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# The (Lost) Tune of ‘Raging Love’ and Its Reverberations in Isabella Whitney’s *Copy of a Letter*

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## Abstract:

This article argues that Isabella Whitney’s verse epistles ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition’ from *The Copy of a Letter* (c. 1566–67) are enmeshed more thoroughly in the early modern English soundscape than previous criticism has tended to acknowledge. Seeking to enrich current understandings of Whitney’s confluences, this article first examines the vibrant musical sphere in which *The Copy of a Letter*’s printer-publisher Richard Jones was demonstrably immersed before moving on to explore the more specific implications of an acoustically evocative allusion to ‘Raging Love’ (a now-lost Elizabethan ballad melody) in the opening lines of ‘The Admonition’.

## Keywords:

Isabella Whitney, Richard Jones, *The Copy of a Letter*, ballads, ‘Raging Love’

‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition by the Auctor to All Yong Gentilwomen and to Al Other Maids Being in Love’ were printed side by side in *The Copy of a Letter*, a slim anthology of lyrics dating to c. 1566–67.<sup>1</sup> These two mythologically allusive verse missives, both the work of Isabella Whitney, function as a paired set presented in the continuous voice of a single forsaken woman. Whereas, in the first, this persona narrates her distress upon learning that her erstwhile lover has abandoned her to marry another, in the second she draws on her alleged experience to offer other young women the ‘good counsell’ needed to combat the ‘fained lies’ and ‘flattering tonges’ of insincere wooers (and thus, presumably, to avoid a romantic fate similar to her own).<sup>2</sup> Existing studies of *The Copy of a Letter*’s generic affiliations have usually focused on the collection’s epistolary veneer. Following the lead taken by Ann Rosalind Jones in her 1990 monograph *The Currency of Eros*, critics have tended to view Whitney’s verse letters as products of the page and explicit

responses to ‘the newly fashionable mode of Ovid’s *Heroides*, in which the Roman poet represented attempts by seduced and abandoned heroines to reclaim the men who had betrayed them’.<sup>3</sup> In practice, this means that *The Copy of a Letter* is often read more or less exclusively against Ovid’s ancient amatory epistles and/or George Turberville’s c. 1566–67 English translations of these pieces. Relatively little sustained consideration has been given to the intertextual – and intermedial – relationships of *The Copy of a Letter* with other Tudor works or to its engagements with indirect channels of classical inheritance.

While I by no means seek to diminish the appreciable generic resemblances between Whitney’s verse letters and the female-voiced laments of Ovid’s *Heroides*, this study aims to enrich current understandings of Whitney’s confluences: I argue that ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition’ are enmeshed more thoroughly in the contemporary English soundscape of the 1560s than previous criticism has tended to acknowledge.<sup>4</sup> My analysis is attuned not only to what has been called ‘the fluidity with which poems could move between literary and musical forms’ in the early Elizabethan era, but also to the idea that ballads, in particular, can ‘be imagined as part of an enormous interconnected matrix of meanings’ that involves non-textual as well as textual cues and signifiers.<sup>5</sup> In what follows, I first locate *The Copy of a Letter* within the vibrant early modern musical sphere in which its printer-publisher was demonstrably immersed. Following from this, I proceed to examine the more specific implications of a moment at the outset of ‘The Admonition’ wherein Whitney invokes ‘Raging Love’, a widely disseminated – yet now regrettably lost – sixteenth-century ballad melody. In so doing, I ask how Whitney’s poetry in *The Copy of a Letter* might reverberate with ‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’ and ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’, two mid-Tudor pieces that were sung to this tune.<sup>6</sup>

## **Ballads and Miscellanies**

Following Richard Jones's admission to London's Company of Stationers in mid-1564, he commenced an industrious career as a printer, publisher, and bookseller that would span nearly five decades. Just one in a remarkably long line of lyric anthologies and miscellanies solely or collaboratively produced by this stationer – a list that also features such titles as *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, *The Paradise of Daynty Devices*, *The Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, and *The Arbor of Amorous Devises* – *The Copy of a Letter* was among his earliest outputs. Although Jones is known to have printed and/or published an unusually high proportion of what we would now recognise as capital-L Literature, including works by Thomas Lodge and Christopher Marlowe, Kirk Melnikoff's biographical and bibliographical work on this stationer has shown that he habitually produced 'a variety of material in order to best exploit the developing eclectic market for print'.<sup>7</sup> Initially working from a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, Jones made his first entry into the Stationers' Register in 1564–65 and was duly licensed to print 'a ballet intituled *Spoyled in synnes o Lorde a wretched synnful gooste*'.<sup>8</sup> This marked the beginning of Jones's longstanding specialisation in broadside ballads, which have been identified as 'a staple of his career'.<sup>9</sup> The scholarship of Tessa Watt has demonstrated that '[i]n the early Elizabethan years, most of the stationers of London dealt in the occasional ballad', yet the scale of Jones's work in this area was exceptional.<sup>10</sup> Surviving records indicate that he ultimately registered, according to Watt's count, '164 separate titles...', not including 123 entered in 1586 which were listed on a sheet of paper now lost'.<sup>11</sup>

In 'Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies, and the Lyric in Print', a key study of the hazy distinctions between the ballad and the lyric in mid-Tudor print culture, Eric Nebeker has persuasively posited that the 'crossover between broadside ballads and miscellanies runs deeper than the metrical forms and musicality'.<sup>12</sup> Remarking that, especially in the

anthologies of poetry produced prior to 1580 (after which date ‘the miscellany market’ increasingly ‘sift[ed] out ballads’), ‘differences between their use of meter, themes, and even topics are often simply matters of presentation’, Nebeker devoted considerable space to assessing the early works printed and published by Jones.<sup>13</sup> Illustrative of Jones’s general tendency to draw from his own considerable stock of ballads when populating the pages of his lyric anthologies is *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*. This collection was first licensed as ‘a boke intituled of *very pleasant Sonettes and storyes in myter* by CLAMENT ROBYNSON’ in c. 1565–66, roughly one year prior to *The Copy of a Letter*’s registration.<sup>14</sup> While *A Handefull* is known to have been reprinted several times in the late sixteenth century, little, if anything, remains of the first edition.<sup>15</sup> There now exists only a single (nearly complete) copy of an expanded edition of 1584; just a few scattered leaves attest to *A Handefull*’s earlier and later instantiations. Nearly a century ago, Hyder E. Rollins’s thorough editorial work on this text revealed that the anthology ‘contains nothing but ballads, all of which had, before their collection in [Jones’s] miscellany, been printed on broadsides’.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Rollins was able to reconstruct with considerable confidence a corpus of twenty-two pieces found amongst the extant 1584 edition’s thirty-two songs that almost certainly appeared in *A Handefull*’s first edition.<sup>17</sup>

