

The Solo Lute Music of John Dowland

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Notes for the PDF edition:

In preparing my dissertation for both internet access and also for the universally readable PDF format, I was presented with a number of choices. The text is unchanged; however, I have used a proportional font which is not only easier to read but also trims nearly 100 pages from the typescript.

Footnotes are at the bottom of each page.

The musical examples have for now been placed at the end, and these were scanned as compressed JPEG into the PDF format. At some point they will be put into the text using Sibelius software.

As I read over this *parvulum opusculum*, as the Elizabethans would have called it, I am all too well aware that it should be revised; but for now, it is a dissertation like any other.

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Acknowledgments

Although many of the ideas expressed in this dissertation came about as a result of years of playing and transcribing Dowland's music, I am delighted to say that the final result, that is, this dissertation, is really the product of my graduate studies at U.C. Berkeley. It was here that the many questions that I had about the sources of Elizabethan lute music were focused by the atmosphere of scholarship and instruction; my teachers led me to a better understanding of Dowland's music and musicology as a whole. Each member of the music department contributed in some way in the process of completely reshaping my ideas about music. I would like especially to thank Philip Brett (who helped me every step of the way), Richard Crocker, Daniel Hertz, Anthony Newcomb and Joseph Kerman, as well as William Nestruck of the English Department, who was kind enough to be my outside reader.

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Introduction

The fundamental goal of this dissertation is very simple: to establish the canon of John Dowland's compositions for solo lute, and then, on the basis of the principles used to establish that canon, to provide an adequate edition.

I have tried to reach that goal by making use of both the necessary approaches: consideration of historical circumstance, and consideration of style. In addition, I have tried to make use of each approach at the proper moment. I began, therefore, with historical matters: evidence deriving from paleography, manuscript study, bibliography, documentary sources, and, in particular, Dowland's pointed comments in the front matter of his songbooks. To have begun with consideration of style would have been quite simply to put the cart before the horse, because owing to the uncritical approach that has been taken to the historical and bibliographic circumstances, Dowland's style has to be regarded as something as yet ill-defined if not virtually unknown.

The first step, then, was to establish, by means of a fresh look at the sources and the historical context, a canon of Dowland lute solos--to identify, that is, the quite small group of lute solos that are not only reliably attributed to Dowland, but also extant in versions that Dowland

himself saw and approved. These lute solos, carefully considered against the backdrop of Dowland's other works, particularly the lute ayres and consort music, became the basis for the construction of a more refined notion of Dowland's style. That more precise description of style, taken in combination with a further examination of manuscript and other historical evidence, in its turn became the means of identifying, in the case of pieces or versions of pieces of doubtful provenance, what is genuinely Dowland's and what is not.¹ The discussion proceeds from the core repertory outwards, negotiating continually between historical arguments and stylistic ones; each stage amplifies and qualifies the account of Dowland's style, and makes possible a more confident use of stylistic arguments as the questions of attribution become difficult (and interrelated with the work of those who arranged or adapted Dowland's works), and the arguments from historical circumstance, which were thin to begin with, evaporate. The discussion may seem quite dry, but is meant only to be precise, and to form a reliable basis for the study of all of Dowland's work; on behalf of the wealth of particulars, and against the appeal of glittering generalizations, I would cite Aby Warburg's remark that *der liebe Gott steckt im detail*.

A fair amount of the discussion differs markedly from the work of Diana Poulton, both in her biography of Dowland and in her edition (with

¹This line of inquiry was suggested by the book Scribes and Scholars[:] A guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature, by L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson (Oxford, 1968), in particular the discussion pp. 20-22 on interpolations.

Basil Lam) of the lute music. The many differences in the interpretation of the source materials may seem gratuitous, but they are necessary because of the central position Poulton's work holds: she and her work are for most people synonymous with Dowland scholarship, and the musicologist or lutanist turning to Dowland will turn to her. Because that is so, it is necessary to demonstrate, as has been done to a small extent by John Ward, how unreliable a guide she will turn out to be. Indeed, the sharp differences in the way Ward and Poulton approach the works of Dowland formed my initial impression that I needed to sort out the problems of the sources. I am not disparaging the pioneering value of Poulton's work (anyone familiar with her books and articles is no doubt aware of the immense amount of information which she has unearthed), but her impressionistic and casually eclectic methods of defining both historical events and musical texts must necessarily come under close examination when such methods have been superseded.

More important still, her methods of analysis have led her to present to us a false image of Dowland's style and character. Her Dowland is too English and too ordinary, a Dowland similar to Allison and Batchelar (and the many anonymous and lesser-known compilers of lutebooks), possessed of the then-fashionable English taste for showy divisions. We have from her account of Dowland a false image of the style and character of one of the greatest musicians of a great age, a composer second only to William Byrd in importance.

The Dowland emerging from my reconsideration of the canon is a much stranger and more formidable figure. He is in some ways very much like Byrd. Like Byrd, he rejects much that is fashionable in the musical culture of his time; where Byrd rejects the trend of the balletto and the canzonetta, Dowland rejects that of the division-mad virtuoso (and, in his songs, the fashion of what C.S. Lewis calls “golden” verse). Like Byrd, his music appears in a wide variety of arrangements; indeed, even though Dowland did not play the harpsichord and Byrd did not play the lute it is easy to see how volumes could be (and are) devoted to these impossible combinations. Like Byrd, Dowland cared very much about having his works printed and played as he wrote them. How surprising it is to come across composers like Dowland and Byrd, in light of our modern-day awareness that the idea of a text is a modern invention, who place such anachronistic emphasis on having an authoritative text in the first place, as one (but not the only one) point of dissemination.

Yet Dowland is in other ways very much Byrd’s opposite. If Byrd turns away from evanescent English fashion, he turns toward stable English precedent--from the balletto to the consort song, not to the monody. Although Byrd is in some strange sense marginal to England *qua* Catholic, he is very much central to the English musical establishment. Dowland is a musical outsider, and this is the position he occupied till the end of his life, when Henry Peacham initialed the poem “Here Philomel in silence sits alone.” In the rejection of his petitions to be selected court

lutanist, in his Continental travels, in his evident preference for foreign printings of his lute solos to English ones, and most of all, in his music, which has its deepest affinities to Continental counterpoint and the developing styles of Continental monody, Dowland strongly gives the impression of the outsider by choice, not by chance. It is hoped that a clearer vision of his work will offer a clearer vision of his artistry.

Chapter I. The Sources of the Solo Lute Music

John Dowland's creative period spans the thirty years from 1585 to 1615. Although it is conceivable that he composed music in the last ten years of his life, there are no pieces that can be definitely assigned so late; indeed, there is evidence to suggest that many of the pieces published or copied between 1605 to 1615 are revisions of pieces composed around 1600 or earlier.

Regardless of the precise date of his pieces, which depends in part upon the difficult questions of attribution, it is clear that the high point of Dowland's production coincides exactly with the flourishing of lute music in England as well as the intense refinement of English music in general as a result of the efforts of Tallis in his later years, Byrd, Weelkes and several other composers of the "golden age."

During this period the lute solo occupied an uneasy position of importance. The sheer number of pieces (approximately 2,000) attests to the currency of the genre, and modern writers such as Lumsden and Poulton have vouched in a general way for the quality of many of these. What has yet to be established is the relative importance of the lute solo in comparison to the other genres. It also remains to be explained why the vast majority of pieces survives in manuscript as opposed to printed

sources (a reversal of the situation on the Continent). There was clearly a demand for these printed collections, as books of French and Italian lute music circulated in England along with the ms. sources; French collections were even printed in England with English titles. The precarious state of English music printing may have had a good deal to do with this phenomenon. It appears that several of the leading composers, and most notably Byrd, avoided the lute, or (like Byrd) never wrote for it at all to our knowledge. Since Byrd was in control of music printing from 1575-1596, and since he was very tenacious in regard to exercising that monopoly, it seems extremely likely that he actively prevented the publication of English lute music. It is, for instance, noteworthy that not even songs in which the lute served a purely accompanying role appeared in print until after his monopoly had expired.²

What emerges from this rather indirect evidence is a situation in which music was arranged and composed for solo lute. Music that was enjoyed by a wide variety of skilled amateurs. The best and most powerful composers, however, did not attach great importance to the genre; they preferred vocal music, songs to the lute or to the consort, and consort music. In other words, they preferred to write in genres which allowed greater contrapuntal freedom.

²The first publication in England for lute following Byrd's patent is William Barley's A New Booke of Tabliture (London, 1596) (NB). Dowland's The First Booke of Songes (Bk1) followed in 1597.

It is in this context that the lute solos of John Dowland must be viewed. Dowland was primarily a composer of finely-crafted lute songs and consort music, and wrote some of the most influential pieces in these genres. His most famous multipurpose piece, Lachrimae, survives as a set of pieces for viol consort (with lute accompaniment) and as a lute song: there is no lute solo version of Lachrimae connected with Dowland. From the quantity of music published by Dowland we may assume that Dowland had little trouble finding a publisher, yet he published no books of lute solos, choosing instead to include a few at the end of his songbooks: these pieces share many elements of style with the songs and consort intabulations: they are elegant, refined and extremely difficult, with no emphasis on the popular style of endless figuration found in contemporary and slightly later English manuscript sources of lute music. If we add to the three lute pieces in Dowland's songbooks the piece in Robert Dowland's Musicall Banquet and the four or five pieces in Dowland's handwriting or with his autograph (not including the exercises for his students) we are left with a very small number relative to the very large total, numbering above a hundred pieces, to which Dowland's name is attached.

For a variety of reasons, including his skill as a player as well as a composer, Dowland's name acquired a life of its own, as did Lachrimae, his trademark. It is easy to imagine a situation in which amateur players, seeking the best and most fashionable pieces for their lutebooks, acquired

“Dowland” pieces from professional players or teachers who had at best only a tenuous connection with the composer. What they got was for other reasons than transmission not likely to have been fashioned entirely by Dowland himself. Unlike the vocal genres, in which a tendency to transmit the basic text unadorned had been almost transformed into a moral duty by Byrd’s several printed strictures about “the carelessness of scribes in making copies,”³ the lute repertory not only allowed but also encouraged a certain contributory process on the part of players and copyists which resulted in changes to the texts. These pieces, then, tended to circulate in copies, each bearing the additions or personal stylistic features of the copier or player. It seems likely that this social process of disseminating and personalizing works (not all of which may even have been originally by Dowland) is largely responsible for sheer amount of works attributed to Dowland in the modern edition, CLM, the contents of which are greater in number than Dowland’s songs, his preferred genre. It must be emphasized, furthermore, that this process of elaboration was not simply a phenomenon associated with other professionals distant from Dowland; it most likely extended to Robert Dowland, who probably (but not certainly) added his own divisions to his father’s pieces, and who even subscribed his own name to some of them.

Thus, in approaching the canon and the sources, the scholar needs to adopt a completely open mind and to develop a fresh approach--not

³Byrd’s comments in Cantiones Sacrae are discussed in Chapter I, in the section on NB.

necessarily relying on the assumptions underpinning, for instance, the work of Kerman and Neighbour on Byrd's vocal and instrumental works.⁴

The custom of including a work by Dowland in a collection of lute solos was so pervasive that pieces attributed to Dowland are even today being discovered on a regular basis: as I write there are three newly-discovered pieces in private collections which have yet to be microfilmed, and it is reasonable to expect that there are still more. As each piece comes to light, however, it is important that it should be reviewed critically in light of the situation outlined here. The degree to which *any* piece labelled "John Dowland" was actually composed or controlled in all its details by the famous lutanist himself is always under question. The attempt of this study is to draw attention to this situation by taking a highly critical attitude towards each piece. The adjective "authoritative" is reserved for those texts which can reasonably be argued to have evaded the process of elaboration and expansion referred to above or for texts which come to us directly from Dowland's hand. Finding these pieces requires a careful look at the source situation, as with any piece in manuscript in the early seventeenth century.

There are nearly a hundred sources for Dowland's solo lute music; of these, less than ten have any direct connection with Dowland himself and only four of these may be said to contain authoritative texts.

The sources that are connected with Dowland are as follows:

Prints:

Abbreviation:

The First Booke of Songes (1597) _____ Bk1

The Second Booke of Songes (1600) _____ Bk2

A Pilgrimes Solace (1612) _____ PS

A Muscally Banquet (1610) _____ MB

Varietie of Lute-Lessons (1610) _____ Var

Lacrimae or Seaven Tears (1604) _____ LST

Manuscripts:

The Holmes lutebooks⁵ _____ Holmes

The “Dowland” lutebook _____ Dow

The Board lutebook _____ Board

The sources which are authoritative in all respects are the first and second books of songs, A Pilgrimes Solace, and LST: in each case there is

⁴Joseph Kerman, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd (Berkeley, 1981); Oliver Neighbour, The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd (Berkeley, 1978).

