent sounds would figure? At the lowest level of intensity would be the constant sound of running water. The Great Conduit in Cheapside, described by Hentzner as "a gilt tower, with a fountain that plays," is one of a dozen or so running conduits inventoried by Stow (Hentzner 1901: 44; Stow 1971, 1: 17–19). The Great Conduit in Cheapside appears on the "Agas" map just to the left of the belfry of St. Mary-le-Bow. In several places the running waters of built-over rivers and streams could be heard through iron grates (Stow 1971, 1: 175). But the most intense water sounds reverberated up from the Thames. The tight spaces between the narrow arches that carried London Bridge across the river produced so swift a current during the ebbing of the tide—and such a roar of water—that passage for boats was extremely hazardous (Platter 1937: 156).

Street traffic, another source of dispersed keynote sounds, would present a rather different acoustic profile from the broad-band noise of postindustrial cities. In *The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London* Dekker presents the sounds of traffic as positively deafening. Sloth has trouble finding a place, "for in euery street, carts and / Coaches make

such a thundring as if the world ranne vpon wheeles" (1963, 2: 50). Be that as it may, other witnesses—and Dekker himself in a different context—suggest a less totalizing sound than thunder. Busino's detailed description of carts and coaches mentions the jingling bells on harnesses that helped to clear a way for horses (1995: 155). Voiced warnings would supplement these signals. Dekker's evocation of the busy streets of Westminster in term time sets in place a range of discrete, individual sounds: "Yea, in the open streetes is such walking, such talking, such running, such riding, such clapping too of windowes, such rapping at Chamber doores, such crying out for drink, such buying vp of meate, and such calling vppon Shottes, that at euery such time, I verily beleeue I dwell in a Towne of Warre" (1963, 4: 25). What Dekker's catalog suggests is not a drone of continuous broad-band sound but a scatter of jingles, bangs, crunches, clops—and voiced *words.* The sound of people talking—not just hawking their wares or clearing a passage for someone important, but *talking*—would, to us, be the strangest feature of the urban soundscape of early modern London. In the absence of ambient sounds of more than 70 dB (barking dogs excepted), the sound of outdoor conversations would become a major factor in the sonic environment. Something of the effect can be experienced today in the historic centers of certain cities in Europe (Bologna comes to mind) that have been emptied of automobile traffic during specified hours of the day. What one notices in the highly reflective corridors of these streets is the audibility of conversations going on a hundred feet and more away. Whispering, or at least dropping one's voice, is actually necessary for privacy. The absence of machines returns the urban soundscape to the human scale of the seventeenth century—the aural equivalent of replacing fifty- and seventy-five-story buildings with two- and three-story buildings.

The reflectivity of London's streets would not be precisely the same, of course, as we might find anywhere else, due to historically specific qualities of both the natural and the built environments. Prevailing winds, for example, would give sound a dominant direction: west to east. The acoustic profile of any given sound, that is to say, would not form a perfect sphere but would be skewed toward the east. Climate, too, would have its effect. Damp, during the wetter months of winter, would have the effect of lowering reflectivity, damping sounds that would be heard as crisper, louder, closer at hand during drier seasons of the year. Helkiah Crooke attends to both factors in his *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (1616). "As the ayre is mooued," he observes, "so also is the Sound carried as wee may perceiue by a ring of Belles farre off from vs: for when the winde bloweth towards vs we shall heare them very lowd:

again when the ayre is whiffed another way, the sound also of the bels wil be taken from vs." A man's voice in winter is "baser" than in Summer, he explains, because the air in winter is "thicker" than in summer and thus is moved more slowly (1616: 607, 610).

Amid these climatic variations, the buildings of early modern London would form, over all, a relatively reverberant environment, but one that presented sharp contrasts between louder spaces and softer. In his *Itinerary* Fynes Moryson describes London in terms of interplay between surface and depth:

> Now at *London* the houses of the Citizens (especially in the chiefe streetes) are very narrow in the front towards the streete, but are built fiue or sixe roofes high, commonly of timber and clay with plaster, and are very neate and [c]ommodious within: And the building of Citizens houses in other Cities, is not much vnlike this. But withall vnderstand . . . that the Aldermens and chiefe Citizens houses howsoeuer they are stately for building, yet being built all inward, that the whole roome towards the streets may be reserued for shoppes of Tradesmen, make no shew outwardly, so as in truth all the magnificence of *London* building is hidden from the view of strangers at the first sight, till they haue more particular view thereof by long abode there. (1967: KKK4)

The unseen depths of London's houses were also, to outsiders at least, un*heard* depths. Crooke, paraphrasing Aristotle's *Problems* 11.37, puzzles over the reason someone inside a house can more readily hear sounds coming from outside than someone outside can hear sounds coming from within. From inside out, he reasons, sounds get lost in the larger space, while from outside in "the sound entering into the house is contracted, gathered, or vnited, and therefore it must needes mooue the Sense more fully" (1616: 700).

With respect to street sounds, wooden timbers and plaster-over-lath are both moderately reflective surfaces; even more so is the window glass that formed an expansive feature of more prosperous houses (Busino 1995: 114; Egan 1988: 52–53). Paving material, on the other hand, might serve to damp street sounds. Although most modern writers have imagined London's streets to be solidly (and reverberantly) cobbled, Busino's description of a mob scene in Cheapside during the Lord Mayor's Show in November 1617 suggests that there was plenty of sound-absorbing mud at hand. Any coachman who tried to make his way through the crowd by using his whip, Busino notes, was pelted with mud. Then someone noticed a Spaniard: "his garments were foully smeared with a sort of soft and very stinking mud, which abounds here at all seasons, so that the place deserves to be called Lorda (filth) rather than Londra (London)" (1995: 114–116). Bearing out Busino's testimony, W. T. Jackman's survey of various pav-

ing statutes from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would indicate that the paved surface of London's streets was most likely rough-cut stone or cobbles, set in mud (1962: 36–41). In *Henry VI, Part Two*, Gloucester refers to "the Flintie Streets" of London, and his barefoot wife, doing penance, curses "the ruthlesse Flint" that cuts her feet (F1623: 2.4.9, 35). If Cheapside, one of the city's major thoroughfares, was so loosely paved, what would have been the condition of lesser streets and back lanes? In these narrow corridors the reflectivity of close-built houses would be partially offset by the damping of wet earth. When the volume of human traffic is figured in, Moryson's contrast between surface and depth would extend to major thoroughfares versus secondary streets. Lined with timbered buildings, paved with stones, full of people at all hours of the day, spaces like Cheapside would present the aural "surface" of the city; back lanes, some of them miry with mud, would present its "depth."

On the city's aural surface some places were louder than others. Their acoustic profile was such that it extended deep into side streets and back lanes—and deep into the domestic privacy of London's narrow houses. Jonson's Morose, whose abhorrence of noise drives him to live in the quiet depths of a street too narrow for coaches, carts, and common noises, provides a handy guide to the most prominent soundmarks on the urban surface. What wouldn't he do to escape a wife who has turned out to be anything but a silent woman? "So it would rid me of her! and, that I did superoratorie penance, in a bellfry, at *Westminster*-hall, i' the cock-pit, at the fall of a stagge; the tower-wharfe (what place is there else?) *London*-bridge, *Paris*-garden, *Belins*-gate, when the noises are at their height and lowdest. Nay, I would sit out a play, that were nothing but fights at sea, drum, trumpet, and target!" The belfries of churches, huge interior spaces like Westminster Hall, the precincts of the Tower, shopping streets and market places, bear-baiting arenas, public theaters: these, in Morose's experience, were the noisiest places in London. In effect, they established the acoustic horizon for all Londoners. Again, church bells are the most obvious. Time in a belfry is hard penance for a man who tries to escape church bells by leaving town entirely on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays (Jonson 1925–63, 5: 169–170, 230). Westminster Hall, partitioned off into court chambers and shops, presented a cacophony rivaled only by the aisles of St. Paul's at certain times of the day (Wheatley and Cunningham 1891, 3: 484).

In an age without newspapers, Westminster Hall, St. Paul's, the Royal Exchange, and the court were all centers of hearing the latest—and spreading it by voicing it. The favored hour at Paul's was just before the midday meal. "*Quid novi?*" ("What's the news?") was the greeting among men who had gathered to stroll—and to engage in

the aural equivalent of sumptuary self-display. The Duke of Stettin-Pomerania's secretary distinguishes the Paul's crowd as "Gentilhomini," as opposed to the merchants gathered at the Exchange, but native satirists suggest a more heterogeneous throng. The offer of exclusive news might be enough to secure would-be gentlemen a free dinner (Cogswell 1989: 20–35; Jonson 1925–63, 6: 287; Brathwait 1631: 34; Gerschow 1892: 61). The acoustic result of all the walking and talking is delineated in John Earle's character of "Paules Walke":

> It is a heape of stones and men, with a vast confusion of Languages, and were the Steeple not sanctifyed nothing liker Babel. The noyse in it is like that of Bees, a strange humming or buzze, mixt of walking, tongues, and feet: It is a kind of still roare or loud whisper. . . . It is the other expence of the day, after Playes, Tauerne, and a Baudy-house, and men haue still some Oathes left to sweare here. It is the eares Brothell, and satisfies their lust, and ytch. (1629: K1v–K2v)

Earle may here be echoing the words Dekker puts into the mouth of "Paules Steeple" in *The Dead Tearme. Or Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes* (1608):

> when I heare such trampling vp and downe, such spetting, such halking, and such humming (euery mans lippes making a noise, yet not a word to be understoode,) I verily beleeve that I am the Tower of *Babell* newly to be builded vp, but presently despaire of euer beeing finished, because there is in me such a confusion of languages.