*A Handefull* is often hailed as a direct generic successor to the enormously influential and frequently reprinted *Songes and Sonnettes*, a hefty lyric miscellany first published by Richard Tottel in 1557. It is therefore worth briefly considering how the early reception of poems from Tottel’s *Songes and Sonnettes* may well have influenced *A Handefull*’s initial conception and marketing in the mid-1560s. Although Tottel’s anthology was not overtly presented to audiences as a musical songbook per se, there is compelling evidence to suggest that it was received as such by those whose tastes were actively helping to shape the marketplace for printed texts at the dawn of Elizabeth I’s reign. In the years following *Songes*

*and Sonnettes*'s initial début, a number of enterprising and fashion-conscious London stationers, including Jones, collectively registered at least thirteen individual poems from this vast lyric collection for broadside publication (in addition to a host of other ballads with looser Tottelian resonances).<sup>18</sup> In all likelihood, the perceived suitability of *Songes and Sonnettes*'s lyrics for dissemination as broadside ballads and the saleability of poems issued in this format inflected the musical framing of Jones's *Handefull*. This miscellany's paratextual materials make the contiguities between *A Handefull*'s printed poems and broadside culture explicit. The title page to the extant 1584 edition claims that it is comprised of 'sundrie new Sonets and delectable Histories, in divers kindes of Meeter' and boasts that these have been set 'to the newest tunes that are now in use, to be sung'.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, a poetical preface from 'The Printer to the Reader' identifies the volume's anticipated audience as 'You that in Musicke do delight' and suggests that its lyric contents – which 'Ladies', in particular, 'may wel like' – are 'Songs' equally well suited 'to reade or heare' (3, 14, 20).

Scholars have often identified Jones as something of an anomaly in the Elizabethan publishing industry – in part because, as Melnikoff has demonstrated, he 'penned a virtually unrivalled amount of prefatory material' over the course of his lengthy career.<sup>20</sup> This includes the addresses, both in verse and both identically titled 'The Printer to the Reader', that more than likely appeared at the start of *A Handefull* in c. 1565–66 and graced the opening pages of *The Copy of a Letter* approximately one year later. In a recent article, Michelle O'Callaghan has highlighted the striking rhetorical analogies between these two prefatory pieces, each of which, as she suggestively puts it, replicates the 'ballad seller's cry'.<sup>21</sup> Both are directly addressed to the 'you' of the prospective purchaser browsing the bookstalls of St. Paul's in search of 'pretie thinges' or diverting 'trifle[s]' (*Handefull*, 3, 15; *Copy*, sig. A1v).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, both identically implore such browsers to 'buy this...Booke' (*Handefull*, 21; *Copy*, sig. A1v). After all, 'the price is not so deare', and the satisfied customer will have

‘bestowed’ his or her ‘mony well’ (*Handefull*, 22; *Copy*, sig. A1v). These parallels in advertising strategy would seem to suggest that *The Copy of a Letter* emerged from and was intended to circulate within the same early modern soundscape as Jones’s near-contemporary and more explicitly musical *Handefull*.

It is not only the paratextual framing techniques employed by Jones, but also the character of Whitney’s own poetry that invites us to juxtapose *A Handefull* with *The Copy of a Letter* and, consequently, to locate the amatory epistles of the latter within the same material, textual, and aural contexts of early Elizabethan ballad culture as the former. Readers of Whitney’s poetry have sometimes noted the author’s use of so-called ballad metre, both in *The Copy of a Letter* and in her later auto-miscellany of 1573, *A Sweet Nosegay*. It has been variously, if passingly, suggested that the ‘lowly origins and ubiquity’ of her ‘popular and populist’ metre were ‘well suited’ to her subject matter, for instance, or that ‘her one verse form, ...resists sophisticated poetical utterances’, thereby complementing Whitney’s ‘colloquial tone’ and ‘simple diction’.<sup>23</sup> Others have ventured that her ‘use of ballad meter calls attention to the text as a product of the print market’, or that, more particularly, her loose adherence to ‘the form and conventions of broadside ballads’ may have rendered Whitney’s poetry attractive to ‘readers who were drawn to stories that gave advice on affairs of the heart’.<sup>24</sup> The connections between *The Copy of a Letter* and sixteenth-century balladry extend far beyond Whitney’s metrical choices, however. It is here useful to reiterate O’Callaghan’s further, generalised observations about the ‘vocality’ of Whitney’s first-person lyrics, ‘which are characteristically imagined as events in a sounded world’, and the author’s apparent ‘responsiveness to the acoustic’ in both ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition’.<sup>25</sup> Although it is impossible to definitively ascertain whether Whitney’s earliest audiences would have approached the dialogic poetry in *The Copy of a Letter*, like that of *A Handefull*, with the expectation that it would be equally suitable ‘to reade or heare’, there are obvious

parallels between the epistolary rhetoric of the personal letter and the communicative strategies of the first-person complainants who so frequently narrate early modern ballads. Such resemblances are only further strengthened by the physical similarities between broadside ballads and letters, their common conceptual play with the fictions and materialities of voice and embodiment, and their shared sense of inherent transmissibility. I am therefore in broad agreement with O’Callaghan’s assessment that Whitney’s poetics in ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition’ appear to have been ‘conditioned by the performative qualities of the ballad as a genre’.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Tune of ‘Raging Love’**

It is with the general contexts outlined above in mind that I want now to turn my attention to a specific musical reference found in the opening lines of Whitney’s second missive in *The Copy of a Letter*. In her advice-dispensing role, Whitney’s female persona opens ‘The Admonition’ with a call to

Ye Virgins that from Cupids tentes  
do beare away the soyle  
Whose hartes as yet with raginge love  
most paynfully do boyle.