⁵These mss. are often referred to as the “Cambridge” lutebooks; they are here designated as the Holmes lutebooks, however, in order to distinguish them from the other contemporaneous lute mss. at Cambridge University Library.

evidence that Dowland supervised the publication or was directly involved.⁶ It is important to recognize that these two types of authoritative sources are not collections of lute solos. With the advent of lute music publication in 1597, the year after Byrd's patent expired, Dowland and others (while not exactly rushing into print) began to venture into publication. It is therefore important to think about how they chose to present their works: Dowland chose not to publish a purely solo book of lute music, and this is a strong indication of what he thought was important, namely, the songs and the consort music. In the case of the songbooks, a single lute piece is occasionally included at the end of the book, but its presence is in no way emphasized. The regular appearance of lute parts from LST in other sources which are exclusively for solo lute indicates that these pieces were played as solos. Whether Dowland intended them for that purpose is not certain, but it seems likely on the basis of stylistic evidence that some of the pieces were designed with solo performance in mind.

The remaining sources in the above list are all connected to Dowland in some way, but cannot be considered in the same category as the authoritative sources because the type of connection is more tenuous. In many cases stylistic traits not found in the music of the authoritative

⁶In the case of BK2 Dowland was out of the country, but there is little question that he prepared the fair copy. For more details see Margaret Dowling, "The Printing of John Dowland's 'Second Book of Songs or Ayres'" The Library, 4th series, xii (1932-33) pp. 365-90.

sources argue the interjection of mediating agencies. Two of these sources, the Dowland⁷ lutebook and the Board lutebook, contain pieces which may be in Dowland's hand, but these are the mss. of students who at some point came in contact with Dowland. The two remaining prints of the larger list, Varietie of lute-lessons and A Musicall Banquet, were published by Dowland's son, Robert, but as I shall argue at some length they are in many respects no better or worse than versions compiled by other players not related to Dowland. The last source, the Holmes lutebooks, contains a piece to which Dowland added his signature, and it seems likely on the basis of style that this piece, "Farewell [Fancy]", is very close to an authoritative text.

The vast majority of works attributed to Dowland, whether the attribution dates from the present or the past, are drawn from prints and mss. that are not connected with Dowland. The pieces in these sources are in a wide variety of styles and tend to bear the stamp of the editor, collector or player who compiled them. The task, which has never been clearly understood, and therefore not yet accomplished, is to separate the authoritative texts from the nonauthoritative, and then to construct the canon as accurately and perceptively as possible. It will be appreciated that this task is not undertaken simply out of an idealization of "Dowland"

⁷This lutebook, currently in the Folger library, was once thought to have been in the possession of descendants of Dowland himself. The work of John Ward has shown that the only connection to Dowland is that a few pieces apparently have Dowland's signature. The article by Ward, "The So-Called 'Dowland Lute-Book' in the Folger Shakespeare Library," JLSA ix (1976) 5-29, accurately evaluates this ms.

as a master composer: without discrimination of the kind I am arguing for, neither the social situation of lute-playing and composing at the time nor Dowland's place in and contribution to it can begin to be fully understood.

A basis for the entire operation is provided by the lute solos in the authoritative sources. These present few problems in terms of the basic text. Music from sources which were not supervised by Dowland (but are connected to him in some concrete way) is usually problematic in one respect or another; as such it should be considered in a separate category. This group of pieces includes one of the lute solos from the Cambridge lutebooks ("Farewell"), and some of the pieces from Var, FLB, and Pickeringe. The pieces in this group must be treated on a case by case basis. While it is clear that some of these pieces are indeed "by Dowland," it is not certain which ones these are and to what extent the texts have been altered by the various editors and compilers. Each of these sources raises specific and individual questions of text and attribution: it is not possible to create a sweeping set of criteria to establish what Dowland actually wrote or intended to write, except in the small number of cases discussed above as "authoritative." It is possible, however, to make a rough categorization based on the degree of probability that Dowland was connected with a piece, and to articulate the various processes at work in the dissemination of the text.

The next category of pieces involves sources which are not connected to Dowland in any way but which contain pieces attributed to

Dowland. The vast majority of the pieces so designated appear to have been personalized to some degree by the compiler of the source. These pieces are clearly the work of more than one composer, or two player-composers. They cover a range of styles that include tasteful additions and excessive variations.

The player-composer could also arrange, and it seems that there is a whole class of pieces that are basically arrangements of songs, tunes, or consort music (in fact, there are even “hybrid” lute solos which are arrangements of lute pieces for another kind of lute). These pieces are probably not by Dowland, even though they are routinely included in editions of his works.

Certain things become clear from the study of Dowland’s works for solo lute. First, an examination of either the sources or the pieces is not enough; each source and each piece present their own idiosyncrasies which interact with one another. Second, the term “lute solo” is far too general. An attempt must be made to understand the variety in instruments, sources, players, and in the various situations for which the music was written in order to arrive at some sense of the nature of Dowland’s output and its context. What follows is a description of the sources, the pieces of firm attribution, and the processes involved in the making of the various types of lute solos.

The songbooks

Four lute pieces are printed in the songbooks: three are in Dowland's own books and the fourth is included in the anthology published by John's son Robert (A Musicall Banquet). Of the three lute pieces published by Dowland himself, one is a novelty piece for two to play on one lute; the other two may be considered the best examples of Dowland's solo lute style. These two pieces are "Dowland's adew for Master Oliver Cromwell" (Bk2) and "Galliard to Lachrimae" (PS). "Galliard to Lachrimae" is particularly interesting since it dates (as we shall see) from 1612, two years after Varietie of Lute-Lessons (1610), and it presumably represents Dowland's mature style.

"Dowland's adew" was published in 1600, by which time pieces for solo lute attributed to Dowland had begun to appear in the ms. sources. The piece is in the tripartite pavan form, without variations, but with repeats marked for each section. The print provides an optional part for bass viol that doubles the bass line. This piece represents a "high" style of composition which I term "concise;" the style is characterized by full polyphony, difficult left-hand positions, and a notable absence of the showy technique that is so common in the lute repertory of this time. It is clear that Dowland wished to emphasize the contrapuntal aspect of his music; the piece is also virtuosic in the same way that many lute pieces from the mid-16th century are (e.g., Bakfark's fantasias): the difficulty lies

in sustaining the polyphonic texture. Dowland also creates a texture which includes a tremendous amount of rhythmic and tonal variety: every note is important, and each measure has a different shape.

“Galliard to Lachrimae” is an ingenious version of the Lachrimae pavan in triple meter. The piece appears to be related not only to the tune but also to a lute solo version in pavan form. Since Dowland left no authoritative text for the lute solo version of the pavan it is possible to extrapolate from the galliard which of the many pavan settings is close to a Dowland version. This hypothesis will be discussed in the chapter on style.

The remaining piece, “Sir Robert Sidney’s Galliard (from MB), seems to show some signs of revision by Robert Dowland, and it cannot therefore be placed with precisely the same degree of authority in the category of “by Dowland in all respects.”

Lachrimae or Seaven Teares (LST)

LST (London, 1604) is the only authoritative collection of Dowland’s that is exclusively devoted to instrumental music. It contains twenty-one pieces for lute and five viols or violins (both are specified on the title page). The print consists of two parts: the first part contains seven settings of the Lachrimae tune; the second part is a collection of miscellaneous dances. The title page and the note “To the Reader” give an

accurate description of the contents.⁸

The reference to violins and the tunings provided for the lute are both indicative of Dowland's travels: the nine- and ten-course lutes were clearly of French and Italian origin; the violins were primarily associated with Italian music. Since Dowland specified instruments that were not common in England at that time it is reasonable to assume that the music is up-to-date specifically in reference to Continental practice: Dowland may have either intended the work to be received at European courts or attempted to distinguish his work from the English composers. Needless to say, the pieces can all be played on viols and the lute parts can be altered to fit the six- and seven-course lutes that were usually played in England.

Although it is not always wise to attach importance to statements made in printed collections, there are a number of phrases in Dowland's message to the reader which, when taken in conjunction with other pieces of evidence, give a clear indication of the nature of the content of the collection and the different ways in which the music could be performed.

Dowland scholarship has largely ignored the possibility that many of the pieces in LST are lute solos. Poulton states that "this is not a source for solo music, but it frequently casts valuable light on those pieces that

⁸The complete prefatory material is transcribed in Diana Poulton, John Dowland (hereafter referred to as JD), (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974; 2nd rev. ed., 1982) pp.340-5. A facsimile has been published by Boethius Press under the supervision of Warwick Edwards (Leeds, 1974).

exist both in solo and in consort form.”⁹

As I see it, the pieces in LST are written in a variety of styles which may be broken down into two large categories: pieces in which the melody is included in the lute part and pieces in which it is omitted. The pieces in which the lute part does not contain the top part cannot of course be played as lute solos; they require the melody to form a complete musical entity. These pieces are the instrumental equivalents of the lute song. On the other hand, the pieces in which the lute contains the melody work perfectly as lute solos. Indeed, they are less problematic as lute solos than as continuo parts since at this time continuo parts rarely incorporated the melody,¹⁰ a fact that suggests that the player would use the fully realized part as a basis for a continuo part in performance with viols rather than mechanically doubling the parts.

There is additional evidence favoring the interpretation that those pieces containing the melody are lute solos. First, there is Dowland’s letter to the reader, which describes his compositions as “lute-lessons,” a term used exclusively for lute solos. He states: “Hauing in forren parts met

⁹Diana Poulton and Basil Lam, The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland (hereafter referred to as CLM), (London, 1974; 2nd rev. ed. 1978) p.309. The second edition contains some additional corrections. Poulton and several other writers do not mention the second edition; however, page references are to the 1978 edition unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁰The main exceptions are the highly elaborate lute parts for a small but significant number of some of the mixed consort arrangements. Lute songs rarely double the melody.

diuers Lute-lessons of my composition, publisht by strangers...”.¹¹ These compositions to which Dowland refers must have been lute solos since no music for the combination of lute and viols (or violins) by Dowland was published. However, some of his lute solos were published and many circulated in manuscript form.

Second, we can infer from their presence in ms. sources for solo lute that the pieces from this collection were clearly played as lute solos, since a substantial number of these sources contain no consort parts.¹²

Third, the pieces are written in the same style as lute solos and would be indistinguishable from lute solos if they were found in ms. sources.

Since the lute players of the time considered these pieces to be lute solos, and since Dowland himself refers to them as “lute-lessons,” and since the pieces are completely satisfactory as lute pieces (and may be considered among the finest of that genre, a point that I will discuss in the chapter on style), it seems inappropriate to exclude them altogether from the collected works for solo lute, or to supplant them with poor ms. versions of less certain provenance as virtually all modern editions have done.¹³ In fact, the editors of CLM have even included consort parts in

¹¹From the note “To the reader,” in the front matter of LST.

¹²That is, no parts which are identifiable as consort parts on the basis of style are designated as such, or are collected with related instrumental parts. As I will show, however, many of the lute solos in mss. could have been used as consort parts, and the transition from solo to consort could have been made at sight by the performer.

the edition under the assumption that they are lute solos.

The tone and substance of Dowland's letter to the reader would have been perfect for Robert Dowland's collection Varietie of Lute-Lessons (Var). Yet no such statement from John is present in the later collection, and its notable absence further underscores the importance of the letter: John reserved this statement for LST. The pieces in LST are important, authoritative works which receive the appropriate comments from Dowland himself, whereas the pieces in Var received no discernable personal attention. The position of the pieces in these two sources affects the evaluation of the largest collection of lute pieces which were copied by Matthew Holmes.

The lutebooks of Matthew Holmes

The lutebooks of Matthew Holmes, also known as the Cambridge lutebooks, constitute the largest and most important source of English lute music, as became clear from Ian Harwood's article of (1963).¹⁴ The set of mss. consists of four books of music for solo lute, all in the same handwriting, another book containing an incomplete set of consort parts,

¹³Because the versions in LST include parts for strings, modern editions have overlooked their value as a source for lute solos.

¹⁴Harwood, Ian. "The Origins of the Cambridge Lute Manuscripts," JLSA v (1963), pp. 32-48.

and a book of solo music for cittern. For the present discussion, I will refer primarily to the four lutebooks, which are as follows:

Dd.2.11 (D2)

Dd.5.78 (D5)

Dd.9.33 (D9)

Nn.6.36 (N6)

The work of Harwood has identified the compiler of the mss. as Mathew Holmes, a “singingman” at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1588 to 1597, and at Westminster Abbey from 1597 until his death in 1621.¹⁵ Whether Holmes copied the nearly 700 pieces for his own use or for a patron is unclear. It is certain, however, that the collection was used extensively since there are many corrections in different colored inks and other evidence of use such as sketches, marginalia and candle drippings.

Since the sketches are in Holmes’ hand, it is likely (though by no means certain) that he intended the pieces for his own use, and made alterations and added divisions to the pieces to suit his own taste, a practice which was in accordance with the style of the time (I will discuss these changes to the text in my chapter on style).

¹⁵Harwood, Ian. “Origins,” p. 39.