It is varieties and registers of English the steeple is hearing, not the tongues of different nations:

> For at one time, in one and the same ranke, yea, foote by foote, and elbow by elbow, shall you see walking, the Knight, the Gull, the Gallant, the vpstart, the Gentleman, the Clowne, the Captaine, the Appel-squire, the Lawyer, the Vsurer, the Cittizen, the Bankerout, the Scholler, the Begger, the Doctor, the Ideot, the Ruffian, the Cheater, the Puritan, the Cut-throat, the Hye-men, the Low-men, the True-man and the Thiefe: of all trades & professions some, / of all Countreyes some. . . . (1963, 4: 51)

"Countries" in this case refers not to foreign nations, but to different regions of England. Dekker's Tower of Babel is built entirely of local stone.

The Exchange was, by contrast, a genuinely polyglot soundmark: Hentzner pointedly mentions "the assemblage of different nations" (1901: 40). Georg von Schwartzstät, visiting in 1609, describes the throng of merchants, nobles, and other people as being so great that he could scarcely make his way through (1950: 81). Platter fixes the number at "several hundred." Here, too, the favored hour for gather-

ing—for "buying, selling, bearing news, and doing business generally"—was eleven o'clock, just before the midday meal. A crowd assembled again at six o'clock (Platter 1937: 157). Built in a square, with a colonnade enclosing an open court, the Exchange was, according to Nashe, "vaulted and hollow, and hath such an Eccho, as multiplies euery worde that is spoken" (1904–10, 1: 82). The taverns to which the denizens of Paul's and the Exchange might repair for dinner were likewise prominent soundmarks. The partitions between tables Platter remarks may have discouraged overhearing other diners' conversations, but taverns were notably *noisy* places, in more ways than one. "Men come here to make merry," says Earle in his character of "A Tavern," "but indeed make a noise, and this musicke aboue is answered with the clinking below" (1628: D1). A "noise" was a group of musicians who went about from tavern to tavern (Jonson 1925–63, 5: 206; OED, "noise" 5.b). Closer to a diner's ear were the burps and belches emitted by his fellows. Busino is not the only foreigner to be aghast. With respect to the high prices charged in London for good wines he quips, "Thus they hold their very hiccoughs in account, nor is it considered impolite to discharge them in your neighbour's face, provided they be redolent of wine or of choice tobacco" (Busino 1995: 133–134; Perin 1809: 512).

The interior gathering-places of Westminster Hall and St. Paul's had their external counterparts in shopping streets (Morose mentions London Bridge) and in public markets (Billingsgate is Morose's choice for noise). Something in between inside and outside was presented by the Royal Exchange—and by animal-baiting arenas and public theaters. Like St. Paul's and the Exchange, these places of entertainment defined the London soundscape not only geographically but temporally: they were places where people came together only at certain times of the day. During those times they became dominant soundmarks. Outside those times they fell into relative quiet—except, perhaps, for the animal-baiting arenas. The adjacent kennels constituted one of the sites to be seen, and sounds to be heard, by foreign visitors (Platter 1937: 169–170). The Duke of Stettin-Pomerania's secretary fixes the number of animals at 200; Lupold von Wedel estimates a hundred (Gerschow 1892: 17; von Wedel 1895: 230). The bellowing, barking, and roaring produced by these animals when pitted against one another are described by Dekker in *The Dead Tearme. Or Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes* (1608) in nothing short of apocalyptic terms: "No sooner was I entred but the very noyse of the place put me in mind of *Hel:* the beare (dragd to the stake) shewed like a black rugged soule, that was Damned, and newly committed to the infernall *Churle,* the *Dogges*

like so many *Diuels* inflicting torments vpon it" (Dekker 1963, 4: 97–98). The public playhouses nearby—especially with the "fights at sea, drum, trumpet, and target" that Morose expects—offered aural events almost as intense as those to be heard in animal-baiting pits. One of Barnabe Rich's apothegms proclaims, "A Drummer is the pride of noyse, *for* he puts downe all but thunder" (1619: 57). The "excessive applause" Platter situates in the playhouses would rate in decibels somewhere between a modern symphony orchestra playing *fortissimo* in an enclosed hall and outdoor truck traffic at fifty feet.

In sheer intensity of sound, however, nothing could approach the precincts of Tower Wharf, at least on certain signal occasions. Morose's mention of that locality has nothing to do with the river but with the ordnance ranged along the Tower's western wall just above the wharf and high above most of the city of London. One of the sights foreign visitors were expected to note during their tour of the Tower, the guns were discharged on ceremonial occasions. In "An Ode . . . in celebration of her Majesties birth-day" (in Jonson's *Underwood,* no. 67) Jonson invokes the way the Tower cannon "poure / Their noises forth in Thunder" (Chalfont 1978: 184; Jonson 1925–63, 8: 239). The effect would be *imposing,* in every sense of the word. At the moment of their discharge, the cannon would preempt all other sounds, overwhelming parish church bells, surpassing even the Bow bell, asserting aural dominance over the soundscape within which Londoners talked and listened their way through daily life.

With the main contours of the London soundscape set in place, let us trace some of those routes of talking and listening. The challenge is finding a sense of direction. What we hear ranges widely along the arc that stretches from primal cry to speech to music to sounds in nature. How do we make sense of so many disparate sounds? Is it possible to hear the city whole? What presents itself first certainly seems like cacophony. Foreign travelers never failed to be struck by the crowdedness of the streets in what was then Europe's most populous city. "This city of London is not only brimful of curiosities," Platter observes, "but so populous also that one simply cannot walk along the streets for the crowd" (1937: 174). Above the keynote sounds of running water, shuffling feet, clopping hooves, creaking wheels, and buzzing conversation could be heard cries: "What do ye lack?" Shopkeepers made their presence known partly through displays of their goods, partly through painted signs and carved or wrought emblems, but mostly by accosting passersby, just as they still do in parts of the eastern and southern Mediterranean. In John Earle's quip, a shopkeeper, like a book, *utters* his contents. "No man speakes more and no more, for his wordes are like his

Wares, twenty of one sort, and hee goes ouer them alike to all commers" (1628: F2^{v}–F3). "What do you lack?": uttered over and over, it would be the aural equivalent of a flashing neon sign.

If fruit happened to be the shopkeeper's stock in trade, loud chomps might be added to the ambient noise: English people do not put fruit on the table, Busino notes, but "between meals one sees men, women and children always munching through the streets, like so many goats" (1995: 179). Here a street vendor would hawk his wares. There a ballad-monger would set up in front of a bay window, and his accomplice would crow out "*A proper new Ballad, to the tune of Bragadeery round* . . . with varietie of ayres (having as you may suppose, an instrumentall *Polyphon* in the cranie of his nose" (Brathwait 1631: B4–B5). At landing places along the river, watermen would crowd around potential customers, raising a clamor to be chosen (Platter 1937: 154). Beggars would add their cries to the din, sometimes amplifying their presence with "clack dishes" in which passersby could place alms. In the vicinity of prisons could be heard the pleas of the inmates (Guilpin 1974: 56). The secretary to the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania provides a particularly visceral description of passing the Clink in Southwark: "When we entered the suburb, the prisoners with petulant cries [*mit einem muthwilligen Geschrey*] beseeched us for alms" (Gerschow 1892: 59).

Moving in and out of these localized sounds would be the cries of itinerant peddlers. The ritualized cadences of their calls seem positively to demand description as music. Early modern witnesses imply a gamut that runs from the "treble voic'd *Bel-man*" to "the hollow charnell voyce" of the metal-man (Dekker 1612: C3^{v}; Brathwait 1631: E7^{v}). For Edward Guilpin, the extremes were set by an Irishman crying "pippe, fine pippe, with a shrill accent" to the "grunt" of the man selling blacking (1974: 56). In between ranged cries for all manner of goods and services. Attempts by professional musicians—Richard Dering in 1599, Thomas Weelkes in 1599, Thomas Ravenscroft in 1611, Orlando Gibbons in 1614, and a now untraced composer in c. 1614 (all collected in Brett 1967)—to transform London street cries into consort music for voices and viols provide some evidence of what the cries actually sounded like. In appropriating the voices of Harrison's lowest sort of people for the musical pleasure of Harrison's higher sorts, none of the composers pretends to be playing the ethnomusicologist—Gibbons, for one, sounds indebted to Dering—but in their points of coincidence all five composers do seem to be transcribing something like what they heard in the streets. What each composer does, in effect, is *domesticate* the cries, bringing them in from the streets one by one and setting them to a musical continuo provided by a family of viols. Four of the five composers give remarkably simi-

lar renditions of the oyster-seller's cry. Gibbons's version appears in musical quotation 3.2. Where oysters went down, nuts went up (musical quotation 3.3). Inks and pens had their own acoustic profile, as witness Dering's transcription in musical quotation 3.4. Just as idiosyncratic, to judge from three of the musical versions, was the chimney-sweeper's cry (musical quotation 3.5). All five composers give the town crier his moment of prominence. Lost horses (Gibbons measure 57; Dering 202; Weelkes 85) and lost wenches (Gibbons 180; anon. 8) provide the substance of the crier's appeal for information (musical quotation 3.6). Gibbons even renders prisoners' pleas for alms (Gibbons measures 132–141, 228–237 in Brett 1967: 119–120, 124). Like Gibbons (measures 160–165), the anonymous composer provides

Musical quotation 3.2

Oy - sters, oy - sters, oy - sters, three - pence a
peck at Bride - well dock, new Wall - fleet oy - sters.

(Gibbons measures 57–62 in Brett 1967: 116)

Musical quotation 3.3

ripe chest- nuts, ripe, Ripe wal- nuts, ripe;

(Weelkes 60–64 in Brett 1967: 105)

Musical quotation 3.4

Buy a - ny ink, will you buy a - ny ink, buy a - ny ve - ry fine
writ - ing ink, will you buy a - ny ink and pens?

(Dering 279–284 in Brett 1967: 143)

Musical quotation 3.5

Soop, chim - ney soop, soop, chim - ney soop,
soop, chim - ney soop, mis - tress, soop, with a hoop der - ry der - ry der - ry soop,
from the bot - tom to the top, soop chim - ney soop; there shall no soot fall
in your por - ridge pot, with a hoop der - ry der - ry der - ry soop!