(1–4)

‘To you I speake’, Whitney’s epistoler continues, ‘for you be they, / that good advice do lacke’ (5–6).<sup>27</sup> O’Callaghan has honed in on this ‘phatic and performative’ moment, comparing it to a ‘conventional ballad address that draws the audience into the ambit of the poem’ by invoking ‘acts of speaking and listening that situate both speaker and audience in the here and now’.<sup>28</sup> I here seek to further this line of analysis by positing that there is a far more specific link to early modern ballad culture simultaneously embedded in these lines:

Whitney's direct appeal to those 'Virgins... / Whose hartes as yet with raginge love / most paynfully do boyle' activates a musical allusion to the tune of 'Raging Love'.

**[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]**

Those inclined to turn to Claude M. Simpson's authoritative 1966 work *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* for information about early English ballads will discover that this encyclopaedic tome contains no entry for 'Raging Love'.<sup>29</sup> The tune is, for all intents and purposes, lost. The music for 'Raging Love' is now partially accessible only via a gittern arrangement preserved in the late sixteenth-century Braye Lutebook—an arrangement that, as John Ward has established, seems to include only the harmonies and omit the melody (figure 1).<sup>30</sup> Despite its now-lost status, however, it is possible to reconstruct a number of facts about this historical tune. 'Raging Love' derives its name from a poem by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey that begins 'When raging love with extreme payne / Most cruelly distrains my hart'.<sup>31</sup> Surrey's poem had been printed in Tottel's *Songes and Sonnettes* as 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe with the Worthinesse of His Love' nearly a decade prior to *The Copy of a Letter's* licencing by Jones, and it was among the thirteen (or possibly more) poems from this miscellany to have been subsequently reprinted in broadside format. 'Raging Love', which W. A. Sessions has characterised as the mid-Tudor 'equivalent of a fashionable show-tune', was licensed for publication no fewer than three times in the late 1550s and early 1560s: once in 1557–58 by John Waley and Mrs. Toy, once in 1560–61 by Thomas Hackett, and once in 1561–62 by Hugh Singleton.<sup>32</sup>

**[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]**

The significance of ‘Raging Love’ within the early Elizabethan soundscape is affirmed by the existence of several musical imitations and parodies of Surrey’s lyrics dating to the 1550s and 1560s. A ballad by Nicholas Balthorp registered in 1557–58 by Waley and Toy, for example, echoingly begins ‘When raging death with extreme paine’, ‘A New Ballad against Unthrifths’ written by William Fulwood and licensed by John Alde in 1561–62 starts with the line ‘When raging louts with feble brains’, and Alde later registered another relevant piece called ‘Whan Ragenge lustes moralyzed’ in 1568–69.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the known historical popularity of ‘Raging Love’ was such that, when John Payne Collier infamously copied the lyrics of eighty-three ‘Elizabethan’ ballads – many of his own invention – into the pages of a seventeenth-century manuscript now held by the Folger Shakespeare Library, his nineteenth-century forgeries included a confection entitled ‘Beauties Fforte’ that begins ‘When raging Love w[ith] fierce assaute’ (figure 2).<sup>34</sup> All of this confirms that ‘Raging Love’ was in the air and on the lips of Whitney’s contemporaries when she first penned her vocative address to those ‘Whose hartes as yet with raginge love / most paynfully do boyle’ in *The Copy of a Letter*. It therefore seems probable not only that the earliest consumers of Whitney’s poetry would have sensed a topical acoustic reference in these lines, but also that the author herself imagined her nominal audience of young ‘Virgins’ in ‘The Admonition’ as a group just as susceptible to the emotional enthrallments of popular balladry as to the devious amatory tricks of their male counterparts.

Of particular interest for this discussion is the fact that the c. 1565–66 edition of Jones’s *Handefull* contained an anonymously composed ‘Complaint of a Woman Lover’ which was set to the tune of ‘Raging Love’. In Ward’s 1957 ‘Music for A *Handefull of Pleasant Delites*’, which remains the most detailed study of this anthology’s musicological dimensions, he provided the rather sweeping assessment that ‘the marriage of texts and music is strictly one of convenience’ in ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’.<sup>35</sup> Claiming that

‘Surrey’s [anterior] poem and the *Handful* [sic] ballad have little more than their metrical pattern in common’, Ward concluded that the now-lost ‘tune shared by the two poems [was] a purely neutral element, providing a means of performance without contributing any special character of its own to the resulting song’.<sup>36</sup> Over sixty years on, Ward’s verdict feels far too breezily delivered. In the past decade, scholars including Sarah F. Williams and Christopher Marsh have increasingly begun to probe what the broadside industry’s reliance on a recycled repertoire of common tunes might mean for our interpretation of early modern ballads: they have raised provocative questions about ‘how specific melodies developed “reputations” because of their repeated usage with certain subject material’ and credibly postulated that particular tunes must have been ‘capable of reinforcing, altering and destabilising textual messages’ for historical audiences.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, Jenni Hyde, who identifies ballad culture’s habitual setting of new words to existing tunes as a form of *contrafactum*, makes the complementary suggestion that the ‘early modern mind was predisposed to hear the connections created by th[is] process’.<sup>38</sup> In light of such emergent research on the associative interplay between ballad lyrics and melodies, it therefore seems worth revisiting the lyrics of ‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’ and ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’, both of which were being sung to the same tune at the precise historical moment when Whitney penned her own allusion to ‘Raging Love’. Might these two pieces, in fact, have affinities previously overlooked by Ward?