As Poulton and others have noted,¹⁶ the apparently steady deterioration of Holmes' handwriting provides the basis for an attempt at a broad chronology. The suggestion that the mss. were completed between 1610 and 1615 is not conclusive as it is based solely on the style of the pieces. The assumption here is that Holmes would have included the most current pieces in his collection, i.e, from a later date or in a different style or tuning, yet there remains the possibility that as an older musician he would not have followed a different practice. In any case, the collection was certainly finished before 1621, the date of Holmes' death, and 1615 is a reasonable date of conclusion.¹⁷

It is clear from the content of the Holmes lutebooks that Holmes was the kind of collector who copied everything that came across his path. Taste was apparently not a major concern, as ordinary pieces are mixed in with extraordinary ones. Style is a different matter: there are pieces in all the important genres by the major composers of the time. But the main impression is that these books are the work of a true collector. There are, for instance, often several versions of the same piece. These versions are not distinctly different in quality, and the impression is given that Holmes copied fairly indiscriminately from the mss. that came across his path--as an ardent collector he could not resist making a copy even if he already

¹⁶JD, pp. 97-100.

¹⁷For more information on the dating of the ms., see JD, p. 100 and Harwood, "Origins," p. 32.

had one or more versions of a piece. More careful collectors, such as the compiler of the Jane Pickeringe lutebook, would collect fewer pieces and either carefully rewrite them to suit their taste, in counterpoint, fingering and ornamentation, or choose sources that reflected their own personal style.

Dowland's popularity is reflected in the number of compositions that are either directly attributed to him in the Holmes sources or are in some way connected with him. To one piece, "Farewell",¹⁸ Dowland added his signature (the tablature and title are in Holmes' hand). All in all, the Holmes lutebooks contain nearly eighty pieces (some of them duplications) which can loosely be attributed to Dowland. These pieces represent nearly a tenth of the number of pieces in the mss., indicating that either Dowland was Holmes' favorite composer or that Holmes had easy access to a source for Dowland's pieces. That this source was Dowland himself seems unlikely since most of the pieces (with the exception of "Farewell") do not survive in forms that, as I will show, are consistent with Dowland's style. Another possibility is Dowland's connection with consort music, which I will discuss in conjunction with D9.

D2

D2 is the earliest of the four, and it can be dated between 1588 and 1595. Although various writers differ over the exact date, it seems clear that the Dowland pieces must be from 1588 or later, as he is referred to as

¹⁸Dd.5.78.3, fo. 43v/44.

“Mus.Bac.” (Both Dowland¹⁹ and Morley²⁰ received the Mus.Bac. from Christ Church, Oxford, on July 8, 1588).

D2 contains thirty pieces which have some connection with Dowland; of these, none can be considered to be authoritative in the same sense as the solos from the songbooks. None of these pieces is a version of the authoritative pieces, and only a few are of pieces that exist in sources with a demonstrable connection with Dowland, such as Varietie of Lute-lessons.

The lute solos in D2 fall into two related categories: consort music and lute songs. It is striking that there are no fantasies and few pavans, the forms in which Dowland excelled. This interesting omission invites speculation.

The titles of the pieces in D2 give a clue as to their origin. The pieces are all named, which is unusual, and the names appear to be those of patrons or influential people. The names may reflect a circle of amateur musicians. Since the majority of the pieces have titles, and the titles are usually names of patrons or popular tunes, it is reasonable to assume that these names are consistent with the intended function of the music.

It is difficult to explain precisely why this earliest layer of pieces attributed to Dowland consists of consort pieces and popular tunes which

¹⁹JD, p. 49.

²⁰See Philip Brett, “Thomas Morley,” article in New Grove, v. 12, p. 579.

have been arranged for lute. The simplest explanation is that these pieces represent Dowland's early style. Another (and contrary) explanation is that they represent arrangements of the pieces in Dowland's preferred genres, and that these arrangements have no connections with Dowland's own solo style. These two points of view represent extremes; the solution to the origins of these pieces may lie somewhere in between. For example, a piece may have no connection with Dowland in its transmission, but the author of a specific version may be consciously imitating Dowland's style. Needless to say, the process of determining authorship solely on the basis of style is not precise in regard to specific pieces--it is impossible to state unequivocally that a piece is by Dowland because it is in a particular style. However, it is possible to outline the likely size and shape of Dowland's output with a reasonable degree of certainty, and to provide the best versions in cases that are ambiguous.

D2 contains two versions of "Lachrimae," the piece which more than any other established Dowland's fame in England and throughout Europe. These pieces will be discussed along with the other Lachrimae settings in chapters three and five. These two settings are unusual in that one is in G and the other is in A. Despite the opinion of a number of writers that the version in G is the earliest, there is no strong evidence to support this theory.²¹ Although the version in A is clearly a lute solo, it is

²¹Poulton states unequivocally that the version in G must have been written first (JD, p. 127).

not included in CLM. Since these two pieces occur in close proximity in the ms. they may well have been thought of as a set. In fact, the two may represent two basic styles: the division style and the consort style. As we shall see, it is also likely that the version in A is the one which represents Dowland's preference in terms of key.

The style of the pieces in D2 will be compared to the style of the pieces in the core repertory in chapter three. For present purposes, it is important to note that the pieces were all composed in a melodic style, that they are not very difficult (nor very easy), and that these particular attributes of style do not precisely mirror the various styles evident in the songs, the consort music and the lute solos of firm attribution.

D5

D5 is next in chronological order; the few facts concerning the dating of D5 are summarized in John Dowland.²² D5 contains twenty-three pieces attributed to Dowland; as mentioned previously, to one of these, "Farewell," Dowland has added his signature to Holmes' copy (the tablature is in Holmes' handwriting).

The pieces in D5 are less uniform in terms of style and genre than those of D2. Although the style is predominantly melodic, there is a great deal more variety in texture, and some of these textures require a formidable technique. The dance forms which are the mainstay of the lute

²²JD, p. 98.

repertory, particularly the pavans and galliards, comprise more than half of the pieces attributed to Dowland. There is one alman, “My lady Hunsdon’s puffe.” With the exception of the “Farewell” fancy, the remainder are tune settings similar in style to the ones in D2 and tune variations which have a more complicated texture and are more difficult to play.

Four pieces from D2 are also represented in D5, marking the beginning of a process or habit that characterizes the collection of mss. as a whole. Holmes’ tireless collecting of lute pieces regardless of whether he already had a copy of the piece is certainly not typical of the lute mss. taken as a whole. Although the process seems puzzling, it may well reflect the popularity of the pieces; it certainly is characteristic of one other enclave of mss. that includes lute mss.--the Paston sources.²³ Pieces which were more popular would have circulated in more versions and in more copies, and these would in turn have been more likely to have crossed Holmes’ path. Holmes may also have copied the pieces because they were popular and therefore desirable, and they may well have been Holmes’ favorites. Another possibility is that Holmes was seeking a version that was “better” or more suited to his taste. The mss. reflect this theory to a degree--some versions show the wear and emendations that indicate use, while others do not; Holmes seemed to acquire a taste for heavy ornamentation, but the sources may also reflect the many shifts in popular styles of the time.

D9

D9 contains twenty-two pieces that are attributed to Dowland; another five pieces from this source are included in CLM.²⁴ The source continues the trend towards elaborate diminutions, and some of these pieces are as difficult as any in the entire literature (see for example CLM nos. 2, 17, 34, and 73). Holmes adds no new genres except for an unusual “In nomine” setting. In general, the makeup of D9 is similar to that of D5: the only difference lies in the tendency towards ornamentation. “Forlorne hope fancy” (CLM no. 2) is worthy of note as it is closely related to “Farewell.” Both pieces are based on the chromatic hexachord and both employ a number of the same contrapuntal procedures. “Forlorne hope fancy” contains more of the flamboyant figuration that characterizes the music of D9. Although D9 contains a few of the pieces in the consort style that is more prevalent in D2, the majority of the pieces are galliards (the most common), pavans and fantasies.

N6

²³For a discussion of the Paston sources, see Philip Brett, “Edward Paston (1550-1630): a Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection.” Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol. iv (1964), p. 51.

²⁴The unusual number of transcriptions (both attributed and unattributed) from D9 shows that this source, buttressed by the other mss. copied by Holmes, is the central focus of CLM. Although this heavy reliance on what is clearly a problematic source is not expressly stated in the critical commentary, the work of Holmes dominates the edition, even to the extent of replacing versions that are connected with Dowland.

N6 is the latest in date of Holmes' books; a number of factors indicate that there is little or no overlap chronologically with D9.²⁵ N6 is the least important of the four sources in terms of Dowland's works: only five or possibly six pieces are attributed to Dowland, and of these all but two occur in the other three books. It is unlikely that the two pieces that remain are by Dowland for reasons that will be discussed in the chapter on Dowland's style. N6 is important since, as it is the last in the series of the Cambridge lutebooks, it confirms the stylistic trends established in the earlier books. It bears only indirectly, therefore, on the study of Dowland's works. N6 contains a number of pieces by Daniel Batchelar, and only a few by Dowland: this suggests a shift in Holmes' preference; Batchelar's style (relentless divisions) certainly fits the pattern of the sources. The hypothesis that Dowland composed few if any lute solos later in life would also explain the small number of pieces in the ms., but the hypothesis is difficult to prove.²⁶

Summary of the Cambridge lutebooks

The most striking feature of the pieces in the Holmes lutebooks work is texture. The majority of the pieces are written in a strictly melodic style; it is likely that these pieces are tune settings or arrangements of

²⁵These factors include the style and type of the pieces, as well as the handwriting and the way in which the tablature is notated. See JD, p. 99.

²⁶The unusual situation, discussed in Chapter VI, in which Dowland's music in its later, printed sources was passed over by copyists in favor of unauthoritative, earlier mss. versions indicates that Dowland's music in its pristine, unornamented form was out of fashion.

consort music. The earliest pieces are relatively simple in style and technique; the style changes through time to include fantasies in imitative style and also pieces with elaborate divisions. Except for the fantasies, the texture is predominately two-part, treble and bass, and the bass part is supportive rather than an independent line. I will show that it is unlikely that this texture is representative of Dowland's style.

The Cambridge lutebooks occupy an extraordinary position in Dowland scholarship. The pieces in these books provide the core repertory for the Poulton-Lam edition of Dowland's lute music. Therefore, any determination about their authenticity or style affects the core repertory. If Holmes' work is determined to represent his own personal style, or a hybrid style of many composers of which Dowland was the most important, then the core repertory must be completely redefined. Two diametrically opposed interpretations of Dowland's work are therefore possible, both of which hinge upon the way in which this source, the most important source for English solo lute music, is evaluated. Since only one of the pieces, "Farewell," has any demonstrable connection with Dowland himself (specifically, through his signature), any basis for the authenticity of the lute solos with attributions or connections to other composers, including Dowland, must be made on the basis of style and the relationship of this source to the other sources. Both of these questions will be taken up in later chapters.

Once a core repertory of Dowland's pieces has been established, it will for the first time be possible to make a cogent analysis of the composer's style. This information can then be brought to bear on the pieces of questionable attribution. The critical decisions in such an evaluation of style primarily concern the making of an extensive list of compositional tendencies. These include: genre; fingerings that are used or avoided; meters; registers; figuration; time signatures, and so on. After such a list has been compiled, each piece may be assessed according to necessarily subjective criteria. For example, in the pavans Dowland never uses triple meter, nor does he change the time signature; the presence of triple meter or a change in time signature in a pavan (but not in a fantasia or galliard) reputed to be by Dowland would therefore raise certain questions, although one cannot, of course, rule out pieces on the basis of their individuality. On the other hand, the presence of certain types of formulaic writing in the cadenzas of pieces attributed to Dowland in the Cambridge lutebooks, and the absence of such writing in other sources, makes a strong case for the theory that these are interpolations by another composer. My research has identified certain sketches in the margins of the Cambridge lutebooks as cadential material in various stages of development, and I have been able to match these sketches to specific pieces attributed to Dowland: the sketches clearly indicate the process of revision. As mentioned previously, one's first impression of Dowland's style is one of confusion, as pieces of amazing complexity and technical

difficulty coexist with ones of such blandness that one is tempted to dismiss them as nothing more than sketches, student exercises or mistakes. Whatever conclusion is reached about such diametrical differences in style, these simple pieces cannot be included in the edition without some type of rationale, nor can the endless and seemingly tasteless variations by later composers on Dowland's tunes be incorporated without comment.

Inherent in this kind of analysis is, of course, the danger of reducing a composer's style to a set of dogmatic formulas to be used as a basis for weeding out misfits. The result would be to create uniformity that reflects Dowland no more than Poulton's and Lam's uncritical mass of music. Nonetheless, an attempt to evaluate style based on a set of assumptions that reflects the historical situation and musical reality of the lute repertory more accurately will undoubtedly reveal more about the composer and his music than earlier attempts at "style analysis" have done. In any case, the problem of the pieces of questionable or multiple attribution is so interesting and complex that the challenge of the material is irresistible.

Other sources in the Cambridge University Library

It is important to remember that the phrase "Cambridge lutebooks" refers to the four mss. compiled by Holmes. The library contains three

other mss. which contain pieces attributed to Dowland, these are Dd.4.22(E), Add.3056(D), and Add. 2764(2). These are abbreviated D4, 30, and 27.

D4

D4 contains only one piece attributed to Dowland, a setting of “Fortune my foe.” The setting is quite similar to the version in Barley’s New Booke,²⁷ but the compiler has simplified the texture and rewritten the counterpoint (for the worse). Poulton gives a tentative date for the source of 1612.²⁸

30 is an idiosyncratic source, which contains several pieces attributed to Dowland which show evidence of extensive revision on the part of the compiler. The revisions are unusual in that they do not follow the general pattern of simplifying the texture of the pieces in order to transform them into division exercises; instead, the compiler-reviser has chosen to rework the material in a manner reminiscent of the paraphrase style present in mid-sixteenth-century lute sources in France and Italy.