(Dering 170–177 in Brett 1967: 139–140)

a transcription of Thames boatmen clamoring for custom (musical quotation 3.7). For the postindustrial city Steve Reich has produced a parallel piece of artful transcription in "City Life," performed by musicians who follow a score and at the conductor's cues play recorded samples of pile-drivers, taxicabs, and overheard wisecracks (Walters 1996: 10).

As Ravenscroft, Dering, Gibbons, and Weelkes staged the cries for the gentle ear, so a pair of early seventeenth-century prints stage the criers themselves for the gentle gaze. Although each of the hucksters is distinguished from the others by posture, clothing, and the articles he or she carries, all are fitted into the frame of a uniform arcade. In effect, the street vendors are fixed in space and time: they are turned into collectibles (Shesgreen 1990: 12–22). In the soundscape of everyday life peddlers claimed a performative space that was much more expansive. A song inserted into later performances of Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* (originally acted in 1608) maps out this dynamic space. Though the song is styled "The Cries of ROME," as required by the decorum of Heywood's play, the cries themselves proclaim their groundedness in the streets outside the Red Bull Theater:

> Thus goe the cries in Romes faire towne,
> First they go vp street and then they go down.
> Round and sound all of a colour,
> Buy a very fine marking stone, marking stone,
> Round and sound all of a colour,
> Buy a very fine marking stone a very very fine.

Musical quotation 3.6

If a - ny man or wo - man can tell a - ny tid - ings
of a lit - tle maid - en child, a - bout the age
of six, or sev'n and for - ty: This child was lost be -
tween the stan - dard and the piss - ing con - duit; if a - ny man
can bring a - ny news of her, let him
come to the Cri - er, and he shall have four - pence
for his hi - re, and that's more than she's worth!

(Anon. 21–49 in Brett 1967: 127–128)

> Thus go the cries in Romes faire towne,
> First they go vp street and then they go downe.
> (1614: K2–K2v)

Then come bread and meat, prisoners' cries out of Newgate, salt, traps for vermin, kitchen stuff, radishes, lettuce, onions, rock samphire for pickling, mats and hassocks, whiting, hot oatcakes, milk, lanterns and candles. Last of all comes a cry that figures also in Gibbons's setting: the pleas of women prisoners. Up street and down, in and out, hither and thither, from surface to depth: the criers carry out a rogation of the city soundscape. "*Round and sound*": the song in Heywood's play performs the cry of the writing-stone seller before it identifies the crier or his wares. As sound in the air, separated visually from its source, the line describes the phenomenonal effect of cries heard in the streets. Along the arc from primal cry to speech to

Musical quotation 3.7

Will you go with a scull-er, sir?

Will you go with oars, Sir, will you go with oars?

I will go with oars.

I am your first man, sir, will you go with me?

George, George, George, George, bring the boat to the stairs!

(Anon. 77–78 in Brett 1967: 129)

music to sounds in nature, street cries occupy a position somewhere between speech and environmental sound. Like speech, they possess semantic meaning; like environmental sound, they are dispersed in space and time.

By composing the cries, by scoring them for voices and viols, Ravenscroft and the others were attempting to hear the city whole. That inspiration shows up particularly in Gibbons's setting, where two or more cries are sung at the same time—fugued, in effect. It shows up, too, in the ways the composers variously manage to bring the cries to closure. Only Ravenscroft avoids closure altogether: he "catches" the cries in the form of a canon ("Row, row your boat" is a famous example), opening up the possibility that the cries could go on forever in all their variety. At the opposite extreme is Weelkes,

organist at Chichester Cathedral, who follows a penultimate cry for radishes and lettuce with the command "Now let us sing; and so we make an end: with alleluia" (Brett 1967: 113). The anonymous composer also registers a desire for community, if not unity, by ending with a plea from singers outside on the street to be invited inside, where, after all, the performing singers are most likely situated themselves (see musical example 3.8). A movement from the surface of

Musical quotation 3.8

Was - sail, was - sail, jol - ly was - sail!

Mas - ter and mis - tress, if you be with - in,

call for some of your mer - ry men to rise and let us in with

our—— was - sail, our jol - ly was - sail.

Joy come to our jol - ly was - sail, our jol - ly was - sail.

Joy come to our jol - ly was - sail, our jol - ly was - sail.

Joy come to our jol - ly was - sail, our jol - ly was - sail.

Joy come to our jol - ly was - sail, our jol - ly was - sail.

Joy come to our jol - ly was - sail, our jol - ly was - sail.

(Anon. 128–143 in Brett 1967: 132)

street sounds to the depths of domestic quiet likewise concludes Gibbons's and Dering's pieces. In a rehearsal of actual custom the night watchman makes his midnight rounds and bids all householders hang out a lantern, look to their lock, their fire, and their light, "and so goodnight" (Brett 1967: 120, 125, 147). In a sense, the city could be heard whole once a day in the quiet of midnight, in the bell-man's rounds.

On ceremonial occasions there were attempts on a larger scale to hear the city whole. The installation of a new Lord Mayor, for example, gave foreign visitors a chance not only to see the city's visual randomness brought into processional order, but to hear its ordinary chaos of sounds brought into consonance. Music and the shooting of cannon provided the means. Lupold von Wedel, who witnessed such an event on October 29, 1584, records the sounds as well as the pageantry that accompanied the new mayor on his passage by river to Westminster and back again by land to the City. As the mayor stepped into the barge, "a salute of more than a hundred shots was fired, trumpets and musical instruments were heard from all the barges, and there was great rejoicing on the river as far as Westminster." Returning along the Strand, the mayor walked in a procession of several hundred men that was heralded by trumpeters and accompanied by sixteen additional trumpeters and four pipers (von Wedel 1895: 253–254). Busino, watching and hearing another Lord Mayor's installation thirty-three years later, notes the fired salutes and the flourishes from "trumpets, fifes, and other instruments" that marked the mayor's boarding his barge. "The oarsmen rowed rapidly with the flood tide, while the discharges of the salutes were incessant. . . . When the gay squadron had reached a certain point it received a salute from the sakers, which made a great echo. The compliment was repeated even more loudly when my Lord Mayor landed at the water stairs near the court of Parliament, on his way to take the oath before the appointed judges" (1995: 114). In the shrill of brass music and the echoing of ordnance Busino was experiencing a totalizing of the field of sound, an experience of sounds that possessed an acoustic profile broad enough and high enough to stretch to the very horizon of hearing.

Within that horizon there was also an attempt to give the city a unified voice. Between 1432 and 1604 the City of London witnessed no fewer than nine royal entries: those of Henry VI (1432), Katharine of Aragon (1501), Charles V (1522), Anne Boleyn (1533), Edward VI (1547), Mary (1553), Philip and Mary (1554), Elizabeth (1559), and James (1604). On each of these occasions the city became, in visual terms, a series of pageants at precisely the same places along precisely the same processional route. Some of the entries began at London Bridge, others at the Tower, but they all proceeded through

Gracechurch Street to Cornhill to Cheapside to St. Paul's. Some ended there; others continued through Fleet Street to Temple Bar at the city's western boundary. Pageants at fixed points along the route—usually at the conduit in Cornhill, at the Great Conduit, the cross, the Little Conduit in Cheapside, and at Paul's Cross—carried out one or another allegorical program, but always through a combination of tableaux and speeches. At the conduits the pageants often took thematic advantage of running water—or, as the case might be, of running wine. In these emblems-brought-to-life, the city was made to speak.

The most direct of these addresses occurred in Cheapside, usually at the standard or the cross, where the mayor and council were assembled and the city recorder made a speech. Elizabeth's entry in 1559 is altogether typical. At the eastern end of Cheapside there was a triumphal arch showing the eight beatitudes, flanked on each side by "a noyse of instruments." Further along, at the standard, there was another "noyse of trumpettes, with banners and other furniture." Near the cross, above the porch to St. Peter's Church, "stode the waites of the Citie, which did geve a pleasant noyse with their instrumentes as the Quenes Majestie did passe by." Finally at the western end of Cheapside, in front of the Little Conduit, the city recorder spoke for the city as a whole. Giving the queen a crimson satin purse filled with a thousand gold marks, the city recorder "did declare brieflie unto the Quenes Majestie; whose woordes tended to this ende, that the Lorde Maior, his brethren, and Comminaltie of the Citie, to declare their gladnes and good wille towardes the Quenes Majestie, dyd present her Grace with that golde, desyering her Grace to continue theyr good and gracious Quene, and not to esteme the value of the gift, but the mynd of the gevers." The dispersed sounds that usually rang out in Cheapside—gurgling water, groaning carts, jingling horses, chattering strollers, barking dogs, market vendors crying their wares—were composed into the harmonious sounds of music and oratory. On these rare occasions it was possible, in more ways than one, to hear the city whole. When the recorder had finished his speech, the queen made a brief reply, which moved in the crowd "a mervaylous showte" (Nichols 1823, 1: 46–49). From [o:] to speech to music to the total acoustic environment to [o:] the city comes full circle.

COUNTRY

To get our sonic bearings in the country, let us return to Kenilworth. The earliest surviving map of the Kenilworth estates, drawn by Thomas Harding in 1628 (now Public Record Office document M.R. 311), allows us to situate Robert Dudley and his neighbors in a

remarkably detailed soundscape. One of the prospects Wenceslas Hollar engraved for Sir William Dugdale's *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) raises Harding's plat into three dimensions. Hollar's viewpoint can be located on Harding's plat approximately at the point marked H (figs. 3.3 and 3.4). Taken together, the map and the view

Figure 3.3. (*above*) Map of Kenilworth Castle estates, based on a plat by Thomas Harding (Public Record Office document M.R. 311, 1628).

compose a landscape/soundscape that is specific to Kenilworth, representative of the Midlands as a region, and in its general features typical of early modern England as a whole. Most remarkable about the whole ensemble, perhaps, is the close proximity of castle and village. The spot marked 16 in Hollar's view shows "The houses in Kenilworth," ranged along the road to Warwick; the parish church, a former abbey, is indicated a short distance to the right, at the spot marked 17. On Harding's plat, which shows streams and field-boundaries but not roads, the village stands to the upper left of the church, at approximately the point where the field boundary abruptly curves to form a funnel-like opening.