### **‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’ in Tottel’s *Songes and Sonettes***

At this juncture, I want to turn to consider ‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’ as it was presented and contextualised within Tottel’s *Songes and Sonettes*. Alex Davis has identified the classical matter of Troy as ‘a constant point of reference’ in this seminal miscellany.<sup>39</sup> He

persuasively argues that this classical material has been ‘systematically reworked into a narrative of disaster and loss, and in particular into a lexicon of tragic love stories’ throughout the collection.<sup>40</sup> Such dynamics are evident in the lyrics of ‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’, which begins as follows:

When raging love with extreme payne  
Most cruelly distrains my hart:  
When that my teares, as floods of rayne,  
Beare witnes of my wofull smart:  
When sighes have wasted so my breath,  
That I lye at the point of death.  
I call to minde the navie great,  
That the Grekes brought to Troye town  
(1–8)

The implicitly male speaker in Surrey’s poem, as Davis puts it, ‘looks back to a vanished Trojan past and recovers a strange consolatory potential from its disasters’.<sup>41</sup> The implied corporeality of the lover’s ‘extreme payne’ as he laments – à la Petrarch – his ‘wofull smart’ is notable. So too is the fact that such moments of personal amatory despair habitually ‘call to minde’ for the speaker well-known literary scenes of more literalised warfare and physical devastation. Introspection and the affective dimensions of textual reception are here inextricably linked, for his own romantically embattled condition leads Surrey’s ailing lover, in turn, to consider the havoc wreaked by ‘boysteous windes’ upon Greek fleet and the ‘many...good knight[s] overron’ in the ‘ten yeres warre’ (9, 17, 13). These ‘bloodie dede[s]’ and legendary acts of destruction, as he ruminates, were prompted by much the same quotidian desire ‘to winne a lady faire’ that motivates his own lament – though he believes his own beloved to be a much ‘worthier wight’ than the legendary Helen (14, 21, 24). Ultimately, the speaker has, as he claims, ‘learne[d] to suffer’ his own ‘raging stormes’ of neo-Petrarchan ‘care’ by analogising (22, 29). And just as much as he is reading his present plight through the focalising lens of classical precedent, Surrey’s lover is emotively rereading the classical literary corpus in light of his own subjective ‘payne’.

Recent studies of early modern lyric collections such as Tottel's have increasingly focused on the design and organisation – rather than the miscellaneousness – of the miscellany format: there is a growing scholarly sensitivity to the fact that, as Paul A. Marquis phrases it, 'the printed book lends itself to sequential design' since 'one page follows another, allowing formal and rhetorical links to synthesize each poem and provide a context in its relation to poems that precede and succeed it'.<sup>42</sup> This logic underlies Davis's reading of 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe', for he cogently argues that 'the poem's positioning in the *Songes and Sonettes*', where it appears alongside another poem likewise attributed to Surrey – one of two in Tottel's collection identically titled 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover Being Upon the Sea' – is not without significance.<sup>43</sup> As Davis phrases it, the latter 'identifies a voice of complaint as the inevitable companion to the chivalric order evoked in the preceding poem'.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, this 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover' opens with the doleful plea:

O happy dames, that may embrace  
 The frute of your delight,  
 Help to bewaile the wofull case,  
 And eke the heavy plight  
 Of me, that wonted to rejoyce  
 The fortune of my pleasant choyce:  
 Good Ladies, help to fill my moorning voyce.  
 (1–7)

Possessed, like the titular lover in 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe', of a 'restlesse minde', the female speaker in this poem writes from a perspective of abandonment (32). In so doing, she touches on the same themes of memory and loss that were so central to Surrey's previous poem – parallels that are only further underscored by their shared nautical/aquatic imagery, Petrarchan posturing, and affective registers. Whereas the male speaker's weeping was likened to 'floods of rayne' in 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe', the similarly lachrymose speaker in 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover' is 'Drowned' in her own deluge of saline

‘teares’, which conceptually merge into the ‘salt flood’ of the waves that have borne away her seafaring beloved (24, 29).

Though less overtly classical than Surrey’s preceding poem, this ‘Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover’ quite obviously belongs to a long ‘tradition of female-voiced complaint that has often been understood as standing in opposition to epic values’.<sup>45</sup> As such, it is generically reminiscent of the moving pleas of Dido in Book 4 of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (which Surrey himself translated into English) and, perhaps even more so, of the multitude of female-voiced epistolary laments collected in Ovid’s *Heroides*. The ‘doutful hope’ exemplified in the poem’s final line – ‘Now he comes, will he come? alas, no no’ (38, 42) – invites particular comparisons with both Phyllis (purported author of *Heroides* 5) and Ariadne (purported author of *Heroides* 10), and critics have variously detected the spectral presences of these and other ancient literary antecedents, including Penelope (purported author of *Heroides* 1), in the lines

I stand the bitter night.  
In my window, where I may see  
Before the windes how the clowdes flee.  
Lo, what a Mariner love hath made me.  
(25-8)<sup>46</sup>

I would thus conclude, along with Davis, that this companion piece to ‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’ in Tottel’s *Songes and Sonettes* elliptically ‘evokes a composite of women abandoned by their menfolk as a consequence of events at Troy’.<sup>47</sup>

### **‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’ in Jones’s *Handefull***

To return to ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’ that was set to the tune of ‘Raging Love’ in *A Handefull*, this is a ballad that seems to have particularly appealed to Elizabethan aesthetic sensibilities. In the course of his editorial work on Jones’s musical miscellany, Rollins

identified at least three imitations of this song's lyrics dating to the 1570s. 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' was, as he phrases it, 'unblushingly plagiarized' in two anonymously composed pieces found in *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions* of 1578 ('The Lover Wounded with His Ladies Beauty Craveth Mercy' and 'The Lover Complayneth'), and its lines also seem to have inspired some at least one stanza of lyrics in 'The Complaint of a Gentlewoman, Being with Child, Falsely Forsaken' found in George Whetstone's 1576 *Rocke of Regard*.<sup>48</sup> Among its other confluences, 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' also bears a striking number of similarities to that same 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover' that was paired with 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe' in *Songes and Sonettes*. Indeed, it may well have been loosely inspired by that earlier piece. Its lyrics are likewise delivered from the perspective of a bereft woman who is 'Bedewed in teares' and whose 'sleepe unsound' is plagued by 'dreadfull dreams' (1432, 1458).<sup>49</sup> Once again, it is the physical absence and emotional inaccessibility of her beloved that causes this 'inward paine' (1429). Moreover, as in Surrey's 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover', the speaker in this anonymously written ballad addresses an implicitly sympathetic group of 'Good Ladies' (1429, 1482). This female audience is implored both to 'heare' the speaker's song as she 'unfold[s]' her 'heaped cares' and also to 'helpe' further disseminate her 'dolefull tunes' (1433, 1428, 1482, 1432).