27 contains mostly fragments, but it is an important source because it contains a very early version of the Lachrimae pavan in A, which

²⁷D4 fo. 11v, NB no. 6. The complete title is given in only one source, the other sources give only “fortune.”

²⁸JD, p. 100.

contradicts the assertions by Poulton and others that the piece was originally composed in G.²⁹

Mss. sources in the British Library

The British Library contains five mss. that contain pieces attributed to Dowland. These are as follows:

Add. 31,392

Add. 6402

Add. 38,539 “John Sturt”

Hirsch MS 1353

Eg. 2046 “Jane Pickeringe”

JP

Of these five sources, the Jane Pickeringe Lutebook (JP) is the most important as it contains the largest number of pieces attributed to Dowland. In addition, the ms. as a whole is of very high musical quality; in this respect it differs from the Holmes lutebooks, in which the selection is often less discriminating.

²⁹See the discussion in JP, p. 100, and in this dissertation, chapter three.

Even though most writers acknowledge that JP is one of the best mss. sources, few of its texts have been used as primary source material for modern editions of lute composers, including Dowland. In CLM, for example, the editors use JP only for No. 66, “My lord willobes wellcome home by John dowland.” In this case JP provides the only good reading. None of its versions of important pieces, such as the fantasies or pavans, is included in CLM as a copy-text. It is clear from an analysis of the critical commentary of CLM that the editors have invariably used the Holmes lutebooks as copy-text as well as primary source, and that this reliance on a single set of sources produces a somewhat unbalanced view of Dowland’s work as it is represented in the mss.

The date of JP is given by the inscription on the fly-leaf: “Jane Pickeringe owe [sic] this Booke 1616.” Poulton comments as follows: “The tablature and captions of Eg. 2046 are written in the same hand as that of the inscription on the fly leaf....Clearly it is her own personal collection of music and not one acquired from a professional copyist.”³⁰ Although this is a reasonable assumption, there is no evidence to support it since there are no sources of Jane’s handwriting, or, in fact any good

³⁰JD, p.106. Although Poulton’s assumption that the book was Jane’s personal collection is reasonable, it is by no means certain based on the small sample of her handwriting (the flyleaf) and the fact that Elizabethan hands often look much the same. In addition, the copyist could have written the flyleaf inscription. The date of 1616 is somewhat out of step with the style of the majority of the pieces which were written much earlier, and it is possible that the book dates from around 1600 and came into Jane’s possession later.

evidence about her at all.³¹ It is entirely possible that the copyist was someone other than Jane and was simply responsible for the inscription as well. It is not possible to determine the handwriting of the small number of emendations to the ms. (which were more likely to be connected to the player) since they consist for the most part of small-scale substitutions.

The contents of JP are interesting for a number of reasons. Most of the important composers, including Dowland, are represented, but unlike Holmes, the compiler of this book seems to have had not only good taste but technical expertise on the lute as well. In the Holmes mss. good versions have been collected along with poor versions, and there does not appear to be any discriminations in regard to quality. In JP, the style of the pieces as a whole spans the entire range of both genre and difficulty, but for the most part both the level of difficulty and the quality of the pieces are quite high.³²

The Dowland pieces in JP are exceptional in that they are closer in style to those in Dowland's printed sources than are the pieces in the Cambridge lutebooks. JP emphasizes the contrapuntal aspects of style and avoids the florid ornamentation of the Cambridge and other ms. sources. Of all the Dowland pieces represented in JP, only "Piper's pavan" contains extensive ornamentation. Included in JP is a version of "Semper

³¹The discussion of Jane's identity in JD, p.106, is based on speculation.

³²JD, p. 106. "The contents include examples of the most highly developed virtuoso music of the time and the owner must have been a performer of considerable ability."

dolens” which closely follows the version in LST. The only substantial change is the interpolation of a cadential formula at the very end. This piece was clearly played as a lute solo in a form that closely resembles the lute part in LST, supporting the contention that many, if not all, of the pieces in LST are lute solos.

William Barley’s A New Booke of Tabliture (1596) (NB)

NB is a major printed source of English lute music that has received little attention. The primary work was done by Wilburn Newcomb as an MA thesis which was later published under the somewhat vague title Lute Music of Shakespeare’s Time.³³ The text of the dissertation provides only the bare minimum of background information, and the transcriptions are reliable only as a means of surveying the source itself. No attempt has been made to collate the pieces it contains with concordances in other sources.

NB contains seven lute solos attributed to Dowland. Note that the first three are in the section of the book for the lute, and the final four are in the section for orpharion. Poulton has disregarded the division of NB into sections for lute and orpharion and combined the two divisions, terming the orpharion a wire-strung lute. It seems clear that there is at

³³Penn State University Press, University Park and London, 1966.

least one distinction between the two groups: the orpharion's seventh course is tuned to F in this source, so many of the F-based pieces fall into this section in order to use the open string. The section for lute calls for a seventh course tuned to D.³⁴

NB is often cited as the target for Dowland's often-quoted statement that "falce and vnperfect" versions of his pieces had been printed without his consent.³⁵ Since NB appeared in 1596 and Dowland's "First Booke" followed in 1597, it seems likely that NB is indeed the print to which Dowland refers. In terms of attribution, it is worth noting that Dowland confirms authorship, at least in a general way, and takes issue only with the versions. Barley's book is the only printed source (other than Dowland's own) which contains Dowland's works, and this confirms the theory that Dowland is referring specifically to Barley's work.³⁶

³⁴JD, p.215: "A flat-backed, wire-strung instrument of the lute family." Actually, the orpharion is more closely related to the bandora family, although it is tuned similarly to a lute.

³⁵JD, p.126: "That it [Lachrimae] had appeared by 1596 is shown by its inclusion in *A New Booke of Tabliture* and Dowland's expostulation about the 'false and vnperfect' [*sic: falce and vnperfect*] version presented by Barley." Note that the reference to Barley is an assumption rather than fact. Poulton also claims that the version of Lachrimae published by Barley is so bad that it proves that Dowland's statement refers specifically to NB, but the text is as Ward has indicated: as good or better than that of other sources. See also Ward, "A Dowland Miscellany," p.40.

³⁶In An Introduction to Bibliography (London, 1927/R1951), R.B. McKerrow notes "When an author complains of publication without his consent, the chief point of his grievance seems generally to have been that his work was printed from a faulty manuscript (pp. 133-4). This quote is cited in JD, p.217. It seems reasonable to suppose that the musicians of Dowland's time were more interested in asserting the superiority of their own versions than decrying the quality of what was essentially common practice.

Poulton states the following in connection with NB:

In this same year, 1596, William Barley's A New Booke of Tabliture was printed. It contained seven solos by Dowland, three in the section for the lute and four in that devoted to music for the orpharion. There can be little doubt that this was the first occasion on which any of his lute music had appeared in print and it is not surprising that his resentment was roused by the inaccuracy of some of the versions used. His protest, in The First Booke of Songes (which can hardly refer to any other than Barley's publication), that 'There haue bin diuers Lute-lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, falce and vnperfect' is entirely justified. The pity is that he never fulfilled his intention to 'set forth the choicest of all my Lessons in print' thereby correcting some of Barley's errors with authoritative versions.³⁷

Although Poulton on several occasions refers to NB as an inferior source, she never points to hard evidence, stylistic or otherwise, that can support this hypothesis, other than to cite the occasional wrong note. In fact, NB does contain a number of errors, but all the sources contain errors, and on the whole NB is one of the better sources in this regard.

Dowland's claim that the versions in NB are inferior may represent his true feelings, or it may be the standard Elizabethan disclaimer for unauthorized publications.³⁸ In fact Poulton takes Dowland at his word.

³⁷JD, p. 48. As I will attempt to show, Dowland does precisely this in LST.

³⁸Such as Byrd's statements in the dedication to his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1589: "Some persons joined to me by true bonds of friendship and of substantial reputation, when they recently perceived that certain of my musical songs, owing to the carelessness of scribes in making copies, had suffered a certain amount of error (which had assuredly not crept out of our little music-establishment), finally induced me by their requesting to

This is unwise since the “imperfect copies” complaint was a common excuse for authors to go into print. The point is that as a source, NB is no better or worse than the contemporaneous mss., and any analysis of it on stylistic grounds should include a comparison with the mss. sources. Dowland singled it out merely because it was printed.

It seems to me that it is more than likely that Dowland did indeed fulfill his intention of printing his lute lessons, and that he is referring specifically to LST rather than to Var. The arguments for and against this hypothesis will be discussed and summarized in chapter five.

Foreign sources

The central issue concerning the foreign sources, both printed and manuscript, is simple: are these sources to be considered as important as the domestic (English) ones? Poulton has not given equal footing to the foreign sources, on the grounds that they are foreign. However, since Dowland spent much of his life abroad, was employed at the court of the King of Denmark, wrote much of his music abroad, and furthermore stated with pride that his music had been published in the most important cities

send the songs themselves to the press, but only when they had first been brought to the lathe and made more correct.” For a complete transcription, see The Byrd Edition, Philip Brett, general editor; volume two, edited by Alan Brown, p. xxi.

(he does not denounce these foreign, printed versions as “falce and vnperfect”), the foreign sources should be regarded as potentially important as any of the English sources for which there are no discernible links to Dowland.

Instances of Dowland’s music are at present still being discovered and identified in foreign mss. and prints, so that a complete list is not possible. It is possible, however, to draw fairly clear inferences from the pieces that have been identified. It is unlikely, although not impossible, that the descriptions and analyses will have to be somewhat revised on the basis of undiscovered pieces.

In JD, Poulton does not discuss any of the foreign sources in detail. She notes that the foreign mss. provide only a few versions.³⁹ The printed sources are referred to only indirectly. The Schele and Hainhofer mss. are briefly discussed in Appendix I of JD. Although some of the pieces are included in CLM, they are relegated to the back of the book, or ignored. It is clear from the lists in CLM that many of the foreign sources were known at the time of publication, but it is also clear that many of these sources were not even included in the critical commentary as variants, even though several of these sources provide key passages that are missing in the English versions.

Dowland’s comments on the foreign sources are for the most part limited to a few lines in his letter to the reader in his last book of lute

³⁹JD, p. 109.

songs, A Pilgrimes Solace,⁴⁰ although there are a number of references to the effect that he held not only European musicians but specifically lutanists in high esteem.⁴¹

In his letter to the reader, Dowland says the following:

Since some part my poore labours have found fauour in the greatest part of Europes, and have beene printed in eight most famous Cities beyond the Seas. viz: *Paris, Antwerpe, Collien* [Cologne], *Nurenburge, Franckfort, Leipzig, Amsterdam, and Hamburge...*

A study of the extant prints from these cities reveals that some, if not all, of the music to which Dowland refers, is music for solo lute; in particular, Francisque's Trésor d'Orphée (Paris, 1600) and Besard's Thesaurus Harmonicus (Cologne, 1603).

There is no question that the foreign sources must be dealt with fairly, and included in the overall picture of the remarkable dissemination of Dowland's works. Since Dowland was proud that his music was printed abroad, and since he makes no mention of faults as he did for domestic prints, I must cautiously assume that these works have a certain validity in that they were acknowledged by the composer, albeit in a general way,

⁴⁰For a transcription of the text, see JD, pp. 289-91.

⁴¹A number of the lutanists that Dowland met on his travels eventually contributed works to MB. In addition, Dowland relates the supposed amazement of the Europeans in regard to the English lutanists in the introduction to PS. Aside from John Johnson, however, whose works appear in the Schele ms. and a few other mss. sources, Dowland is the only composer whose works are well-represented abroad in the important sources, both printed and ms.

and not criticized. In this sense, the foreign sources are ahead of the domestic sources, and Dowland goes on to criticize the excess of ornamentation (division) which was in vogue in English circles over what Dowland felt was important the “first elements” of music (of which counterpoint is the prime candidate) and the proper use of the hexachord. The foreign sources are clearly legitimate on all grounds except for style, and the evaluation of these sources on that basis must await the determination of the core repertory in the next chapter. It must also be noted that, for whatever reasons, Dowland was pleased that his music appeared in the foreign sources, but angered at their presence in English sources.

The picture of the sources that emerges as a result of perceptions like this is very different than the one presented to us by previous scholars. Only David Lumsden has managed to edit this repertory with a sensitivity to style, but he was dealing with the whole repertory of English lute music, not merely the profile offered by Dowland sources. In addition, he followed the prevailing practice of conflation to “improve” the texts. The next step is to come to a determination of Dowland’s style from an analysis of the authoritative pieces.

Chapter II. The Core Repertory

Any attempt to determine what is “Dowland” and what is not is met with the unyielding paradox that the canon is formed by means of a sense of style and that a sense of style is formed by the pieces in the canon. Any change in the criteria which establish what is authentic or what is not produces not only a different collection of pieces comprising the canon but also a shift, however slight, in our sense of Dowland’s style. This different sense of style is also affected, perhaps, by preconceptions based on the present-day reception of his music.