Noble-born Dudley and his common neighbors may have lived their lives as members of distinct speech communities, but they inhabited a single soundscape. Indeed, Dudley had heightened the sense of connection between castle and village by building a new entrance to the castle on the northeast—labeled 11, "The great gatehouse," in Hollar's view—that gave direct access to the village and the road to Warwick (Salzman 1951: 137). On the other side of the castle, however, Dudley had consolidated his privacy by negotiating a land-swap with the villagers, wherein they gave up common land in the chase southwest of the castle in exchange for fields northeast of the castle, one of the parcels being "The priers feillds" in Harding's plat (W. Dugdale 1656: 165). In trying to distance himself from his country neighbors, on one side at least, Dudley was observing an architectural decorum that was new to the sixteenth century. At Woolaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, for example, Sir Francis Willoughby abandoned the old hall in the village and hired Robert

Figure 3.4. Wenceslas Hollar, view of Kenilworth Castle. From Sir William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656). Reproduced by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

Smythson to design an ostentatious new house on a hill some distance away (Girouard 1978: 248). Whatever Dudley may have done to assure visual segregation, he and his neighbors formed a single acoustic community. They heard the same keynote sounds; they recognized the same soundmarks.

On Harding's plat and in Hollar's prospect, the landscape around Kenilworth Castle presents three aspects, each of them possessing its own acoustic properties. To the left in Hollar's view, just beyond the village housetops, is a forest. In the foreground is a meadow, part of "the old park" of the Kenilworth estate. Beyond the castle walls to the left and right of the roofs of the village stretch cultivated fields. In its division into three kinds of land—woods, pasture, and "champian fields"—the Kenilworth landscape is typical of early modern England (St. Clare Byrne 1954: 102–122; Orwin 1967: 53–62; Thirsk 1984: 67). Warwickshire itself was divided into two regions by the River Avon. Northwest of the Avon, in the Forest of Arden, the land was mostly wooded; southeast of the Avon, in the area including Kenilworth, it was mostly under cultivation. All over the Midlands cattle-fattening was an increasingly profitable enterprise, prompting landowners to clear timber and to turn fields into pastures (Butlin 1979: 65–82; Roberts 1973: 188–231).

At Kenilworth, that landowner was Robert Dudley. He had been granted both of the local manors by gift of the queen in 1563 and 1564. Each had its own village and its own lands. The village, fields, and woods visible to the right in Hollar's view belonged to Castle Manor; southeast of the castle, behind the viewpoint in Hollar's prospect, was Abbey Manor, the village of which forms today the main part of the town of Kenilworth (Salzman 1951: 137). In a manuscript of the 1580s, Castle Manor is listed as worth £52 16s 4d per annum and Abbey Manor as worth £70 5s 5d per annum (HMC 1925: 302). Dudley collected this income in the form of fees and rents from his tenants, whose title to the land varied in security from "free-holders," who held virtual title over multiple generations, to lease-holders and copy-holders, who paid an annual rent, to small-holders, who mainly worked for others but had a plot for their own maintenance. In all cases, the tenants lived in the village and went out to work the land (St. Clare Byrne 1954: 102–222). Within the single acoustic community of Kenilworth there were, then, three population centers and three centers of human-produced sound: the castle, the village of Castle Manor, and the village of Abbey Manor.

The acoustic horizon within which those sounds were made and heard was even wider and deeper than in the city. Again, the absence of masking noises from internal combustion engines and electrical equipment would give intensity and presence to the keynote sounds:

wind in the trees, birds, domestic animals, and running water in the several streams Harding delineates and from the dam he shows above the mill pond. Water also spawns frogs, and frogs spawn croaks. "The noise of a Frogge is not great Iwis," Crooke observes, "yet what time they breede they may bee heard many miles out of the Isle of *Elie*" (1616: 694). The background of bird sounds would come not just from the melodious songsters beloved of pastoral poets but from raucous crows. About the former Dekker waxes conventionally eloquent in the encomium of country life he uses to offset the urban horrors of *The Belman of London:* "The melodye which the Birds made, and the varieties of all sorts of fruites which the Trees promised, with the pretty and harmelesse murmuring of a shallow streame, running in windings through the middest of it (whose noise went like a chime of Bels, charming the eyes to sleepe) put me in minde of that Garden whereof our great Grandsire was the keeper" (1616: B^v). For real inhabitants of the countryside, who had ploughing, sowing, and harvesting to do, birds—particularly cawing crows—were more than inducements to sleep. Of a ploughman Wye Salstonstall observes, "A whole flight of Crowes follow him for their food, and when they fly away they give him ill language" (1946: no. 7). Crows are much on Tusser's mind at harvest-time. "Kepe the corne from the crowes," he advises in September. And in November the pests are still cawing: "Except thou take good hede, when first they apere: / the crowes will be halfe, grow they neuer so nere" (1557: A4^v, B1^v). When it came to the country, crows were on the mind even of professional musicians in the city. Ravenscroft's *Melismata* includes under "Country Pastimes" the earliest recorded version of Child ballad number 26 (musical quotation 3.9). In subsequent stanzas the ravens spot a slain knight and contemplate eating him for breakfast, before a doe comes to the corpse's rescue and buries it. Crows, upstart or otherwise, are as assertive in sound as in behavior.

Day and night, summer and winter, domestic animals made their contribution to the soundscape. The Country-man in Nicholas Breton's dialogue *The Court and the Country* (1618) invokes "the Cowe lowing, the Eue bleating, & the Foale neighing" as providing more profitable and *pleasurable* music than the Courtier's "idle note and a worse ditty" (1868: 182). Barking dogs punctuated space and time. Frederic Gerschow, the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania's secretary, was astonished at the number of dogs he and his party saw, and presumably heard, in England in 1602. Here, he says, even "peasants" are able to hunt: "they keep fine big dogs, at little expense, for with a little money they can procure the heads, entrails, and feet of lambs and calves, which in England are always thrown away, with the exception of the tongue" (1892: 47). At least one of Tusser's *Hundreth Good*

Musical quotation 3.9

There were three Rauens sat on a tree, Downe a downe, hay down, hay downe. There were three Rauens sat on a tree, with a downe, There were three Rauens sat on a tree, they were as blacke as they might be, with a downe der-rie, der-rie, der-rie, downe, downe.

(Ravenscroft 1611: no. 21)

Pointes of Husbandrie concerns dogs. If you let your hogs go foraging in October, "giue eie to thy neighbour, and eare to his dogges" (1557: B1). Barking dogs will be ever at their canine rogations.

Against the ground formed by these keynote sounds, several soundmarks declare themselves in Harding's plat and Hollar's prospect: the bells of the two parish churches; the creaks and rattles of the mill; and the distinctive sounds of the different kinds of human activity going on in forest, meadow, and fields. About all of these sounds two things are clear, even at this distance: their audibility and their *legibility*. In an acoustic environment that, apart from barking dogs and the occasional gunshot, lacked any sounds above 60 decibels, all sounds would be present with an intensity quite beyond anything imaginable on the same site today. And in a close-knit social environment those sounds would never be anonymous. Whose dog just barked? Where did that whistle come from? Whom do I hear talking over there? Who might that be that I hear in the woods today? On audible evidence alone a resident of Kenilworth in 1575 would be able to give precise answers to such questions.

Against the background of wind, birds, water, and domestic animals, the sounds of human activity in the Kenilworth soundscape can be plotted in two dimensions: in space and in time. As acoustic spaces forest, meadow, and fields present three different physical conditions for the production and propagation of sound. Large tree

trunks without much undergrowth would form a relatively resonant space, potentially full of echoes. Meadowland, lacking any reflective surfaces, would form a relatively damped space. Fields, especially in their varied sixteenth-century configurations, would form a relatively damped space physically but a highly resonant space socially. Let us take the acoustic and social measure of each kind of land. Most textual witnesses see the forest as a place for hunting—just the use to which Dudley was putting the land when "the earning of the hoounds in continuans of their crie . . . the galloping of horsez, the blasting of hornz, the halloing and hewing of the huntsmen" gave way to the Savage Man's dialogue with Echo in 1575. The site of those events is to the left in Hollar's prospect. Saltonstall's character of a gamekeeper amplifies Langham's description of the Kenilworth hunt. To the ear of a gamekeeper, Saltonstall says, "The horne that affrightes other men, is his best musicke: he knowes the changes of the chase, and when a noted Deere is hunted, he windes his fall, and weepes at it. . . . He understands no chamber whispring, but drownes the winds with hallowing, and is answered backe in the same Language" (1631: F3–F3v).

Hunting is chief among the pleasures that recommend the country in a dialogue between *The English Courtier, and the Cu[n]trey-gentleman* (1586). Vincent, speaking for the country, distinguishes two modes of hunting, one that appeals to the eye and another that appeals to the ear: "bee it your will to hunt with your eye or eare, wee are ready for you as if you please to see with the eye. Wee course the Stagge, the Bucke, the Roa, the Doa, the Hare, the Foxe, and the Badger: Or if you would rather haue some Musicke to content your eare, out goes our dogges, our houndes (I should haue saide;) with them wee make a heauenly noise or cry, that would make a dead man reuiue, and run on foote to heare it" (Breton 1868: 54–55). Vincent, let it be noted, is a simple, downright countryman, the very antithesis of the courtier Valentine. According to Gerschow, the pleasures Vincent describes were available even to "peasants," thanks to the cheapness of keeping dogs fed in England (1892: 47). "O sweet woods, the delight of solitariness": descriptions like Vincent's make us wonder whether Sir Philip Sidney's famous poem testifies to a literary *topos* rather than to social topography.

By comparison with forests, pastures were relatively quiet places. Amid the lowing cows, bleating ewes, and neighing foals evoked by Breton there was only minimal need for a human presence. Saltonstall's character of a shepherd sets in place an isolated man of few words: "if any of his sheepe chance to transgresse the bounds of their sheepe-walke, he whistles out his dogge to fetch them in againe. . . .