'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' in Jones's *Handefull* palpably borrows from the same stock of Heroidean rhetoric and imagery that critics have sensed subtextually informing Surrey's 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover'. If anything, this classicism is even more explicit in the later ballad, which perceptibly adopts and adapts snippets of poetic dialogue earlier voiced by the female complainants of ancient literary tradition. When the speaker in 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' queries 'What paps (alas) did give him food, / That thus unkindly workes my wo? / What beast is of so cruell moode, / To hate the hart that loves him

so?’ (1447–50), she is recognisably reworking an interrelated set of images found both in Dido’s second speech to Aeneas from *Aeneid* 4 and in *Heroides* 10, Ariadne’s letter to Theseus: ‘*nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor, / perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens / Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres*’ [False one, no goddess was your mother, nor was Dardanus founder of your line, but rugged Caucasus on his flinty rocks begot you, and Hyrcanian tigresses suckled you] and ‘*Mitius inveni quam te genus omne ferarum; / credita non ulli quam tibi peius erram*’ [Gentler than you I have found every race of wild beasts; to none of them could I so ill have trusted as to you].<sup>50</sup> And when the grieving speaker describes ‘haunt[ing] the place where [her lover] hath beene’ and kissing both ‘the ground whereon he stoode’ and ‘the Bed wheron [they] laye[d]’, she invokes yet another familiar Ovidian image (1462–5). In making a formerly shared ‘bed an icon to her loss, invoking an impossible return to her past’, as Marjory E. Lange has put it, the speaker, in fact, replicates a well-known rhetorical move taken by Ariadne in *Heroides* 10.<sup>51</sup> Cruelly deserted by Theseus, who stole away while she was sleeping, Ovid’s forlorn epistoler correspondingly narrates:

*saepe torum repeto qui nos acceperat ambos,  
sed non acceptos exhibiturus erat,  
et tua quae possum pro te vestigial tango  
strataque quae membris intepuere tuis.  
incumbo, lacrimisque toro manante profusis,  
‘pressimus’, exclamo, ‘te duo – redde duos!  
venimus huc ambo; cur non discedimus ambo?  
perfide, pars nostri, lectule, maior ubi est?’*

[Oft do I come again to the couch that once received us both, but was fated to never show us together again, and touch the imprint left by you! – and the stuffs that once grew warm beneath your limbs. I lay me down upon my face, bedew the bed with pouring tears, and cry aloud: ‘We were two who pressed thee – give back two! We came to thee both together; why do we not depart the same? Ah, faithless bed – the greater part of my being, oh, where is he?’]<sup>52</sup>

If we accept Davis’s aforementioned argument that the counter-epic, Heroidean ‘Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover’ functions as ‘the inevitable companion to the

chivalric order evoked' in 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe', then much the same could be said of the relationship between Surrey's male-voiced poem and the female-voiced ballad in Jones's *Handefull* that shares its melody – a position that stands in evident opposition to Ward's 1957 assessment regarding the hermeneutic neutrality of these pieces' joint reliance on a common tune. What is more, acknowledging Whitney's allusion to 'Raging Love' in 'The Admonition' as a musical citation evoking the contemporary soundscape of the 1560s means interpreting *The Copy of a Letter* as yet another node in this pre-existing, cross-referential network of melody and lyric. This leads us directly to the question: what reverberations of 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe' and 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' might be detected in Whitney's poetry? It is this further line of enquiry that I follow in the concluding section of this article.

### **Reverberations of 'Raging Love' in *The Copy of a Letter***

Whitney's introductory call in 'The Admonition' to those 'Whose *hartes* as yet with *raginge love* / most *paynfully* do boyle' would seem to contain a number of verbal reminiscences of the language earlier used in the opening lines of 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe': 'When *raging love* with extreme *payne* / Most cruelly distrains my *hart*.'<sup>53</sup> Perhaps more significantly, however, both of Whitney's verse epistles in *The Copy of a Letter* are grounded, like Surrey's poem, in analogical readings of classical intertexts. In the first of these two missives, Whitney's epistoler reiteratively aligns the man who has left her with a range of well-known literary figures who, 'for their unfaithfulness, / did get perpetuall fame' (69–70). Notably, this includes unflattering comparisons with Aeneas, Jason, and Theseus, and, in drawing such parallels, Whitney's forsaken narrator simultaneously equates herself with a bevy of abandoned heroines – such as Dido, Medea, Hypsipyle, and Ariadne – whose

tales were relayed (also in epistolary form) in Ovid's *Heroides*.<sup>54</sup> Such analogical strategies also underpin 'The Admonition', wherein Whitney's now-experienced authorial persona offers her audience the sort of 'good advice' and 'good counsell' from which she 'who was deceived late' might have personally benefitted (6, 7, 125). Accordingly, she recommends that 'al Maids' never simply 'Trust... a man at the fyrst sight' (35, 33). Rather, young women should remember always to 'trye... well' prospective lovers, for only 'triall shal declare [a man's] trueth, / and show... / Whether he be a Lover true, / or do intend to shrink' (34, 37–40). To illustrate her principal thesis, Whitney's epistolary persona cites a number of exempla culled from the 'Poets... of olde' (72). In particular, the legendary mistakes of Scylla (who failed to properly 'trye' Minos), Oenone (who failed to properly 'trye' Paris), and Phyllis (who failed to properly 'trye' Demophoon) are not to be replicated; instead, young ladies are advised to follow the sensible example of Hero, who conducted a preliminary test of 'Leanders truth' before accepting his suit (73).<sup>55</sup> It is thus that Whitney's introspective female persona explicates her own romantic situation via the literary corpus of classical antiquity (and vice versa) in a manner that is broadly reminiscent of Surrey's analogical tactics in 'The Lover Comforteth Himselfe'.