In Dowland’s case, the problem with the core repertory involves not only these interdependent questions of authenticity and style, but also the degree to which other players interpolated their own sense of style in his works when they wrote them down for their own use. In these instances, the question of alteration by another player adds to the issue of Dowland’s style the matter of distinguishing from it the style of the players who played his works, if such can be determined, as well as the style and circumstances of each ms. taken as a whole. For example, in the case of the Cambridge lutebooks it can readily be seen that a number of different stylistic forces come to bear on each piece they contain. There is Holmes’ taste in music, which is reflected in the type of piece that he chooses to

collect. There are the various types of changes he effects, including *musica ficta*, cadential formulae, divisions, fingering, and texture.

Although it is difficult to say specifically for any one spot in a particular piece, “Dowland would have preferred an F-sharp here,” or, “Dowland would not have fingered this passage in this way,” it is possible to make these kinds of assertions about large groups of pieces, since Dowland’s writing does exhibit certain tendencies, and these assertions in turn reveal a good deal about the types of pieces associated with Dowland’s name. In addition to the well-documented techniques of borrowing and paraphrase, certain “riffs” or fingering patterns seem to have acquired a life of their own--particularly the little cadential tag that first surfaces at the end of Dowland’s song “Flow my teares.” The process of stringing these small sections together to create divisions or cadences is really a process of composition by centonization. Since some of the material may derive from Dowland himself it is difficult to separate the centonized versions from the Dowland originals.

Nevertheless, it does seem worthwhile to try to identify a “core” repertory of pieces which exist in a form that is close to Dowland’s original. There seems little doubt that an attempt to delineate such a core repertory will be met with a great deal of resistance, particularly if it involves leaving out a large chunk of the modern performance repertory, that is, everyone’s favorite pieces (including my own). The following model, however, is consistent in that the criteria for each piece are

carefully described and applied. To get any further at this stage with an understanding of Dowland's lute music demands such a radical strategy.

Note that with the exception of the songbook sources (not including MB), there are no sources which are not controversial. This feature of his repertory distinguishes Dowland from other lutanist composers such as Francesco da Milano. There are, however, authoritative sources for the songs and some other music, and this in turn places Dowland in a different category than a composer such as Josquin, in whose case there is no authoritative music extant. Dowland is, however, similar to Josquin in that most of Dowland's lute solos are derived from sources that are either indirectly connected or not connected at all with the composer.

The Dowland canon may be thought of as separate layers of pieces delineated by the sources in which they appear and interrelated by a series of factors such as individual and popular style, as well as the thread of the different versions. At the top are those pieces which seem most likely to be "by" Dowland in all respects. As we proceed down through layers one encounters pieces which are positioned by the criteria established by modern editors. Included in this pile are pieces virtually *created* by modern editors through the various processes of transcription and conflation: new versions which never existed in Dowland's time. Although the process of transcription does not at first seem likely to be involved in this process, as opposed to the better-known hazards of conflation, the latitude in the interpretation of voice leading in the

tablature allows the creation of a musical style that is not in keeping with the style of the time. Some sections of the repertory represent the blend of strong, identifiable personalities, such as Dowland-Holmes or Dowland-Pickeringe. Naturally the specific design of this model depends on the various criteria for what is or is not authoritative, and also what is or is not Dowland's style.

The following model differs radically from models proposed by previous editors, notably Poulton and Lumsden. It is hoped, however, that it will produce a clearer reflection of the historical context as well as a fair assessment of Dowland's style. Naturally its specific design depends on the various criteria for what is or is not authoritative, and also what is or is not Dowland's style. Beginning with the handful of truly authoritative peices, it may be possible to begin to answer those questions and thus, however tentatively, to establish a model that will aid us in approaching the darker recesses of the repertory.

This first category, or level, then, contains those pieces which are authoritative in all respects. They are printed by Dowland's authority and under his supervision. This first category contains one and only one piece, "Galliard to Lachrimae," and the source is a late one, perhaps containing Dowland's last compositions, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612). The date is significant in that it places this source at the end of all of Dowland's published works and later than or contemporaneous with most of the important sources for Dowland's solo works. Thus, any appraisal of

Dowland's "late" style must take this piece into consideration. Ironically, the one piece that is certainly "by" Dowland in all respects is one of the few for which there are no copies or even close versions in the other sources--good evidence that the piece is one of Dowland's last compositions.

The second category contains pieces that are as authoritative as the first category, but are problematic in that they are printed with separate string parts. The custom of fleshing out the lute parts with additional parts in mensural notation is the instrumental analog to the practice of printing the lute ayres with additional vocal parts. Since Dowland refers to these pieces as "lute-lessons,"⁴² and since they are represented in numerous "solo" sources with no more nor less than the usual number of alterations, they must be considered "lute solos," even though (because of the manner in which they were published) they do not conform to a limited notion of what a lute solo is. Pieces in this second category are drawn from two sources: The Second Booke of Songs (1600) (Bk2) and LST (1604). The sole piece from Bk2 is "Dowlands Adew for Master Oliver Cromwell," a pavan in the usual tripartite form with no divisions; a bass part is provided which doubles the bass line of the lute.

Included also in this second category are those pieces in LST in which the lute plays all or most of the melody as it appears in the treble part (for viol or violin). Although there is substantial evidence to support

⁴²For a transcription of the front matter of LST, see JD, pp. 342-5.

the view that *all* of the pieces in LST are lute solos I choose to include in this category only those which clearly were conceived with a treble part, as the possibility exists that the “tuneless” pieces may have been conceived as duets with the option of consort performance--in the same sense that the lute songs are duets that include other parts, and which need at least a tune-bearing voice in order to make them appropriate for performance.⁴³

The pieces in these first two categories form the core repertory. Note that with the exception of “Galliard to Lachrimae,” none of these pieces is used as the primary versions of CLM, and, in fact, few of these pieces are included in CLM at all. The core repertory, as I propose it, is not a complete list of the works thought to be “by” Dowland; instead, it comprises all those lute solos that are authoritative in all respects and that do not depend on matters of style for their attribution. The core repertory, then, may be used as an unimpeachable source for a delineation of style.

The next category includes pieces which are attributed to Dowland, which are completely consistent with the style of the core repertory, and which derive from sources that are directly connected with Dowland in some way. This category includes one piece, the “Farewell” fancy, from the Holmes lutebooks.⁴⁴ In addition, the possibility exists that some of the

⁴³A complete discussion of these pieces in the second category is given in chapters three (“Dowland’s adew”) and five (LST).

⁴⁴D5, fo. 43v/44. Poulton gives the title as “Farwell,” (CLM (1978), p.313 and elsewhere) however, the “e” is clearly present in the ms., attached to the previous “r.” The title is correctly cited by Lumsden, Ward and others.

pieces from FD, or sections of these pieces, may ultimately belong in this category.

The next two categories are something of a trade-off. On the one hand, there are pieces which are attributed to Dowland, which are completely or nearly consistent with the style of the core repertory, but which are not directly connected with Dowland. On the other hand, there are the pieces in Var, which form a category of their own. The pieces in Var are connected with Dowland in that they were chosen and most likely revised by his son Robert. They are not, however, consistent as a whole with the style of the core repertory (the degree of consistency varies from piece to piece). Their connection to Dowland is in my view more similar to that of pieces in other sources more distant from Dowland in which a performer or scribe has left the impression of another personality upon the text.

Since the pieces in Var are not consistent with the style of the pieces in the categories so far described, I have chosen to place them after the pieces that are related in style. In this way the model for the categorization of Dowland's solos is consistent. After this initial category, in which the features of style and attribution are combined, the pieces are grouped by source, beginning with Var, which has the closest connection to Dowland. The rest of the sources are placed in an order roughly determined by the sense of Dowland's style that emerges in the ensuing discussion. This method minimizes the stylistic connections among the English sources,

and shows for the first time Dowland as standing somewhat apart from what we have been taught to think of as the “English lute style.” What it reveals, on the other hand, is that Dowland’s style is closer to the English *vocal* style; in comparison to the florid English lute style he is somewhat of an outsider and in some ways closer to the styles of playing on the Continent.

The problems associated with the texts of Dowland’s music indicate that there is a need for two sorts of Dowland edition: one organized by source and the other by style and circumstance. It would be simplistic to favor one over the other, so both lists are included. In practical terms, it is not feasible to construct two such editions, though they would give by far the most helpful and accurate view of Dowland’s works. The present method of presentation is based on the observation that for each piece most of the sources provide enough variants to constitute an independent version. Eventually, the Dowland picture can only be completed by the transcription and editing of each individual version from each individual source. For the present model, an edition has been constructed, around the concept, outlined above, of a “core repertory,” and it is not, therefore, organized exclusively around each source, although each piece bears the unmistakable stamp of one particular source in its style and appearance.

Nevertheless, the principal categories of Dowland’s music as they are defined in this edition are consistent with the sources from which they are derived. Thus the first category contains a single piece from a single

source, the second category pieces from two related sources, and the third contains one piece from one source. Therefore, the core repertory is consistent not only in terms of style but also in terms of the sources from which the pieces are selected. The problem of the sources only becomes acute in terms of the pieces which are not authoritative. If this were not the case, if the edition of Dowland's works were based purely on the mss., the edition would most likely be arranged around each individual source.

This discussion of the concept of a core repertory has focused on the new perception I have tried to bring to the Dowland source situation. In view of the radical difference of this perception from the one presented to us in CLM and other writings, it seemed important to make quite clear on what textual basis it lay. The next step, undertaken in the following chapter, is of course to address what has been missing here, the all-important question of style. It will be important to keep in mind, in the following discussion, that the core repertory does not absolutely limit the notion of Dowland's style. The possibility must be allowed that on any one day of his creative life he wrote a piece which answers to none of the characteristics brought to light as painstakingly as possible in the following discussion. Nevertheless, and always bearing such a possibility in mind, a picture of tendencies and predilections that has some consistency in its outlines emerges, as we shall see. What better way, we may ask, is there of proceeding into the pieces in sources with a more tangential relation to Dowland, than of seeing how closely their features resemble those of the original portrait?

Chapter III. The Style of the Core Repertory

Dowland's essential style revolves around the interplay of two distinct elements: the counterpoint of the music and technical demands on the player. The technique is the servant of the notes: the technical style is rarely, if ever, showy. Dowland always includes a thoroughly difficult passage in his works; a passage which cannot be simplified as it results from the inevitable coincidence of voice leading. The type of difficulty involved results from the crunch and stretch of fingers, combined with difficult shifts, instead of the blur of speed. This kind of difficult writing is rarely found in English pieces but is more common in Continental music, particular in those pieces closer to vocal writing than the elaborate *ricercar-fantasia* style of the second half of the 16th century.

Dowland's style is also defined by what it is not. It is not the highly florid style of Richard Allison or Daniel Batchelar; it is the reserved style of the lute ayre.

The discussion so far has proposed a unified notion of Dowland's style. But Dowland's style is only consistent if we accept the model of the core repertory that excludes, with some exceptions, the pieces in some of the major sources, the most important of which is Var. If we include those sources which include the examples of full-blown division style we must modify the model to take this style into consideration.

Galliard to Lachrimae

“Galliard to Lachrimae” is the focal point for studies of the lute solos of John Dowland. It is the only piece in the authoritative, printed sources which contains divisions. In addition, its relationship to the various and numerous versions of “Lachrimae Pavan” provide a number of insights in regard to the source situation of these versions.

The galliard is included as the last piece in Dowland’s last book of lute songs A Pilgrim’s Solace, which was published in London in 1612. There are several modern transcriptions, notably by Fellowes⁴⁵ and, of course, the version in CLM.⁴⁶ Fellowes’ transcription retains the original time values, while CLM does not.

The analysis of “Galliard to Lachrimae” depends to a certain extent upon whether the piece actually dates from 1612: the dating is crucial in order properly to assess Dowland’s late style. If the date is accurate, and I believe that it is, the piece represents his latest authoritative work; it is later than both Var and A Musicall Banquet, which were both published by Robert Dowland in 1610.

⁴⁵A Pilgrim’s solace, v. 12 of The English School of Lutenist Song Writers, E. Fellowes, ed., v. 12, ca. 1925. There is no reference to Fellowes transcription in the modern Dowland editions nor in the article in New Grove by Poulton (v. 5, pp. 596-7) even though it is likely that the transcription was referred to in the preparation of CLM.

⁴⁶CLM (1978), no. 46, p. 158.

The clues to the date of “Galliard to Lachrimae” do not reside exclusively in the style, and, in any case, it would be risky to date the piece on the basis of style alone. Nonetheless, the divisions which open the repeat of the second strain seem to have a toccata-like character which would be entirely consistent with Italian lute music from c. 1610:

Example 1

Note that in the first bar the divisions do not really take off from the melody but instead establish a separate texture, a texture which if used in the English division style would generally be reserved for the end of a set of variations, after the tune had been firmly established. There is also a sense of fragmentation of the melody in this bar that is asymmetric with respect to the harmonic and melodic structure: this is not the standard Elizabethan division; it is something new, Italian, and Baroque.