To strangers hee's a living *Mercury*, & if he be layd, poynts them out their way with his foote, instead of his hand, and his knowledge seldome extends farther than the reach of his eye" (1631: D7^v–D8^v).

"Champian fields" present a far more complicated feature of the Kenilworth soundscape. Harding's plat makes a careful distinction between "common" fields and "inclosed" fields. A huge common appears just to the right of the woods on the middle right of the plat; in the lower left of this parcel an area is marked off from the rest, with the note "this inclosed." Harding likewise marks the difference between "free and copy holld" parcels, held by tenants under long-term agreements, and parcels not so marked, presumably worked by small-holders. "These are inclosed grounds free and copy hold" says the label on a thin parcel just to the left of the upper center. The huge tract of free and copy-held land in the lower right of the plat was presumably a common. Although it postdates Robert Dudley's lordship of the manor by forty years, Harding's plat nonetheless indicates the juxtaposition of different methods of farming—and hence of different patterns of sound—that characterized Kenilworth in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. "Open" fields and enclosed fields existed side by side, as did land held "in common" and land held "in severalty." The former is a physical distinction, the latter a legal distinction, and the two did not necessarily coincide (Butlin 1979: 65–82). Under the open-field system each tenant did not work his own separate plot but joined his neighbors in working fields that contained strips variously allotted to each of the workers. An individual worker's holdings were usually spread over several fields and sometimes changed from year to year, so that all the workers held a mixture of desirable and less desirable strips. Under the enclosed-field system each worker received his own parcel, which he could farm as he chose. If the workers held individual title to these enclosed fields, the land was said to be held "in severalty," but it was possible for workers to choose to divide up land held in common and to work it in individual parcels rather than in strips. Not all enclosures were carried out by landlords greedy for the larger profits of pasturage (Butlin 1979: 65–82; Orwin 1967: 30–52). In Warwickshire the region northwest of the Avon was much enclosed by 1600 and probably had never been held in common; southeast of the Avon, in the region including Kenilworth, perhaps a quarter of the arable land had been enclosed by 1607 (Butlin 1979: 65–82). Harding's plat seems to bear out these estimates.

Differences in farming methods made for differences in acoustic community. For a start, the open-field system put workers into close physical proximity to each other. Ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, grazing on the stubble—all of these activities had to go on at the same time for everybody. Ploughing, for example, required team work. Using a single plough, workers would do a day's ploughing in one part of the field—often representing one worker's strip—and then move on the next day to the next part of the field (Orwin 1967: 59). The length and width of a worker's allotted strips varied according to contours of the land and soil types, but in the Midlands individual strips seem to have been about 200 yards long by 26 feet wide (Roberts 1973: 188–231). Between the strips were grassy walks called "balks," just wide enough to give workers access to their individual strips (St. Clare Byrne 1954: 102–122). It was characteristic of the Midlands for one worker's strips to be divided up among two or three fields (Roberts 1973: 188–231).

The social consequence of open-field farming was—or could be—a strong sense of community. John Norden in *The Surueiors Dialogue* makes a pointed distinction between forests and open fields with respect to civility—or the lack thereof: "people bred amongst woods, are naturally more stubborne, and vnciuill, then in the Champion Countries" (1618: 221). As a prime example of the sense of community fostered by "Champion Countries" Norden cites the Vale of Taunton Deane in Somerset. There, he claims, all of the farming tasks are carried out by groups of people working in unanimity of spirit: "Their hearts, hands, eyes, and all other powers concurre in one, to force the earth to yeeld her vtmost fruit, and the earth againe in recompence of their loue to her, vouchsafeth them in incredible increase" (1618: 228–229). To hearts, hands, and eyes may be added lungs and throats. The sonic consequences of open-field farming were conversation, shouts, and song. Elsewhere Norden speaks of the view of harvest fields from Harrow-on-the-Hill as a sight at which the husbandman "cannot but clap his hands, for ioy, to see this vale, so to laugh and sing" (1593: 11). That Norden was not just being metaphorical is indicated by Paul Hentzner's encounter near Windsor with harvesters making their last trip in from the fields:

> As we were returning to our inn, we happened to meet some country people *celebrating their harvest home* [*spicilegia sua celebrantes*]; their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed, by which, perhaps, they would signify Ceres; this they keep moving about, while men and women, men and maid servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can till they arrive at the barn. (1901: 74)

Whether the dispersal of labor in the enclosed-field system encouraged such a sustained sense of acoustic community is, so to speak, an open question.

Sounds of human activity in the Kenilworth soundscape chart

not only geographical space but seasonal time. Textual witnesses most often cite music and dancing as markers of time in the country. "Every distinct time must bee accommodated to a severall tune," Brathwait says in his character of a piper: "Hee ha's a straine to inchant the sheepheard in his shearing; another for the husbandman in his reaping; in all which hee ha's a peculiar priviledge for gleaning" (1631: L10ᵛ). Of "A poore Fiddler" Earle observes, "A countrey wedding, & Whitson ale are the two maine places he dominiers in, where he goes for a Musician, and ouerlooks the Bag-pipe" (1629: E10). Breton's apologist for country life also puts music at the center of seasonal festivals, complete with "dauncing on the greene, in the market house, or about the May-poole." The dancers are happy to offer "a little reward of the Piper" (Breton 1868: 183). His reply is loud: "His *Stentors* voice stretcheth it self to the expression of a *largesse* upon receit of the least benevolence" (Brathwait 1631: L11). When spirits get out of hand, music turns into noise. Brathwait's Ruffian comes into his own on festival occasions, "at May-games, Wakes, Summerings, and Rush-bearings. . . . Hee will now and then for want of a better Subject to practise on, squabble with the *Minstrell*, and most heroically break his *Drone*, because the *Drone* cannot rore out his tune" (1631: G4ᵛ).

Music measures days, weeks, seasons, and years. At the end of the day the country alehouse might supplant the parish church as a soundmark: "They drinke here till their mirth and drinke fly out both together, the one in the Chimney and the other in drunken catches, till the streete ring againe, and every pot rises them a note higher" (Saltonstall 1631: E10ᵛ). On Sundays, depending on the tolerance of the local authorities, the churchyard itself might ring out with tabor and pipe and with the shouts of dancers. If challenged, the villagers might reply "tis an old custome, and therefore lawful" (Saltonstall 1946: no. 31). The character of "A Franklin" added to later editions of Overbury's *His Wife* takes the villagers' side in the politics of mirth: "Hee allowes of honest pastime, and thinks not the bones of the dead any thing bruised, or the worse for it, though the Countrey Lasses dance in the Church-yard after Euen-song. Rocke-Monday, and the Wake in Summer, shrouings, the wakefull ketches on Christmas Eue, the Hoky, or Seed-cake, these he yerely keeps, yet hold the[m] no reliques of Poperie" (1616: M4). Periodic fairs would draw peddlers from afar—and the villagers into a knot of noise. "T'would do you good," Saltonstall says of the local gentlewomen, "to heare them bargaine in their owne dialect." Hither too might come a ballad-seller, who "may be sooner heard heere than seene, for instead of the violl hee sings to the croud. If his Ballet bee of love, the countrey wenches

buy it, to get by heart at home, and after sing it over the milkepayles" (1631: E9). Music and dancing would also be inspired by once-a-year festivals: May games (Dekker 1963, 4: 22; Breton 1868: 183; Brathwait 1631: G4ᵛ), Whitsuntide ales (Earle 1629: E11; Brathwait 1631: L10ᵛ), sheep-shearing (Brathwait 1631: L12ᵛ), harvest-home (Tusser 1557: D1; Dekker 1963, 4: 22), and Christmas Eve (Overbury 1616: M4). By all accounts, harvest-home was the communal high point of the country year. It was also the occasion for bringing the outside sounds of spring and summer indoors for winter in the form of song. Tusser advises his husbandman,

> Then welcome by haruest folke, seruantes and all:
> with mirth and good chere, let them furnish thine hall.
> The haruest lorde nightly, must geue the a song:
> fill him then the blacke boll, or els he hath wrong.
>
> (1557: D1)

What Dering, Weelkes, Ravenscroft, Gibbons, and the anonymous composer do for the cries of the city Dering also does for the cries of the country. "Cries" is perhaps not quite the right word. To be sure, an itinerant pig- and sheep-gelder puts in a sonic appearance (musical quotation 3.10). And the country equivalent of the town crier sounds out his "O yes!" before summoning one and all to the town hall, where scholars of the free school will put on a play "Where shall be both a devil and a fool" (measures 144–169). What mostly catches Dering's ear, however, are the day-in, day-out sounds of country work, beginning with the neighbors waking one another up—"Jack, Jack, sleep'st or wak'st? Vast asleep, vather, 'cham vast a sleep" (measures 24–29)—and ending with harvest-home. In between come, first, barnyard sounds (musical quotation 3.11). Then come two long sequences of hunting sounds, punctuated by a farmer carrying beans to the court. The first hunt, in pursuit of a hare, includes hounds that

Musical quotation 3.10

Da poop! da poop! da poop, da poop, da
poop, da poop! ha' ye a - ny pigs or lambs to geld?

(Dering 170–178 in Brett 1967: 154–155)

Musical quotation 3.11

Tig, tig, tig, tig, tig, tig, tig; Coop,coop,coop,coop, coop, coop, coop. Bid-dy, bid-dy, bid-dy, bid-dy,

bid-dy, bid-dy, bid-dy, bid-dy,

Ho mal, ho mal, ho mal, ho mal, ho mal, ho mal, ho!

(Dering 38–47 in Brett 1967: 149–150)

go "Yebble, yabble, yebble, yabble, yebble, yabble," horns that go "Ta ra re ro, ta ra re ro," and people that go "Now Wat, Wat, Wat, Wat, look well unto thy scut" (measures 48–90). The second hunt, in pursuit of a partridge, includes not only dogs but whirring hawks (measures 117–140). Just before harvest-home comes a communal effort to induce Mother Crab's bees to hive. "Buzz, buzz, buzz, buzz" drones the bass, while the treble and tenor voices twitter, "Ring out your kettle of purest metal to settle, to settle the swarm of bees" (measures 179–194). The communal effort is an ensemble effort: all five voices sing at once and continue singing together right through the harvest-home to the end. Among the city cries only Gibbons—not even Dering—has different voices singing different texts all at the same time.