The general thematic resemblances between 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' earlier published by Jones and Whitney's poems in *The Copy of a Letter* are only more compelling – so much so, in fact, that R. J. Fehrenbach once speculated that Whitney herself might have been responsible for penning the former.<sup>56</sup> As previously noted, 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover', like *Songes and Sonettes*'s 'Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover' before it, draws inspiration from the same Ovidian (and, to a lesser extent, Virgilian) complaint tradition that is more explicitly flagged in the exempla-studded lines of 'To Her Unconstant Lover' and 'The Admonition'. In the most general of terms, it likewise represents an experiment in translating the counter-epic female voices and 'mourning groanes' of

classical literature into a new linguistic and social context (1452). The similarities run far deeper than this, however. The speaker in ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’ is hopelessly enthralled with one who ‘naught regards [her] flaming fire’ (1437). In short, her now-indifferent beloved has left her for another: ‘His cruell hart, disdaineth’ her, and ‘New loue hath put the olde, to flight’ (1471–2). This narrative of unreciprocated desire is, of course, roughly akin to the dramatic situation – lamentable love triangle and all – outlined in Whitney’s ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’.

In terms of these pieces’ more specific parallels in imagery and rhetoric, it is worth observing that both the speaker in ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’ and Whitney’s epistolary persona in *The Copy of a Letter* are demonstrably preoccupied with the gendered rhetoric of deceit. The former queries:

Alas why doth he serve me so?  
Whose fained teares I did beleewe,  
And wept to heare his wailing voice,  
But now, alas, too soon I preeve,  
Al men are false, there is no choice.  
(1438–42)

Although her own lover’s ‘falseness’ and broken ‘promises’ are passingly referenced throughout ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ (65, 25), this idea that romantic duplicity is a characteristic masculine trait gets greatly expanded in Whitney’s ‘Admonition’. Notably, this second epistle also has much to say about ‘fained teares’: to wit, Whitney’s epistoler alleges that ‘Some [men] use the teares of Crocodiles, / Contrary to their hart’ or ‘wet their Cheekes by Art’ – a ‘knacke’ they are said to have learnt from ‘Ovid[’s]...Arte of Love’ (17–22).<sup>57</sup> And just as the nominally female audience addressed by the speaker in ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’ is cautioned ‘To rue sweete words of fickle trust’ (1478), Whitney’s epistoler in ‘The Admonition’ echoingly counsels her own (again, nominally female) audience to ‘Beware of fayre and painted talke’ and ‘beware of flattering tonges’ (13, 14).<sup>58</sup> Moreover, in both cases, these jilted and jaded personae conclude on the same note of self-referential

didacticism. ‘You comly Dams, beware by me’, instructs the speaker in ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’, continuing: ‘For I may well example be, / How filed talke oft proves unjust’ (1477–80). In much the same vein, Whitney’s epistoler closes her second missive in *The Copy of a Letter* with a final reference to her own exemplary status as one ‘who was deceived late, / by [a man’s] unfaithfull teares’ (125–6).

By way of conclusion, then, I want to highlight one additional aspect of the final stanza in ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’. In the last three lines of this ballad, the speaker (perhaps in imitation of ‘Complaint of the Absence of Her Lover’) requests: ‘Good Ladyes helpe my dolefull tunes, / That you may here and after say: / Loe this is she whom love consumes’ (1482–4). Arguably, Whitney’s acoustically evocative allusion to ‘Raging Love’ in ‘The Admonition’ achieves a number of things. It flags conceptual similarities between the analogical readings of antiquity ‘call[ed] to minde’ in ‘The Lover Comforteth Himselfe’ and *The Copy of a Letter*, it underscores the ways in which her own counter-epic orientation aligns with or contrastingly complements the positions taken in other lyrics set to this tune, and it signals more generalised affinities between her first-person poetry and London’s thriving broadside industry. More than this, however, it also hermeneutically positions Whitney’s own poetic persona as one of those responsive ‘Good Ladyes’ invoked in the earlier lyrics of ‘The Complaint of a Woman Lover’. Taken in this sense, Whitney’s allusion to ‘Raging Love’ contains a tale of musical genesis. After all, the epistoler in *The Copy of a Letter* continues to infectiously echo what are essentially the same ‘dolefull tunes’ referenced in this anterior female-voiced ballad. Whitney’s persona thereby proffers that ‘helpe’ requested by her fictive antecedent when she further disseminates – in the same Heroidean timbre, albeit in a somewhat novel form – much the same admonitory message about the susceptibility of women to the tears, infidelities, and rhetorical deceits of men.

**Figure 1 Caption:** A gittern arrangement for ‘Raging Love’ from the sixteenth-century Braye Lutebook [Osborn Music MS 13, 40v]. The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

**Figure 2 Caption:** John Payne Collier’s pseudo-Elizabethan ‘Beauties Fforte’ in the seventeenth-century commonplace book of Joseph Hall [Folger V.a.339, 118v–119r]. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I have regularised u/v usage, capitalisation, and punctuation here and in all other lyric and volume titles throughout this article.

<sup>2</sup> I cite ‘The Admonition’ from *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney and Aemilia Lanyer: Renaissance Women Poets*, ed. Danielle Clarke (London: Penguin, 2000), lines 7, 32, 14. Subsequent parenthetical references to both ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition’ refer to this edition by line number. The single extant version of *The Copy of a Letter*, now housed in the Bodleian Library, contains four verse letters prefixed by a short poetic address from ‘The Printer to the Reader’. While the volume’s initial pair of epistles, ‘To Her Unconstant Lover’ and ‘The Admonition’, are female-voiced complaints attributed to Whitney (as Is. W. / I. W.), the third and fourth pieces are male-voiced complaints ascribed to W. G. and R. W. / R. Witch. Michelle O’Callaghan has presented persuasive bibliographical evidence demonstrating that *The Copy of a Letter* appeared in at least two editions and that the sole surviving copy does not represent the first. In all likelihood, the first edition contained only the female-voiced epistles attributed to Whitney. On this issue, see “‘My Printer must, haue somewhat to his share’: Isabella Whitney, Richard Jones, and Crafting Books”, *Women’s Writing*, 26:1 (2019), 18–20.