The most reliable clue to the date comes from the use of diapasons, or open strings which are tuned diatonically and are used to provide a strong bass support for the melody. These open strings provide a way of dating tablature since another string was added to extend the bass register of the instrument every five or ten years. Thus, the six-course instrument was the norm until about 1590, and by 1610 the ten-course was becoming the standard, while at the same time the minimum number of courses was eight. In some cases pieces were rewritten to accommodate the lute(s) with more strings,⁴⁷ but in these cases it is usually easy to see if the piece

⁴⁷For example, “Semper Dowland semper dolens” in JP, fo. 31v.

has been modified by the way in which the lower courses are used, usually to double some of the bass notes.

If the piece uses the bass notes in an integrated manner, it is likely that the piece was composed with the larger lute in mind (and if the piece simply does not play well on a smaller lute). Although it is hard to define exactly what “play well” means, since difficult or even awkward passages are common in Dowland’s music, it is clear in the case of “Galliard to Lachrimae” that the piece is more musical when played on the nine-course instrument that the tablature requires. This instrument, which has the bass notes tuned to F, D, and Eb, is the same type of instrument that Dowland specifies in LST, which was published in 1604. The instrument was new in 1604, and it is likely that few English lutanists would have had access to one. By 1610 the instrument would have been somewhat more common. The evidence is clear that by 1604 this nine-course instrument was Dowland’s choice for his music.

In bar 46 (CLM’s barring) the following passage occurs:

Example 2

In m. 46 the G which is suspended can only be played with great difficulty on a seven-course instrument and not at all on a six-course. The bar begins a long bass descent which ends with the Phrygian tetrachord-- which is Dowland’s contrapuntal trademark, and, of course, the opening phrase of the Lachrimae pieces. These last four notes would be awkward

on a seven-course instrument but are easy on a nine-course, since the notes G, F, Eb and D are the lowest four courses of the instrument.

The overwhelming evidence therefore is that “Galliard to Lachrimae” was written between 1604 and 1610, or is a substantial revision of a piece composed earlier (as opposed to a revision which merely changed a few notes or added new divisions). The importance of the date cannot be overstated since a great deal of stylistic inferences may be drawn from this piece. In addition, the style of this piece is quite different from other pieces attributed to Dowland that are roughly contemporaneous, in particular the pieces in the Holmes mss. as well as the pieces in Var.

Considering that Dowland composed the piece, that it was printed and widely circulated, and that the piece is a galliard to one of the most popular pieces of the time, it is extraordinary that there are no concordances. The only likely explanation is that Dowland’s solo music for lute had gone out of style,⁴⁸ and moreover that Dowland’s style of playing his own music was not in style. One is tempted to suppose that had he composed the galliard with twice as many notes, it would no doubt have been well-received, or at least copied. But it seems that few had use for the serious music of “Doctor” Dowland.

These issues and more are clearly set forth in Dowland’s introduction to PS,(the entire text of the introduction is reproduced in full

⁴⁸The same is true, to a lesser degree, for the songs.

in JD, pp. 288-291). The substance of the text touches directly on the issues of the styles of the music of the time. Dowland's point of view is clearly articulated, and he manages to be diplomatic and caustic at the same time, as in the following excerpt:

Since some part of my poore labours haue found fauour in the greatest part of Europes, and beene printed in eight most famous Cities beyound the Seas....yet I must tell you, as I haue beene a stranger; so haue I againe found strange entertainment since my returne; especially by the opposition of two sorts of people that shroude themselues vnder the title of Musitians. The first are some simple Cantors, or vocall singers, who though they seeme excellent in their blinde Diuision-making, are meerey ignorant, euen in the first elements of Musicke, and also in the true order of the mutation of the *Hexachord* in the *Systeme*, (which hath ben approued by all the learned and skilfull men of Christendom, this 800 yeeres,) yet doe these fellowes giue their verdict of me behinde my backe, and say, what I doe is after the old manner: but I will speake openly to them, and would haue them know that the proudest Cantor of them, dares not oppose himselfe face to face against me. The second are young-men, professors of the Lute, who vaunt themselues, to the disparagement of such as haue been before their time, (wherein I myselfe am a party) that there neuer was the like of them. To these men I say little, because of my loue and hope to see some deedes ensue [from] their braue wordes.... Moreouer that here are and daily doth come into our famous kingdome, diuers strangers from beyond the seas, which auerre before our owne faces, that we haue no true methode of application or fingering of the Lute. Now if these gallant yong Lutenists be such as they would haue the world beleeeue, and of which I make no doubt, let them remember that their skill lyeth not in their fingers endes: *Cucullus non facit Monachum*.⁴⁹

Dowland's statements, taken within the context of the musical styles of the time, give a clear indication of where his stylistic sensibilities lie,

⁴⁹"The cowl does not make the monk." In addition to the well-known usage in

and reinforce the conclusions about his musical style drawn from the analysis the music which is known to be authoritative. Dowland's statements about his music and the style of the music itself present a complete and convincing picture; on the other hand, many of the nonauthoritative sources seem to embody the very principles to which Dowland objects so forcefully. Since Dowland's letter is contained in the same print in which he also published "Galliard to Lachrimae," it is important to understand Dowland's viewpoint at that particular time, and the specific connection between his statements and music.

The essential points of Dowland's letter which bear on his musical style may be reduced to a few working statements, as follows. Dowland's style is international in that he spent a great deal of time on the Continent, knew and met some of the most famous of the Continental composers, and had his works published in Europe, a fact he approved and thought of as a mark of distinction. Dowland did not approve of "blinde Diuision-making," and may not have approved of some kinds of divisions at all, particularly the styles employed by some of the singers of the time as well as some of the lute players. Instead, he favored music that included the "first elements" of music and a knowledge of the hexachord. Finally, Dowland makes a point of criticizing the technique of the players of the time, stating that they have no true method, and admonishes them that

Twelfth Night, Shakespeare works the quote into two other plays: *Henry VIII*, act III, scene I; *Measure for Measure*, act V, scene I. For more information, see M. Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, p. 586.

“their skill lyeth not in their fingers endes.” This last statement is somewhat ambiguous and is discussed in greater detail below.

Dowland’s international status has been clearly established by previous writers.⁵⁰ The identity of the “proudest Cantor,” to which he refers in the letter, is much less clear, if indeed Dowland had a specific person in mind. A few possibilities come to mind, such as any of the compilers of the contemporaneous songbooks, which recently have been reproduced in a facsimile edition by Garland.⁵¹ It must be noted that Matthew Holmes himself, whose lutebooks form a substantial part of CLM must be considered a candidate, or at least part of a milieu that Dowland objected to strongly. The following example, from Robert Johnson’s “Care-charming sleep,” gives a good example of the kind of divisions of which Dowland might have disapproved. The first few bars are given, along with the divisions:⁵²

Example 3

The elaborate style of the mss. sources is in marked contrast to the style of most of the printed sources of lute songs, which generally do not

⁵⁰Dowland is by far the best represented of the English lutanists in Continental sources and one of the few composers for the lute to be imitated by composers for keyboard, such as Sweelinck.

⁵¹English Song, 1600-1675, Elise Jorgens, ed. (New York, 1986). Volume two contains mss. from the British Library.

⁵²A somewhat conflated version of the entire piece is transcribed by Ian Spink in Robert Johnson Ayres, Songs and Dialogues, v. 17 in The English Lute-Song (2nd ser., New York, 1961) p. 36, after versions in BL Add. 11608 and Bodleian Library MS Don.c.57.

contain divisions. On the other hand, the printed sources of solo lute music do contain divisions, following the pattern established by the books published by Le Roi & Ballard from mid-century on. “Galliard to Lachrimae” also contains divisions, but they are not in a highly florid style; indeed there are no divisions provided for the repetition of the last strain, which is the opposite of the style of pieces in the highly florid style, which save the fireworks for the end.

Clearly, Dowland is writing in a different style, with a different emphasis and balance. The lack of elaborate divisions focuses the attention of the listener onto more musical matters, onto what Dowland refers to as the “first elements.” Although it is difficult to say precisely what these elements are, it is possible to hypothesize in a general way from what is known of the music theory of the time as well as Dowland’s specific knowledge of theory, which can be derived from passing references that he makes as well as his work in translating the *Musice Active Micrologus*⁵³. For present purposes I do not think it would be far afield to equate Dowland’s “first elements” with the type of material covered in Thomas Morley’s Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597). Dowland and Morley both studied music at the same university, Oxford, and even graduated in the same year, 1588. There is a great deal of evidence connecting the two composers’ styles, some of

⁵³Andreas Vogelsang (styled Ornithoparcus), Musice Active Micrologus (Leipzig, 1517). Translated by John Dowland, Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus... (London, 1609). The translation is discussed in detail in JD, pp. 376ff.

which is discussed in chapter five. Dowland's statement that "these fellowes giue their verdict of me behinde my backe" resonates with the following line of Morley's:

Polymathes [to his master]: whereas you justly complaine of the hate and backbiting amongst the musicians of our countrey, that I knowe to be most true, and speciallie in these young fellowes⁵⁴

Dowland's parting shot at the opposition, in which he states that "their skill lyeth not in their fingers endes: *Cucullus non facit Monachum*" captures the essential tone for his feelings towards musical style. The reference to the fingers must mean one of two things. It could be the application of physical technique devoid of reason, that is, of fingers without mind, or it could mean simply that the players are inept, that they have "skill-less" fingers. Considering the context of divisions, the reference might not seem at first reading to refer to lack of technique on the part of Dowland's rivals, but if Dowland is defining the word skill in his own way, the reference is appropriate since the other players would then have had no "real" skill. To Dowland, this style of "technical" playing was superficial, and to emphasize this point he uses the aphorism "*Cucullus non facit Monachum*," ("the cowl does not make the monk,") that is, it is the internal, essential qualities which are important, as opposed to the exterior, superficial aspects.

Although the point of the aphorism is clear, it is the tone of the phrase which is contemptuous: this is not the sort of Latin that learned

⁵⁴A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (London, 1597) p. 150. The text is cited in JD, p. 71.

Elizabethans would use, but is instead the sort of thing that someone who affected true knowledge would say. In this way the quote is wit; it points out a superficiality by using the sort of saying that someone who is superficial would use--Dowland is “rubbing it in.” The quote appears in Shakespeare’s Twelf[th] Night in much the same context. Dowland is not necessarily quoting Shakespeare, although it certainly is possible that he knew of the play firsthand, but he is certainly using the aphorism in the same manner.

Dowland reinforces his stand on style in his final comments in his letter:

But (Gentle Reader to conclude, although abruptly) this worke of mine, which I here haue published, containeth such things as I myselfe haue thought well of as being in mine opinion furnished with varietie of matter both of Iudgment and delight,⁵⁵ which willingly I refer to the friendly censure, and approbation of the skilful: hoping it will be no lesse delightful to all in generall, than it was pleasing to me in the composition. Farewell.

Dowland’s statement “this work of mine, which I here haue published,” makes no sense unless we accept a context in which nonauthoritative versions of his music were the rule. His statement is certainly unusual if not unique in the body of printed music and even literature of the time. Again, it is the tone of which provides the clue: the authority of the text is not merely claimed but overstated. His reference to a “varietie of matter both of Iudgment and delight” shows where his priorities were centered: in reason.

⁵⁵The phrase “Iudgment and delight” no doubt refers to Horace’s prefabricated dyad from Ars Poetica: *Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae*.

Lachrimae

The Lachrimae pavan is one of the most important pieces of instrumental music of the late-16th and early-17th centuries. It enjoyed a phenomenal reception as the quintessential pavan, and the many arrangements in all the European countries serve as a catalog of the performance practices of the time.⁵⁶

It is not known whether Dowland considered the pavan to be his best work, and there are several pieces for solo lute that are in some ways more brilliant and more difficult, such as “Farewell.” But Dowland certainly was aware of the universal appeal and dissemination of the piece, and it is also clear that he identified very strongly with it, since he occasionally signed his name “Jo: dolande de Lachrimae”⁵⁷ Authors have commented on Dowland’s extensive use of the opening phrygian tetrachord, and the widespread imitation of this motif by virtually every important composer of the time. In short, the piece and several of its

⁵⁶For a more detailed although idiosyncratic description of the Lachrimae phenomenon, see JD, pp. 124ff, as well as Anthony Rooley, “New Light on John Dowland’s Songs of Darkness,” EM (January, 1983) pp. 6-21.

⁵⁷See the facsimile reproduced in JD from the *Album Amicorum* of Johannes Cellarius, inserts following p.256.

motives (not just the opening phrase, as I will show) acquired a life of their own, and to such a degree that the only comparable example from the Renaissance is “La bataille” of Jannequin.⁵⁸

The Lachrimae phenomenon is an essential part of our picture of Dowland’s solo lute music. The piece reveals a great deal about the composer’s style and is crucial to our understanding of what Dowland (as opposed to his contemporaries) considered a lute solo to be. The discussion of Galliard to Lachrimae is appropriate as an introduction to the study of Lachrimae itself, since it is only from this companion piece, the one completely authoritative text idiomatic to the solo lute, that we can draw conclusions about the many versions for solo lute of the pavan.