Along the arc from [o:] to speech to music to environmental sound to [o:], the sounds of the country occupy a different place from the sounds of the city. At least in the ears of professional musicians like Ravenscroft and Dering and of character-book writers like Saltonstall and Brathwait, the country soundscape is as full of music and environmental sound as speech. At one point in his "country cries" Dering gives up speech altogether for phatic cries and whistles (musical quotation 3.12). In [hei] [ho:] [dzi:] [ri:] [ho:] the singer swoops all the way round the circle: boundaries between speech, music, environmental sound, and the primal [o:] become impossible to mark. Dogs, crows, pigs, sheep, bees, and men bark, caw, grunt, bleat, buzz, and speak within the same acoustic horizon. As Brathwait observes of "A plaine Country Fellow," "He expostulates with his Oxen very vnderstandingly, and speakes Gee and Ree better then English" (1631: F3v).

Musical quotation 3.12

Hey - ho! (whistle ....) Gee, gee! (whistle ....

....................) Ree, hut, hut, hut, ho! (whistle ....)

(Dering 91–100 in Brett 1967: 151–152)

COURT

Along with the Tower of London, Westminster Abbey, and perhaps Oxford and Cambridge, the person of the monarch was something foreign visitors of noble or gentle birth were expected to see while they were in England. Princes and ambassadors might receive a private audience, but the plan for gentlemen was to show up on a Sunday wherever the court happened to be. By gaining admittance to the presence chamber, a visitor could at least see the monarch on her way to chapel or to dinner even if he could not speak with her directly. Lupold von Wedel managed that feat at Hampton Court, on Sunday, October 18, 1584. Two months later at Greenwich he was lucky enough to be present on one of the festival occasions when Elizabeth dined publicly. On this occasion he not only *saw* the protocols of court life; he *heard* them. Queen Elizabeth was surrounded by her courtiers, whom von Wedel delights in identifying and gossiping about. "It is the queen's habit," he says, "to call one of them to her and to converse with him. When she does so, he has to kneel until she orders him to rise. When they leave the queen, they have to bow down deeply, and when they have reached the middle of the room they must bow down a second time." After dinner, the queen "took the son of a count by his mantle and stepped with him to a bow window, where he knelt before her and held a long conversation with her. When he had left her, she took a gentleman, who also knelt down on his knees and spoke with her, after him she called a countess, who knelt down to her in the same manner as the gentleman." During the dancing that followed, Elizabeth continued to call certain courtiers to come and talk with her.

> The queen, as long as the dance lasted, had ordered old and young persons to come and converse with her, who, as I have mentioned, were all obliged to kneel on their knees before her. She talked to them in a

> very friendly manner, making jokes, and to a captain named *Ral* she pointed with her finger in his face, saying he had some uncleanness there, which she even intended to wipe off with her handkerchief. He, however, prevented her and took it away himself. It was said that she loved this gentleman now in preference to all others; and that may be well believed, for two years ago he was scarcely able to keep a single servant, and now she has bestowed so much upon him, that he is able to keep five hundred servants. (1895: 263–265)

How von Wedel managed to hear what was said in this particular exchange is not altogether certain, since his report makes it clear that Elizabeth tried to take absolute control of the acoustic environment: she managed to hold everyone's visual attention at the same that she eluded their auditory curiosity. Bay windows, as Lena Orlin has pointed out, were, along with gardens, one of the few places in the built environment of early modern England where two people could expect to carry on a private conversation without being overheard (Orlin 1994). Music would handily have masked the queen's conversations while dancing was in progress.

The eagerness of the entire room to hear what the queen might be saying is indicated by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar's secretary, who records how the duke was received by James at Theobalds in September 1613. When the duke began to address James in Latin, "the Earls and Lords crowded round to hear what his Highness said" (von Rammsla 1865: 150). According to the Venetian ambassador's chaplain, who witnessed a similar meeting between his own master and King James in December 1617, public interviews were *supposed* to be overheard. The contrast, for the Venetians, came sometime later in a private audience with Queen Anne: "it was remarked that all the bystanders drew aside, without listening to every word, as at the public interviews with the king and prince" (Busino 1995: 128). At Greenwich in December 1584 Queen Elizabeth was playing a political game with well established rules. On other occasions she could certainly speak loud enough for all to hear. When she received the Duke of Würtemberg-Mömpelgard at Reading in 1592, the duke's secretary records, the queen "conversed with him on various subjects, and that openly and aloud, so that any in the apartment might understand" (Rathgeb 1865: 11–13). At Greenwich she had other ends in view. Ultimately, however, the acoustics of the room favored neither side in the game. The courtiers may not have been able to hear what the queen was saying to the privileged few, but neither could the queen hear what the rest of the courtiers might be saying about *her.* Hence von Wedel's success in finding out all the gossip about Captain "Ral" but not quite hearing Sir Walter Raleigh's name aright.

One way or another, the monarch remained the focus of court discourse. Dekker, speaking in the person of Westminster, imagines the court as a pyramid with the monarch at the top: "The first and *Capitall Columne* (on which leanes all my strength) is a *Pyramides,* whose point reaches vppe to the Starres: whilest that stands in mine eye, I behold a Maiesty, equall to *Ioves*" (1963, 4: 23). Within the presence chamber the monarch's centrality took shape as a chair. When the monarch occupied the chair of state, every ear hung on what she said. When she was away from the chair, the space still commanded obeisance. Several of the travelers, waiting for the monarch to appear, remark the way servants bowed to the chair of state even in the monarch's absence (Platter 1937: 194–195; Hentzner 1901: 49–50; Valdśstejna 1981: 81). Once the monarch appeared, her centrality was marked by the kneeling or (in the case of princes) the bowing of everybody else (Platter 1937: 193; Hentzner 1901: 48; Gerschow 1892: 51–53; von Wedel 1895: 250, 264–265). In the very act of speaking to her a suitor lowered the sound of his own voice, physically if not physiologically, and elevated hers. "I am told," Platter says, "that they even play cards with queen in kneeling posture" (Platter 1937: 193). Another mark of Queen Elizabeth's vocal superiority was her command of any language a visitor was likely to speak. As Hentzner describes her appearance in the presence chamber at Greenwich, her visual splendor was amplified by her linguistic bravura:

> As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign Ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian; for, besides being well skilled in Greek, Latin, and the languages I have mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch. Whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling; now and then she raises some with her hand. . . . Wherever she turned her face, as she was going along, everybody fell down on their knees.

From the masses of people waiting with petitions outside the hall Elizabeth received the acclamation *"God save the quene Elisabeth"*; her reply, in Hentzner's phonetic English, was *"I thanoke you myn good peupel"* (Hentzner 1901: 48–49; Hentzner 1612: 136). Within the soundscape of the early modern court, the monarch stood as the chief soundmark.

The protocols of speech in the early modern court were made visible as protocols of space. Busino, describing the Venetian ambassador's audiences with King James, Queen Anne, and Prince Charles at Whitehall in December 1617, notes precisely how far into the room the ambassador ventured on each occasion and how far the royal personage advanced to meet him. In all three instances the ambassa-

dor and his party had to pass through a succession of outer rooms. When they reached James in his presence chamber, the ambassador made his way through the crowd with some difficulty. "However[,] he obtained room to make the due obeisances. When he reached the centre of the chamber, his Majesty rose from his seat and came to the edge of the royal platform." The ambassador mounted two steps, presented his credentials, and carefully limited his talk, "having previously acquainted himself with the king's humour, who does not relish long speeches, as he is ever intent upon his hunting and enjoying the society of those dearest to him." The contrast with Elizabeth's strategic ways with speech is striking. Similar proprieties were observed during the ambassador's audience with the queen: "After his Excellency had made the proper number of bows, at the right distances, her Majesty rose from her seat and came to meet the mystic lion as far as the extremity of the dais." The prince, in his reception of the ambassador, "advanced as far as the last step beyond the canopy" (Busino 1995: 124–129).

The logic of space in royal palaces was dictated by just such occasions as these. From the medieval plan of a great hall with a single, more private chamber beyond had evolved the sequence of rooms that was to be found at Whitehall, Greenwich, Nonsuch, Hampton Court, and other royal residences. An outer or guard chamber gave access to the presence chamber, beyond which lay first the privy chamber, then a withdrawing room, and finally the royal bedchamber. The move from outer chamber at one end of the sequence to bedchamber at the other was a move, by degrees, toward more and more exclusive access to the monarch's person (Baillie 1967: 169–199; Girouard 1978: 110–116). The door between presence chamber and privy chamber constituted the most important threshold. Into the presence chamber might come all manner of people: courtiers, ambassadors, even foreign travelers like Platter and Hentzner. Beyond the presence chamber only the select few—the ever more select few as the bedchamber grew closer—might pass. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, for example, made it as far as the first room beyond the presence chamber when he was received by James at Theobalds in September 1613 (Rathgeb 1865: 150). When the Venetian ambassador was granted a private audience with Queen Anne at Whitehall, Busino and other lesser-ranking members of the party were left waiting, "stopped by the tacit intimation *non plus ultra*," while the ambassador proceeded onward "by stairs and unknown passages, which I fancy are not even visited by the sun" (Busino 1995: 130). Waiting was just what the whole scheme was designed to accommodate. Life at court, from the monarch's standpoint, was a round of appearing, speaking,

and withdrawing; from the courtier's standpoint, of waiting, listening, and rumoring.