<sup>3</sup> Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Currency of Eros: Women’s Love Lyric in Europe, 1540–1620* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 43.

<sup>4</sup> One notable exception is Michael David Felker’s unpublished edition of Whitney’s poetry, which gives substantive consideration to ‘the ways in which the poems of *The Copy of a letter* fall squarely within the tradition of the broadside ballad’: ‘The Poems of Isabella Whitney: A Critical Edition’, PhD thesis, Texas Tech University, 1990, lxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Eric Nebeker, ‘Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies, and the Lyric in Print’, *ELH* 76:4 (2009), 1000; Christopher Marsh, “‘The Blazing Torch’: New Light on English Balladry as a Multi-Media Matrix”, *The Seventeenth Century*, 30:1 (2015), 96. For excellent, more generalised overviews of early modern ballad culture, see: Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 168–205; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 225–327; and Patricia Fumerton, ‘Digging into “Veritable Dunghills”: Re-appreciating Renaissance Broadside Ballads’, in *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Catherine Bates (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 414–31.

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<sup>6</sup> In using the terminology of ‘reverberation’ here and throughout this article, I have been inspired by Erin Minear’s gloss on the ‘multiple and overlapping meanings’ of this word, which usefully connotes ‘the acoustic and affective properties of music, as infectious sounds that linger in the air *and* in the memory’ as well as ‘one writer’s allusions to another’: *Reverberating Song in Shakespeare and Milton: Language, Memory, and Musical Representation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 1.

<sup>7</sup> Kirk Melnikoff, ‘Richard Jones (*fl.* 1564–1613): Elizabethan Printer, Bookseller and Publisher’, *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*, 12:3/4 (2001), 156. My biographical information on Jones derives primarily from this piece along with Melnikoff’s subsequent study, ‘Jones’s Pen and Marlowe’s Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature’, *Studies in Philology*, 102:2 (2005), 184–209.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, 5 vols. (London, 1875–94), I.271.

<sup>9</sup> Melnikoff, ‘Richard Jones’, 156.

<sup>10</sup> Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 75. Though scholarly estimates have varied, somewhere between 39 to 51 percent of Jones’s total entries in the Stationers’ Register were for ballads, the majority of which have not survived: Nebeker, ‘Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies’, 1007; Alexandra Hill, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640: An Analysis of the Stationers’ Company Register* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 62. Moreover, these figures may be somewhat skewed since it is difficult to know how often Jones may have published ballads without duly registering them—especially since he is known to have been fined now and again for printing unlicensed material: Arber, *Transcript*, II.847, 849, 854. Overall, ballad registration rates were poor in the period, perhaps falling somewhere between the 50 to 67 percent range: Hyder E. Rollins, ‘The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad’, *PMLA*, 34:2 (1919), 281; Watt, *Cheap Print*, 42.

<sup>11</sup> Watt, *Cheap Print*, 75.

<sup>12</sup> Nebeker, ‘Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies’, 1001. Earlier work on these interrelationships between early printed miscellanies and musical culture includes Edward Doughtie, ed. *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596–1622* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 10–20 and Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 7–38.

<sup>13</sup> Nebeker, ‘Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies’, 999, 1004.

<sup>14</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, I.313.

<sup>15</sup> The Records of the Court of the Stationers’ Company indicate that, for reasons now obscure, *A Handefull* was briefly banned in the 1570s. In August of 1576, and the Queen’s Commissioners confiscated 225 copies from Jones only to return them to their printer-publisher roughly one year later. On this incident, see W. W. Greg and E. Boswell, eds., *Records of the Court of the Stationers’ Company, 1576 to 1602, from Register B* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930), lvii, 86–7.

<sup>16</sup> Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584) by Clement Robinson and Divers Others* (1924; rpt. New York: Dover, 1965), viii.

<sup>17</sup> Rollins, ed., *A Handful*, xv.

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<sup>18</sup> On the reformatting of lyrics from Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* as printed broadsides, see: Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry*, 9–13; Doughtie, ed., *Lyrics from English Airs*, 13–14; and John Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), I:81–3.

<sup>19</sup> A transcribed version of the 1584 title page is included in Rollins, ed., *A Handful*, 1. Subsequent references to lyrics from *A Handefull* refer to this edition by line number. I have, however, regularised all u/v and i/j usage when quoting from Rollins's edition.

<sup>20</sup> Melnikoff, 'Richard Jones', 158.

<sup>21</sup> O'Callaghan, 'My Printer', 23

<sup>22</sup> As Clarke's edition of Whitney's poetry does not include the text of 'The Printer to the Reader', my parenthetical references in this paragraph refer instead by signature to the text as found in *The Copy of a Letter* [STC 25439] (London, c. 1566–67).

<sup>23</sup> Linda Gregerson, 'Life Among Others', *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 8:1 (2007), 207; M. L. Stapleton, 'Letters of Address, Letters of Exchange', in *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Bates, 367.

<sup>24</sup> Laurie Ellinghausen, 'Literary Property and the Single Woman in Isabella Whitney's *A Sweet Nosgay*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 45:1 (2005), 17; 'Isabella Whitney' [headnote], in *The Longman Anthology of British Literature: The Early Modern Period*, vol. 1B, 4<sup>th</sup> edn., eds. Clare Carroll and Andrew Hadfield (London: Longman, 2010), 1041.

<sup>25</sup> O'Callaghan, 'My Printer', 24.

<sup>26</sup> O'Callaghan, 'My Printer', 24.

<sup>27</sup> I borrow this terminology of the 'epistoler' from William C. Dowling, *The Epistolary Moment: The Poetics of the Eighteenth-Century Verse Epistle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 12.

<sup>28</sup> O'Callaghan, 'My Printer', 24.

<sup>29</sup> See Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

<sup>30</sup> See John Ward, 'Music for *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 10:3 (1957), 165–6.