The discussion of Lachrimae may be conveniently divided along the lines of the source material. First there is the authoritative version in galliard form. Next, a set of pavans for lute and viols. Third, there are a large number of widely varying sources for solo lute in G. Next is a much smaller group for solo lute in A. The instrumental versions are rounded out by a parcel of arrangements for harpsichord or virginals, broken consort, cittern, bandora and others. Last but not least is the song from Bk2 “Flow my tears.” It is for soprano with a possibly optional texted bass

⁵⁸It is possible that the opening phrase of Lachrimae was already so well-established as a musical idea by the time that Dowland wrote his various settings that some of the pieces which seem to be quoting Dowland are merely using one of several popular motives in the public domain. This does not alter the fact that many of these quotations must refer directly to Dowland’s work.

which musically is very close to the version in LST (the main difference is that the lute does not double the melodic line). There is no evidence to suggest that any of the lute solo versions in G or the miscellaneous versions are “authoritative,” whereas the consort versions in LST, the galliard and the lute song version are directly connected to Dowland.

In CLM, Diana Poulton chose the versions from D5 (ff.9v./21) and D2 (fo.81) as the best sources.

These two copies probably represent the original form of the piece. They differ notably from most later versions by omitting the dotted rhythm of bars 27, 28, 29 and 30.

After listing some of the variants, Poulton continues:

Of all Dowland’s compositions “Lachrimae” was the most widely known. It was appreciated at a popular level as well as by those with cultivated musical taste. Not only were arrangements made for many different instruments but a number of composers adopted the opening phrase as a basis for their own compositions. Several of the settings in the English lute MSS have divisions to the repeats that are quite unlike Dowland’s own very personal style and are almost certainly the work of his contemporaries.

The piece was well-known on the continent and it is found in a number of books and MSS, but in general the versions are poor....The lute part in *Lost* [LST] has a number of features which are not present in the solo version. In particular it should be noted that the suspended seventh from bar 1, beat 4, to bar 2, beat 1, belongs purely to the version with viols and is not found in the true solo “Lachrimae.” Originally written for a six-course lute, in the key of G minor, it is quite complete in this form although in later copies the diapason D is often added to the dominant chord....⁵⁹

⁵⁹CLM (1978), pp. 315-316.

The following comments appear in JD:

Of Dowland's own three versions of the piece the order of their appearance seems to be: (1) The Lachrimae Pavan for solo lute; (2) 'Flow my teares' for voice and lute with a sung bass; and (3) the arrangement for viols and lute in *Lachrimae or Seven Teares*, in which it was given the name 'Lachrimae Antiquae'. The problem of the date of composition of the original Lachrimae Pavan is bound up with the chronology of the Cambridge lute MSS....If the evidence is accepted which points to the year 1595 as a likely date for the completion of Dd.2.11, the earliest volume in the series, then we can at least say that the lute solo was in existence by that date as two copies of the piece, one in G minor and one in A minor, are found in this MS.

That it had already appeared by the year 1596 is shown by its inclusion in *A New Booke of Tabliture* and Dowland's expostulation about the 'false and unperfect' [*sic*] version presented by Barley....

Since Dowland himself left no authorized copy of the Lachrimae Pavan it is only by comparison of the numerous copies in English sources that an opinion may be reached as to what constitutes a standard text. Firstly, it can be said with complete confidence that the solo version was originally written in the key of G minor, that is, to the extent it can be considered to lie within either a major or minor scale. The conclusion is based both on the number of copies extant in this key and on the technical facility it affords the player. The higher key of A gives, however, a more comfortable range for the voices and viols although for the lute it considerably increases the difficulty of performance....The second point that can be stated with certainty is that the original was written for a six-course lute. On fo.81v of Dd.2.11 which, in my opinion is the earliest 'good' version, it is interesting to find that in a few places a diapason D has been added in another hand, or in the hand of Matthew Holmes at a later date....

In the list, pp. 487-8, of the copies of Lachrimae which, up till now, I have been able to find, the first eight show a sufficient agreement both in the main structure and the treatment of divisions, and in their conformity with Dowland's style, to make it safe to conclude that they represent his original intention.⁶⁰

⁶⁰JD, pp. 126-7.

In the preceding comments, Poulton constructs a number of arguments concerning the text of *Lachrimae* which are poorly devised and based on inaccurate assumptions. Since her text of *Lachrimae* depends on these arguments, and since many of the problems that apply to this piece apply to the rest of Dowland's works, it is necessary to discuss the details of this text so that the piece will serve as a sort of model for the rest of the canon.

Taking Poulton's statements in order, her opinion that the two versions in G minor in D2 "probably represent the original form of the piece" does not reflect the simplest evidence. The version which is theoretically the earliest is the one in D2 that is in A minor. This version is closely followed in the same ms. by the version in G. Since the pieces in D2 may well be consort arrangements to begin with, it is reasonable to suppose that the "original" form (if there is one) is most likely the consort version in A. This is the theory that fits the evidence. Another possibility is that Dowland created the different arrangements at approximately the same time. The argument that the song version came later has considerable merit, because of the unusual structure of the poem: no Elizabethan poetry exists with such wayward line-lengths other than madrigal translations. Note that the lute solo version in A is not included in CLM at all, even though it lays considerable claim to being considered the earliest version, exists in several sources and is musically close to the authoritative sources defined above.

Poulton states that the suspended seventh that occurs between the first and second bars in the consort version does not exist in any of the lute solo versions. She is referring to the following construction:

Example 4

It is also present in the lute song version in the lute part:

Example 5

In fact the construction is clearly present in two versions in G and also in the solo versions in A. The versions in G are the version in NB and the authoritative Galliard to Lachrimae:

Example 6

Since all of the authoritative versions agree on this point it can be tentatively assumed that the version in NB is the closest to Dowland's "original". A number of other facts support this hypothesis which will be discussed below.

Poulton further states with "complete confidence" and "certainty" that the piece was originally written in G minor and specifically for a six-course lute. She bases these assumptions on the mss., the level of difficulty of the keys, and the appropriateness of the ranges. Since the earliest version is actually in A, and not in G as Poulton states, the G theory can be discounted, at least as a certainty. The level of difficulty is an interesting idea, but since Dowland preferred to write technically demanding music the theory works in reverse: it is much more likely that

his less-accomplished emulators revised the work in an easier form. The key of G permits elaborate divisions, but since Dowland clearly was opposed to this kind of music this theory can also be discounted.

Finally there is the question of the six-course lute. It is important to remember that Dowland wrote no works for six-course lute, that the seven-course instruments and multicourse instruments were in extensive use in Europe by 1595, and were at least present in England, and that Dowland was familiar with the European instruments. Furthermore, the earliest source, in A, is for a seven-course instrument and cannot be adapted to a six-course lute. The scribe of D2 has added notes in a different color ink to the six-course version for a seventh course, but there is no way of knowing when they were added or by whom. Since the source is the only one of its kind, it does not reflect the weight of evidence: Dowland clearly preferred the multicourse instruments and used them for all of his authoritative compositions. Finally, the argument that the key of A is better for voices and viols because it is “higher” cannot be substantiated without explicit context in a genre that had no pitch standard.

The preceding arguments may be summarized briefly at this point before proceeding. There is no authoritative text for a lute solo version of *Lachrimae* in G, although the lute part in LST was played as a lute solo in A and exists in several early mss. copies, notably D2 and 27. There is just as much evidence that the piece began as a consort piece and rapidly

emerged as a popular solo for seven-course lute, as there is to confirm Poulton's argument, which seems less probable for the following reasons. Although the version in G has more concordances, most of these versions seem to be related to an original version that can be tentatively connected to the Holmes lutebooks. These loosely related, nonauthoritative versions share a number of fingering patterns that are clearly distinct from Dowland's style, as it is exemplified in LST and Bk2. A few versions are highly elaborate. The version in A from D2 is in some sense authoritative, as it is the earliest known version, c1595, and is consistent with the style of LST, but versions in G and even broken consort versions in D may have been contemporaneous. Despite what Poulton suggests, there is a version in G which is close in style to the version in LST, and that is the version of NB. Despite Dowland's disclaimer, the work of Ward has shown that this source is as good, if not better, than the other nonauthoritative sources.⁶¹ The few type-placement errors that Poulton singles out are certainly slight in comparison with the errors in Var.

Even though *Lachrimae pavan* in G is not quite in the heart of the "core" repertory, it is mentioned here because although it does not exist as a solo lute piece in a version of absolute authority, nevertheless, its form as a solo is implicit in the version close to Dowland's style in which it does appear. It is briefly worth mentioning that there are three alternatives

⁶¹See the concluding remarks concerning NB in Ward, "A Dowland Miscellany," p. 133.

to using the version of NB. The first, and perhaps the best, is to supply musical additions and emendations to the text based on the authoritative sources, that is, transpose some of the material in A into G and borrow some of the material from the Galliard. In a sense, the material in the galliard can be transformed into duple time and one can thus reverse Dowland's compositional process. This solution assumes that Dowland had a specific version in mind. Second, a "musical" version can be created, conflating the sources into one source and "fixing" problems in the counterpoint that are not fixed in the sources. Such a version has been created by Lumsden⁶² and it is a very musical solution, even though it is unlike that of any of the other sources. In effect, this is a musical equivalent of text critical methods which attempt to reconstruct a lost original from the available witnesses to the textual tradition. Finally, the editor may simply rely on the NB version. It is important to point out that there can be no uniform approach to the nonauthoritative sources; the "musical" approach is perhaps the best one for "Farewell", owing to its elaborate contrapuntal scheme, but for Lachrimae, the borrowing of a few bits of material from the authoritative sources, while relying primarily on the one musically related source in NB is appropriate because of the circumstances unique to this piece

⁶²An Anthology of English Lute Music (London, 1954) pp. 5-6.

Dowland's adew for Master Oliver Cromwell

“Dowland's adew for master Oliver Cromwell,” hereafter referred to as “Dowland's adew,” exists in only two sources: Bk2 and N6. As mentioned previously, the version in N6 was selected for CLM even though Dowland included his own version of the piece in Bk2. Why Poulton and Lam chose the version in N6 is not entirely clear. Entitled “resolucon”, the N6 version is clearly musically inferior and distorts the text of the Bk2 version by introducing awkward skips and parallel fifths in the voice leading. The N6 version was no doubt chosen because it includes divisions.

Example 7

Since the earliest reasonable date for N6 is 1610, and Bk2 was printed in 1600, the N6 version was probably based on the printed text. This hypothesis is reinforced by the presence of similar fingering patterns. It is likely that Holmes revised the piece to suit his taste. The presence of variants, none of which is noted in CLM, is unusual, because if Holmes had access to the authoritative version, and it seems likely that he would have, the unornamented section should be closer to the original. The key to this question lies in the type of variants: Holmes reduces the level of difficulty by opting for chords which contain more open strings.⁶³

The dedication of the piece is not to the Oliver Cromwell of Marvell's ode, but is instead an elder relative.

⁶³For example in bars 2, 17, 20 and 29.

“Dowland’s adew” is particularly important since it is his only authoritative pavan, other than the pieces in LST (which until now have not been considered as “solo” pieces because of the string parts). It is clearly a lute solo, and not a duet for lute and viol, since the viol merely reinforces the bass part without adding any material of its own--precisely the function that the viol fulfills for the song repertory (with a very few exceptions). The viol part is optional, and may be considered a color, or even a part supplied for the sake of completeness, since the combination creates an unusual effect.

Stylistically, the piece is an example of skillful counterpoint blended with a very subtle figuration. The usual tripartite form is adhered to only in that the piece has three sections. The balanced harmonic plan, so common in pavans from this period, which entails a return to the opening key in the third section after a contrasting middle section, is abandoned in favor of a one which alternates between D minor and D major, ending finally in G. The interest is maintained through the static harmony by the cross-relations between F natural and F sharp, as well as the intense motivic development in the figuration. Although the tonal plan is reminiscent of other pavans for funerals, such as Holborne’s “The Countess of Pembroke,”⁶⁴ The affect is extremely reserved;⁶⁵ the

⁶⁴Since the source situation for Holborne’s lute solos is in many respects similar to that of Dowland, there is no modern edition that gives a complete representation of this piece, which was one of Holborne’s most popular. However, for the purposes of comparison, the edition by Masakata Kanazawa (Cambridge, MA, 1967) is certainly good enough. For a source that has not been transcribed, the version in JP is one of the

variation is produced by gradual register shifts and the traditional variation in key centers associated with the pavan. The sensitivity to register is a musical feature that is present in most of Dowland's serious works.

The "surprise"⁶⁶ ending on G is perhaps one of the very few traits that is idiomatic for Dowland's solo lute style, that is, a feature which is rarely not present in the consort music, songs and psalm settings. Dowland uses a similar scheme in "Farewell," which begins in A and ends in G. Similarly, "Semper dolens" begins in A and ends in D, or G in some versions. It is clear from the consort writing that "semper dolens" was first conceived of as a lute solo, as opposed to a more simultaneous conception; the deliberate choice to end the piece in a different key from the beginning is important, and, at least for the pieces of firm attribution, the standard practice, since "galliard to Lachrimae" is the only piece that ends where it began. In the case of "Galliard to Lachrimae," the ending would naturally follow the plan of the pavan; thus limited, it is not a true exception.

The unusual key structure is paralleled in the rhythmic structure by irregular length of sections. The first section has six bars, the second has

best.