"Discourse & conversation," declares Thomas Gainsford, are "the principall end of a courtiers life" (Gainsford 1616: 20v). What else is there, after all, for a lady-in-waiting or a gentleman-of-the-chamber to *do* in between withdrawals and appearances of the monarch? And what else should they talk about but the monarch and each other? The nature of courtly talk is suggested by the "Necessary Notes for a Courtier" Nicholas Breton appends to his dialogue *The Court and the Country* (1618):

> *Q.* What are most dangerous in a Courtier?
> *A.* To bee inquisitiue of Occurrents, to reueale Secrets, to scorne Counsaile, and to murmur at Superiority.
> *Q.* What things are most profitable to a Courtier?
> *A.* A sharpe wit and a quicke apprehension, a smoth speech, and a sound memory. (1868: 209)

Breton indicates here two modes of speaking at court: private whispers and public performance. Knowing just when to deploy "smoth speech" and when "to reueale Secrets, to scorne Counsaile, and to murmur at Superiority" was a thing most requisite in courtiers.

The built environment of the court facilitated these alternations between loud speech and soft speech, between declamation and rumor. With the exception of Nonsuch, it was not the grandiosity of the royal residences that impressed foreign visitors to England but their intricacy. Visitors were escorted through a long succession of rooms full of curiosities. About the treasures of Whitehall the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania's secretary is appropriately awed. About the edifice itself he is less impressed: "The lodgements in this palatio are almost all low, and constructed with many recesses after the monkish way of building" (Gerschow 1892: 23). Busino, visiting the same palace fifteen years later, is even more emphatic: "The palace is not remarkable in itself except for its size, as in case of need it could accommodate more than 600 persons" (1995: 123). About Greenwich he makes a similar comment: "The palace is very large, big enough indeed to accommodate the whole court, but it is not very well arranged, having originally been a monastery" (1995: 161). What Busino implies about both Greenwich and Whitehall is a series of small spaces clustered around a few large spaces. A ground-plan of Whitehall made in 1670 confirms Busino's description (fig. 3.5). Having as its nucleus Cardinal Wolsey's confiscated palace York House, Whitehall was not through-designed but built up over the years by the piecemeal addition of new buildings. Hollar's prospect of c. 1647 gives the impres-

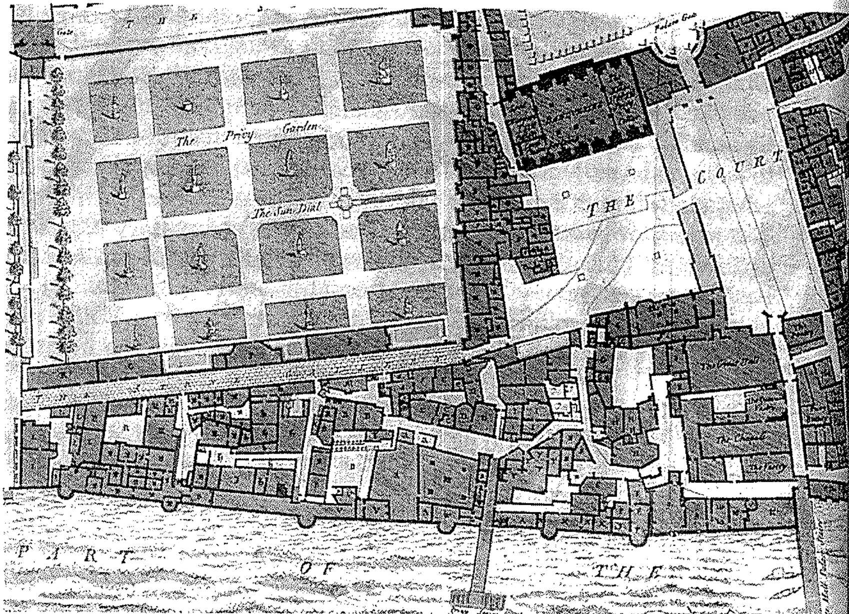

Figure 3.5. Detail of groundplan of Whitehall Palace (1670). Reproduced by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

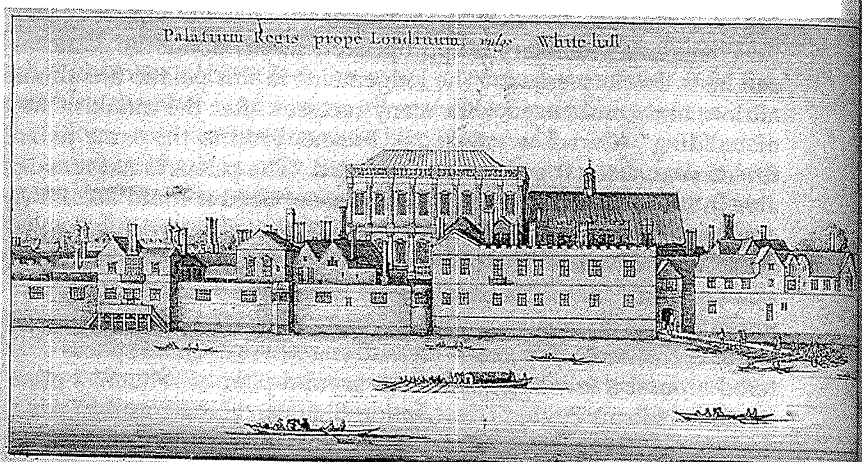

Figure 3.6. Wenceslas Hollar, view of Whitehall Palace (c. 1647). Reproduced by permission of Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

sion of scores of small houses that happen to be joined together (fig. 3.6). Most ranges are just two storys tall and present a façade of narrow gables between chimneys (G. Dugdale 1950: 11–53; LCC 1930: 10–139).

Inside Whitehall four sorts of spaces presented themselves to a visitor: courts, long galleries, large ceremonial chambers, and smaller rooms. Each of these spaces had its own social functions—and its own acoustic properties. Like most grand houses in Tudor England, Whitehall was built around a series of courts. Two of these open spaces figure prominently in the detail from the 1670 plan: the Privy Garden to the left and the space labeled "The Court" just to the right of center. The first space, described by von Wedel as "a grass plot surrounded by broad walks below and above, enabling many persons to promenade there," afforded a place for whisperings. The second space, known in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as the "Sermon Court" or the "Preaching Court," was, by contrast, a place for declamation. Von Wedel describes an outdoor pulpit with a sounding board above it and notes that when the queen commanded outdoor preaching the court as well as the windows round about would be full of auditors (1895: 236).

On two sides of the Privy Garden long galleries, a major feature of Tudor and early Stuart country houses, afforded pleasurable indoor walks while at the same time giving access to other ranges of the palace. "The Stone Gallery" is indicated on the ground plan; above it was the "Long Gallery" or "Matted Gallery." At right angles to these two galleries, running along the first floor was the "Privy Gallery." The "Shield Gallery," one of the sights seen by all foreign visitors, ran along the river front above the Privy Stairs. Especially in the recesses provided by bay windows these extraordinarily long and narrow rooms afforded some measure of privacy—and an acoustic space for rumor.

The large ceremonial chambers of Whitehall were situated between the Preaching Court and the river in the block containing spaces labeled "The Great Hall" and "The Chapell." Since most of the ceremonial chambers were on the first floor, not the ground floor, they do not figure in the 1670 plan. Nonetheless, verbal descriptions and works accounts situate the sequence of Outer Chamber, Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Withdrawing Room, and Bedchamber in an L-shaped area that begins on the river side of the Preaching Court, above the room labeled "The Kings Gallery," proceeds counterclockwise above the rooms labeled G and H, and ends in the range along the river front (LCC 1930: 10–139). It was through this sequence of rooms, as far as the Presence Chamber—as far as the *second* step of the dais in the Presence Chamber—that the Venetian ambassador

made his way in 1617. Although outside the series, and less important than it once had been, the Great Hall continued to be used for court functions like plays and banquets. Banqueting houses provided another site for major gatherings and major sound events. A succession of more or less temporary buildings gave way in 1619–22 to Inigo Jones's permanent structure, shown on the opposite side of the Preaching Court from the state rooms. Finally, the Chapel Royal near the Great Hall accommodated aural events of two distinctive kinds: singing and preaching. Taken altogether, the large ceremonial rooms of Whitehall Palace functioned as centers of both social activity and sound—the court equivalent to Cheapside, the Exchange, St. Paul's, and the amphitheaters of the South Bank. In such spaces interplay between declamation and rumor was at its most complicated.

Rumor held greater sway in the fourth kind of space, the warren of smaller rooms used for courtiers' lodgings, offices, and service activities. The 1670 ground plan shows these rooms as they were configured during the reign of Charles II: small, dispersed, enclosed. All three qualities are caught by the early modern term for such spaces when they were used as lodgings: "closets." Not all followers of the court were fortunate enough to have such a room. Hentzner at Greenwich and Rathgeb at Reading mention tents being used as temporary lodgings (Hentzner 1901: 46, Rathgeb 1865: 14). In Gainsford's image, the life of "a meaner courtier" resembles that of "Humble-bees"—note the pun—"which flie abroad the pleasant fields all day, and then retire to a cowshard at night: so they frequent the pallace, and sometimes are in presence of the King; but how they lie and rest in their lodging, it is pittiful to relate, and barnes & stables are good resting places" (1616: 19v–20).

The accumulated evidence about the late Tudor and early Stuart court—travelers' accounts, character writings, the 1670 ground plot of Whitehall Palace—defines a built environment sharply differentiated into grand open spaces and small enclosed spaces. Those architectural spaces find their social correlatives in declamation and rumor, their acoustic correlatives in loud and soft. Courts and ceremonial chambers constitute the first sort of space; lodgings and service rooms the second. Galleries seem to have functioned as a combination of the two: the long room itself presented a large open space, but recesses along the window side offered small, relatively enclosed spaces. The contrast between loud and soft would have been heightened by the furnishings travelers noticed in their rounds of England's royal palaces. Platter, Hentzner, Gerschow, and Busino were all struck by the peculiarly English custom of strewing the floor with loose straw, Busino specifying that it was "very deep." Only where the queen was to walk, Platter observes, were carpets laid

down. Gershow noticed not loose straw but plaited straw mats (Platter 1937: 192; Hentzner 1901: 46; Gerschow 1892: 23; Busino 1995: 124). Hence, probably, the "Matted Gallery" at Whitehall. These floor coverings—especially in combination with the tapestries Platter and Hentzner noted on the walls—would serve to damp the ambient sound.