<sup>31</sup> References to lyrics from *Songes and Sonettes* here and throughout this essay correspond to the influential, revised second edition of 1557, as edited by Paul A. Marquis: *Richard Tottel's 'Songes and Sonettes': The Elizabethan Version* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2007). Subsequent parenthetical references are by line number.

<sup>32</sup> W. A. Sessions, *Henry Howard the Poet Earl of Surrey: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 180; Arber, *Transcript*, I.75, 154, 177.

<sup>33</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, I.76, 180, 383.

<sup>34</sup> See Giles E. Dawson, 'John Payne Collier's Great Forgery', *Studies in Bibliography*, 24 (1971), 1–26.

<sup>35</sup> Ward, 'Music for *A Handefull*', 154.

<sup>36</sup> Ward, 'Music for *A Handefull*', 153–4.

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<sup>37</sup> Sarah F. Williams, 'Witches, Lamenting Women, and Cautionary Tales: Tracing "The Ladies Fall" in Early Modern English Broadside Balladry and Popular Song', in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, eds. Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 33; Marsh, *Music and Society*, 288–9.

<sup>38</sup> Jenni Hyde, *Singing the News: Ballads in Mid-Tudor England* (Abingdon; Routledge, 2018), 81.

<sup>39</sup> Alex Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', in *Tottel's 'Songes and Sonettes' in Context*, ed. Stephen Hamrick (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 64.

<sup>40</sup> Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 70.

<sup>41</sup> Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 72.

<sup>42</sup> Paul A. Marquis, 'Printing History and Editorial Design in the Elizabethan Version of Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes*', in *Tottel's 'Songes and Sonettes' in Context*, ed. Hamrick, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 74.

<sup>44</sup> Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 74. This 'inevitable' pairing of male-voiced (and often explicitly Petrarchan) amatory poetry with neo-Heroidean female-voiced laments is one that was destined to recur with some frequency in the English literature produced around the turn of the seventeenth century. Representative examples of this phenomenon include the juxtaposition of Samuel Daniel's *Delia* with 'The Complaint of Rosamond', Thomas Lodge's *Phyllis* with 'The Complaint of Elstred', or William Shakespeare's *Sonnets* with 'A Lover's Complaint'.

<sup>45</sup> Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 75.

<sup>46</sup> On these classical resonances, see: Sessions, *Henry Howard*, 213–14; Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 75; Elizabeth Heale, Wyatt, *Surrey and Early Tudor Poetry* (London: Longman, 1998), 62; Emrys Jones, ed., *Henry Howard Earl of Surrey: Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 118–19; and Emil Koeppel, 'Studien zur Geschichte des englischen Petrarchismus im sechzehnten Jahrhundert', *Romanische Forschungen*, 5 (1890), pp. 82–4.

<sup>47</sup> Davis, 'Tottel's Troy', 75.

<sup>48</sup> Rollins, ed., *A Handful*, 110–11.

<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that 'The Complaint of a Woman Lover' appeared alongside a number of other female-voiced ballads in Jones's *Handefull*. Five out of the twenty-two pieces believed by Rollins to have been included in the first edition of this musical miscellany – nearly one in four – were narrated by female speakers. The other female-voiced ballads that likely featured in the c. 1565–66 edition are: 'The Lamentation of a Woman Being Wrongfully Defamed', 'L. Gibsons Tantara Wherein Danae Welcommeth Home Her Lord Diophon fro[m] the War', 'Dame Beauty's Reply to the Lover Late at Liberty Intituled Where is the Life that Late I Led', and 'A Proper Sonnet of an Unkind Damsel to Her Faithful Lover'. The last of these, in fact, reproduces a poem of Surrey's previously entitled 'The Lover Describes His Restlesse State' in Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes*, though the gender of the lyrics' purported speaker is saliently reassigned in Jones's edition.

<sup>50</sup> I cite the Latin text and English translations from the following editions: Virgil, *Aeneid*, in *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, trans. H.R. Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

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Press, 1999), 4.365–7; Ovid, *Heroides*, in *Heroides, Amores*, trans. Grant Showerman, rev. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 10.1–2.

<sup>51</sup> Marjory E. Lange, *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 103.

<sup>52</sup> Ovid, *Heroides*, 10.51–8.

<sup>53</sup> Italics my own.

<sup>54</sup> *Heroides* 7 purports to be Dido's letter to Aeneas, *Heroides* 12 purports to be Medea's letter to Jason, *Heroides* 6 purports to be Hypsipyle's letter to Jason, and *Heroides* 10 purports to be Ariadne's letter to Theseus.

<sup>55</sup> With the exception of Scylla (whose story is relayed in Book 8 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), these classical exempla have notable Heroidean connections: *Heroides* 5 purports to be Oenone's letter to Paris, *Heroides* 2 purports to be Phyllis's letter to Demophoon, and *Heroides* 18 and 19 purport to be a paired set of letters exchanged between Hero and Leander.

<sup>56</sup> R. J. Fehrenbach, 'Isabella Whitney and the Popular Miscellanies of Richard Jones', *Cahiers Elisabethains* 19 (1981): 85–7. Fehrenbach's suggestion was subsequently developed by Lynette McGrath, who speculates that Whitney 'had a more or less regular place among a group of writers tapped by Jones to supply poems for his publications', including both *A Handfull* and *The Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions: Subjectivity and Women's Poetry in Early Modern England: 'Why on the Ridge Should She Desire to Go?'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 127.

<sup>57</sup> For the particular Ovidian passage to which Whitney here refers, see Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* in *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley, rev. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 1.659–62.

<sup>58</sup> On male rhetorical duplicity as a common theme in early modern amatory ballads (with songs 'featuring fallen women', in particular, typically 'brimming with allegations against false and perjured males who have wooed their lovers with sweet words only to break crucial vows of fidelity, protection, or marriage'), see Lindsay Ann Reid, 'Diana, Dido, and The Fair Maid of Dunsmore: Classical Precursors, Common Tunes, and the Question of Consent in Seventeenth-Century Balladry', *The Seventeenth Century* 34:1 (2019), 76.