Such a muffling effect helps us to understand why Platter and Busino would notice not just the presence of elaborate clocks among the royal treasures but the kinds of sounds those clocks made in striking the hours (Platter 1937: 203–204; Busino 1995: 127). The damping of ambient sound also suggests that the virginals, positive organs, and mechanical music boxes the travelers saw were intended to be heard as well as seen. Von Wedel claims that at Whitehall, "Almost in every room there was a musical instrument with silver-gilt ornaments and lined with velvet" (1895: 237). Velvet, let it be noted, is also a damping material. The uses to which these instruments might be put is suggested by the amorous songs that make up the "Court Varieties" section in Ravenscroft's *Melismata.* Rathgeb, in the privileged company of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, actually got to hear the queen perform on the virginals: during what seems to have been a private audience the French ambassador "so far prevailed upon her that she played very sweetly and skilfully on her instrument, the strings of which were of gold and silver." Platter saw the same or a similar instrument at Hampton Court (Rathgeb 1865: 12; Platter 1937: 203–204). The relative quiet implied on these occasions may have extended to the outdoors. At Greenwich, Busino remarks an aviary "situated at the end of some flower beds, not very far from the palace, and purposely, so that the song of these numerous warblers may be heard there" (Busino 161). Splashing fountains were famous features of the gardens at Greenwich and Nonsuch (Platter 1937: 191; Hentzner 1901: 78; Busino 1995: 161); an indoor fountain graced the "Privy Gallery" in Whitehall during James's early reign (G. Dugdale 1950: 51). Within an environment muted by rushes, carpets, mats, tapestries, and velvet covers, certain keynote sounds emerge in the soundscape of the court: running water, birds, striking clocks.

Quiet at court was very much, however, a sometime thing. Platter, Hentzner, and the rest were able to tour the palaces and hear the clocks precisely because the court happened not to be in residence. When the court actually inhabited a building, the soundscape would have been dramatically altered. Six hundred people talking—even in small, dispersed, enclosed rooms—would have added murmuring voices to the keynote sounds. When the court gathered together in the presence chamber, in the preaching court, or in the great hall, diffuse keynote sounds would have yielded place to concentrated,

high-volume sounds. Beyond the natural effect of so many people talking at once was the aesthetic effect of the loudest possible music. Platter, Hentzner, and von Wedel all describe the playing of music—*brass* music—before and after dinner. Eight trumpeters clad in red called the assembly to dinner while von Wedel looked on at Hampton Court in 1584. Afterward two drummers and a piper "made music according to the English fashion" (1865: 251). At Greenwich in 1598 Hentzner remembers that while dinner was being brought in "twelve trumpets and two kettledrums made the hall ring for half an hour together" (1901: 51). Platter specifies trumpets and shawms as after-dinner entertainment at Nonsuch in 1599 (1937: 195). The totalizing effect of brass music outdoors has already been remarked with respect to the Lord Mayor's procession; indoors, even when damped with tapestries, rushes, and layers of clothing, brass music would have ranked second only to cannon fire as the loudest sound imaginable.

In such moments of totalized sound the acoustic horizons of the court—usually multiple and eccentric—contracted to the confines of a single room: rumor gave place to declamation. On certain other occasions there were more sophisticated attempts to speak for the court in a unified voice. The court equivalent to city pageants and country harvest-home festivals was masques. Plays might be hired in from professionals like the King's Men; masques, like their city and country counterparts, were performed, in large part, by the inhabitants of the soundscape themselves. As in the city and the country, the primary medium for achieving acoustic unity was music, and for precisely the same reason: music modulates between speech and environmental sound.

A particularly eloquent instance is Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones's "Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue," which Busino witnessed in company with the Venetian ambassador on Twelfth Night, January 6, 1618. The venue was one of the most resonant spaces in all of Whitehall Palace. Constructed in 1606 to replace a decaying relic of Elizabeth's reign, the first Jacobean banqueting house was a wooden theater fitted out within a brick box. Occupying the same site on the 1670 plan as the banqueting house erected by Jones in 1619–22, the structure burned a year after the performance of "Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue." Busino, who had to wait for two hours for the king to arrive, had plenty of time to survey the ranks of boxes, the superimposed colonnades of Doric and Ionic columns, nine to a side, set about six feet in from the wall, and the deeply coffered ceiling, complete with carved pendants and thirty *putti.* "The whole is of wood," Busino notes, "including even the shafts, which are carved and gilt with much skill" (1995: 137; Charlton 1964: 15–16). The result of so much vibrating wood and

so many reflective surfaces in an area about forty feet by ninety feet would have been an intensely "live" ambience—all the more so when filled with, by Busino's estimate, more than six hundred people all talking at once. What silenced them was the king's entry, announced by fifteen or twenty cornets and trumpets playing "a sort of recitative" (1995: 139). The aural assault continued in Jonson and Jones's masque, which is scripted to open with an apparition of Comus "to a wild Musique of *Cimbals Flutes, & Tabers.*" A song sung by Hercules' bowl-bearer—"*Roome, roome, make roome for yᵉ* bouncing belly, / first father of Sauce, & deuiser of gelly"—fills the room not so much with music as with noises of bodily excess. "I know it is now such a time as the *saturnalls* for all the world," the Bowl-Bearer exclaims, "that every man stands vnder the eaves of his owne hat; & sings what please him, that's the ryte, & yᵉ libertie of it." He himself has seized the occasion by singing something appropriate to the belly, something that can be measured in yards of gut: "a Ballad, and yᵉ Belly worthie of it I must needs say, and 'twere forty yards of ballad, more: as much ballad as tripe." The primal [o:] in this case issues from an orifice other than the mouth: "Beware of dealing wᵗʰ yᵉ belly, the belly will not be talkd to, especially when he is full: there is no venturing vpon *Venter* then; he will blow yoᵘ all vp: he will thunder, indeed la: Some in derision call him the father of farts: But I say he was yᵉ first inventoʳ of great ordynance: and taught vs to discharge 'em on feastivall daies" (Jonson 1925–63, 7: 479–481). The antimasque that is scripted to follow, a dance of a tun and bottles, was accompanied, according to Busino, by the same blaring cornets and trumpets that had announced the king's entry (1995: 140).

Jonson does not explicitly say so, but blown instruments were proverbial in Platonic lore for their gutsiness, their mindlessness, their distance from *logos.* By contrast, stringed instruments admitted the possibility of the singing human voice. It was the varying lengths of the strings, proportionate to the mathematical principles of the universe, that allowed arche-poets like Apollo and Orpheus to charm the material world (Smith 1979: 81–108). Hence, perhaps, the twenty-five to thirty viols Busino specifies as accompanying the dancing of Prince Charles, the Marquis of Buckingham, and ten other nobles when they appear to dispel the figures of the antimasque. Hence, certainly, the instrument carried by the singing figure of Daedalus, who joins Mercury in presiding over the masque proper. The detail does not appear in Jonson's script, but Busino describes Daedalus (without catching his precise identity) as "a guitar player [*un Chittarone*] in a gown, who sang some trills, accompanying himself with his instrument" (1995: 141; Jonson 1925–63, 10: 583). What Daedalus invites the noble performers to do is to dance an emblem of cosmic

accord. That is something that happens in space, in vision; it also happens in time, in sound. Gesturing toward the ladies waiting to be asked to dance, Daedalus articulates the arresting idea that music and dance might supply the place of "those silent arts . . . Designe & Picture":

Begin, begin; for looke, ye faire
do longing listen, to what aire
you forme your second touch,
that y^ei^ may vent y^eir^ murmuring hymnes
iust to the tune you moue your limbes,
and wish y^eir^ owne were such.
(Jonson 1925–63, 7: 489)

In effect, Daedalus asks the dancers and their audience not just to *see* cosmic accord but to *hear* it. (What Inigo Jones thought of this moment is not recorded.) The primal farts of Comus and his crew, the speeches of Mercury, the music of strings and voices, the harmony of the spheres are subsumed into ○. Busino's description of the nobles' dancing catches this quality of constancy in mutability. The dancers, he notes, made their entrance in the formation of a pyramid: "After they had made an obeisance to his Majesty, they began to dance in very good time, preserving for a while the same pyramidical figure, and with a variety of steps. Afterwards they changed places with each other in various ways, but ever ending the jump together" (1995: 141–142). Whatever dilations they may have performed, they came full circle: they ended as they had begun.

Amid the profusion of sounds, the king remained not only the chief audience but the chief soundmark. He made his aural presence felt. Once the masquers had claimed their partners among the ladies, Busino reports, the nobles proceeded to perform dances of every country imaginable: "Last of all they danced the Spanish dance, one at a time, each with his lady, and being well nigh tired they began to lag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient and shouted aloud Why don't they dance? What did they make me come here for? Devil take you all, dance." The Marquis of Buckingham rose brilliantly to the occasion: "Upon this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his Majesty's favourite, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and very minute capers, with so much grace and agility that he not only appeased the ire of his angry lord, but rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody." Afterward, says Busino, the king rewarded Buckingham "with marks of extraordinary affection, patting his face" (1995: 142–143). Jonson's script ends the whole affair by commanding the masquers to return whence they came, to a mountain crowned with the figures of Virtue and Pleasure. First Mercury and then "2. *trebles*, 2. *tenors*, *a base*, and ye whole Chorus" remind the masquers that they were sent forth to "walk" with Pleasure, not to "dwell" (Jonson 1925–64, 7: 490–491). Outside the fiction, the evening ended rather differently. According to Busino, the king, the ambassadors, and the performers left the banqueting house, passed through a number of chambers, and entered a hall where waited a table laden with seasoned pasties and sugar confections, all served on glass platters. On these blandishments for the belly the whole party descended like so many harpies. The table collapsed. The last sound Busino records is the crash of glass, reminding him "precisely of a severe hailstorm at mid-summer smashing the window glass" (1995: 143).