⁶⁵I use the term affect since it seems to be the least confusing of the available modern terms. The ambiguity of terminology was of course present in Dowland's time as well in such terms as "mode" and "tone."

⁶⁶The final cadence reflects the ending on G in m. 16, but is nonetheless the piece ends in a different place than the beginning chord.

seven and the third has eight. Dowland's pavans usually use sections of equal length, but a few do not, notably "John Langton's pavan," which has a middle section of seven bars while the outer sections have eight. Again, this "irregularity" may be a freedom that Dowland allows in the lute solos; in the case of "John Langton's pavan" the lute version in D may have preceded the consort version in F. The version in Var has a middle section of eight bars and will be discussed in detail below.

The structure of the barring coincides with Dowland's harmonic and motivic plan. At the climax of the piece, bar seventeen, Dowland reaches the highest note, f', and then begins a chain of figuration to descend to the end. These bars before the cadential formula begins are in a sense extra bars: the ear perceives that the cadential material is a rounding structure, while the beginning of the section recalls the opening phrase. The sequence before the final cadence lasts longer than expected and is tied into the metric and harmonic structure.

As seen in the above example, the final descent after the climax (marked by arrows) is composed out into a sequence. The conflict between F sharp and F natural surfaces once more as the penultimate bar is divided between F major and D major; the conclusion is unambiguous due to the familiar cadential structure and rounding.

The high point of the piece is worth discussing in detail because of the artful way in which Dowland makes all the various compositional devices coincide. It is the highest note of the piece, and it is (for Dowland)

the highest note of the lute (a few versions of his pieces--not his own--go a fret or two higher, but only in the division sections). The high note is the result of intense harmonic and motivic development that begins in the opening phrase (which is begun in the lowest register of the lute). The chord is the strongest of the move to B flat which occur in all three sections of the pavan. In m.4 an assertive sub-phrase opening on B flat leads directly back to D at the beginning of m.5; and in the second strain a displaced cadence on to B flat occurs on the second beat of m.11, again making a point for the return to D and G; the other times B flat makes an appearance it is softened by a G in the chord. It is immediately preceded by the most difficult chord in the piece and the shift between the two chords is the most difficult spot, technically. This point is also the most dense contrapuntally. Note that Holmes reworks this spot so that it is easier to play. In short, all of the compositional devices come together in one place, as a result of long-range planning within the piece. The structural similarities between "Dowland's adew" and "Farewell" are immediately apparent; they are cut from the same fabric. Equally apparent is that few of the pieces attributed to Dowland share the intense and meticulous compositional devices that these few pieces of firm attribution contain.

The contrapuntal texture of Dowland's adew is marked by three and four part writing. The outer voices predominate and it may be said that the piece is written in three and four parts within a two-part framework

which is occasionally varied by ruffled homophony. The texture is occasionally narrowed to the two structural parts, but the implication of more parts, although they are not moving, is maintained by the open strings in chords at key spots in the narrower texture. Dowland uses progressive diminution to mark the cadences, but certainly not the level of diminution present in N6, where Holmes begins adding ornaments even before the repeat of the strain.

Dowland uses as many devices as he can squeeze in to vary the texture; the textural style is thus *intensely* varied, in contrast with the division style of Allison, where a single texture predominates. The opening phrase uses imitation to create parallel sixths, later Dowland casts the imitation in contrary motion and in sequence; even the suspension treatment is varied with the inclusion of a striking 9-8 suspension in bar 8, and the metric displacement in the second strain is worthy of Byrd.

Summary of the style of the core repertory

At each stage of the description of Dowland's works I will summarize the important characteristics of style so that the many interrelated layers may be viewed separately or together with a grasp of the features of each layer. As we have seen this first layer is composed of the small number of pieces in the core repertory which are authoritative in every respect. At the top of the list is "Galliard to Lachrimae," followed

by “Dowland’s adew.” These pieces have a number of explicit relationships with other pieces. Galliard to Lachrimae, for example, is clearly related to Lachrimae pavan in its various incarnations, sharing considerable motivic material with a number of the nonauthoritative versions. The relationship of the galliard to the nonauthoritative but clearly present pavan provides a model for the study of a similar pavan and galliard pair, Piper’s pavan and Piper’s galliard, which is discussed in the next section. The galliard “Dowland’s adew” may have been the basis for a composition of son Robert’s, and it is particularly interesting to compare both to the one variant text of the Dowland original. (This variant is used as the standard text in CLM with many essential notes from Bk2, thus creating a hybrid, as well as the striking stylistic similarities to several of the pieces in the next layer, the “nearly authoritative texts,” in particular “farewell” and “semper dolens.”)

The important aspects of Dowland’s style concern his treatment of the musical and technical resources of the lute, and how these aspects relate to each other and with Dowland’s other compositions. The following outline serves as a starting point for the discussion of style:

Texture, counterpoint and motives

Dynamics and range

Variation and figuration

Section planning and barring

Technical and conceptual difficulty

Recurring and nonrecurring patterns; rounding,

borrowing

Coordination of the different elements

Texture, counterpoint and motives

The pieces discussed so far indicate that Dowland primarily wrote lute music in three- and four-part texture, and rarely used two-part texture except as a structural pair, to provide a brief contrast, or to accentuate the drive to the cadence. The cadence itself makes use of a moving inner part that clashes with the top part. This register of the lute is where the dissonance is most clearly heard.

Aside from questions of thick and thin, Dowland also uses the homophonic, polyphonic (embracing several types of imitation), and the texture which has been termed *style brisé* but for which I use the term ruffled homophony. It is important to point out that for Dowland, these textures are not options but instead part of his basic compositional style. The way that these elements are used varies, but they are always present, and they are directed towards focusing the musical energy in a careful pattern throughout the piece.

Dynamics and Range

The dynamics of lute music are not indicated in the sources from this period. Instead, dynamics are accomplished in a similar manner to the harpsichord--by adding more notes. In this sense, the dynamics of lute music may be thought of as a footnote to texture. In practice, however, lute dynamics are more closely related to range, and, to a certain extent, ornamentation and figuration. Of course, the player could add dynamics at will, by (1) striking the strings harder, or (2) by adding more notes, but there are no specific indications of this practice written into the lute notation as it appears in the sources, even though a number of treatises mention these as performance options.⁶⁷

The extent to which that dynamics are controlled by range, as well as by texture, depends on to the types of strings used. The very highest string, tuned as high as it could stand (modern players, incidentally, tend to make do with one half to two thirds this tension), was by far the loudest string, and each string below sounded softer. The lowest strings were barely able to sound, until the advent of the lutes with extended necks. The loudest part of the top string most likely was the range from c'' to e'', although any note on the top string would be heard clearly. Therefore, consort music as a rule relies heavily on the top string of the lute to “cut”

⁶⁷In Fronimo (Venice, 1584) Galileo states that the lute is the ideal instrument to accompany the voice, due to the wide variety of expressive effects that are possible. For more of the text, see the “Galileo” article by Claude Palisca in New Grove v.7, pp. 96-98.

through the texture. (The music in LST does not: for this and a number of other reasons it should not be considered “consort music.”)

The net result of the considerations of the characteristics of the lute’s sound is that very thick textures could sound very soft on the lute in the lowest range, while a two note texture (particularly articulated suspensions) could sound loud and striking in the upper register. The player will sometimes articulate a suspension in one source that is not articulated in the authoritative source, thus changing the dynamic balance of the piece. In fact, precisely this occurs in the version in JP of one of Dowland’s most important pieces, “Semper dolens.”

The strongest possible dynamic comes from either a full strum, in which all of the notes on the lute are sounded, with or without a suspension. Holmes will often add notes to a chord to round it out, even when it disturbs the contrapuntal and motivic balance. These full strums create a *sforzando* effect at key points in the music.

Melodic dynamics are created by scoring the melody onto the top string of the lute. Almost all lute music is written in this way (a notable exception are technical studies that do not use the top string). Dowland is always careful about the placement of the melody in its relationship to the top string.

Variation and figuration

In this first layer of repertory and in the next as well those pieces of

firm attribution that may be for solo lute--that is, some of the pieces from LST and "Farewell"-- variation and figuration are clearly present, but in a markedly different style than the majority of pieces in CLM. In Galliard to Lachrimae the first two sections are provided with variations while the third is not. Compared to most of the modern editions of pieces from this repertory, this lack of variations in the third movement seems unusual. In reality this particular form is well-represented in the sources where it is not uncommon for third sections to lack variations. Galliard to Lachrimae is particularly unusual in that its close relative, the song "Flow my tears," has no second stanza for the third section, just as there are no variations for the third section of Galliard to Lachrimae. This is very unusual for Dowland's songs, and in addition there are no repeat signs for that section in the print. The piece could be played *come sta*, with repeats (clearly indicated). Another possibility is that the performer improvised variations, possibly drawing upon the repertory of "riffs" that occur again and again in the sources. On the other hand, the simplest course could have been taken; the piece could have been played with variations for the first two sections, but none for the last, allowing the piece to end gracefully with the weight of activity earlier on. Or the variations to the last section could be improvised, providing a freer and possibly more virtuosic display than the more controlled (written out) variations of the first two sections. Ornamental signs no doubt provided endless ways of varying any possible variation schemes. Finally, the last section could be

played just once, as unlikely as this seems. There are a small but significant number of pieces that end abruptly for effect, including a few by Dowland.⁶⁸ There is really no way to determine what the established practice of the time was, or even if the above list is merely a set of choices that were used. It seems reasonable to suppose that Dowland may have intended his pieces to be played exactly as he wrote them in the case of the core repertory. The evidence of FLB, if it can be believed, suggests that Dowland was not completely against the application of ornamental signs, which were customarily left to the performer. On the other hand, there are no authoritative texts that contain these signs, and only a very few written out ornaments occur in the vocal music.⁶⁹ It seems very unlikely, however, that Dowland would reduce his carefully devised piece to a two-part texture with a mechanical top line. All the evidence points to the solution that Dowland did not care for the “new” style of ornamentation, and that any figuration he used was carefully integrated with the other aspects of his music (this is exactly the case with Byrd).⁷⁰

⁶⁸Including several of his best songs: “In darkness let mee dwell,” “Thou mighty God” and “Weep you no more sad fountains. These endings are clearly part of Dowland’s style and are carefully coordinated with his musical rounding schemes.

⁶⁹In “Lady if you so spite me,” from MB, Dowland hazards a small melisma on the word “spite,” perhaps to imitate derisive laughter. Such melismas are rare, however. In addition, this song was printed by son Robert and the melisma may be an added ornament.

⁷⁰In The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978), Oliver Neighbour states the following in reference to Byrd’s style: “Byrd’s distinctive modes of thought in abstract composition were never followed up. Keyboard composers continued to show his influence in superficial respects during the

In terms of figuration it seems clear from both the core repertory and Dowland's music as a whole that his figuration is not in the consort style of Allison and Batchelar nor the vocal style that is present in so many contemporaneous mss. In this, Dowland was in the company of Caccini and others, who saw their music used as a vehicle for the popular style of ornamentation.

Section planning

From the previous discussion of Dowland's *adew*, it is obvious that Dowland was not opposed to sections of unequal or "unround" length, although he maintains the integrity of the measure as a unit of four semibreves. In addition it is possible that he may have well preferred these unusual section lengths (and accompanying unusual key plans) for those works conceived specifically as lute solos. Although the hypothesis that such irregularities were unique to the solo style is difficult to prove, the irregular sections and keys are definitely there and hence part of Dowland's style. It is also apparent that this was problematic in some sense. As will be seen in the coming discussion of the next layer, several of Dowland's pieces were revised with different section lengths. It would be imprudent to assume that this represents a change of mind on Dowland's own part since the authoritative sources are relatively late and do not definitively contain pieces that represent earlier work.

brief period before the collapse of the English school, but their view of each of the main genres differed from his. The variation forms increasingly fell a prey to repetitive figuration." (p. 265).

Technical and conceptual music

For the player, Dowland's solo music is extremely difficult, and the difficulty consists in maintaining the various elements through fingering and articulation. The difficulty is not one of division, since the relative level of division does not go beyond four flags for the pavan and three for the galliard. This is as one would expect; the slower-moving pavan allows a higher level of division. These values correspond to sixteenth notes and eighth notes in original note values, and thirty-second and sixteenth notes in the transcriptions in CLM. There is also a difference in the way Dowland uses smaller note values. In "Dowland's adew," the four-flag signs are used sparingly, while in "Galliard to Lachrimae," the three-flag signs provide more of the melodic impulse. Despite the obvious difference in tempo, the role of the three-flag sign as the "prime mover" in the melody, corresponding to eighth note motion in mensural notation, is roughly the same.

This analysis of the rhythmic signs is particularly important as a means of gauging the level of divisions present in the sources. It is important to note that in his own printed sources Dowland is very consistent in his use of rhythmic levels in all of his genres, and the melodic function of the eighth notes is basically the same for the lute parts in the lute songs.

The difficulty in playing polyphonic music on the lute is as much a mental as a physical challenge. The player is constantly forced to think

several bars ahead to devise the best fingering strategy. Although the notation of tablature clearly indicates the position of the fingers, the actual fingers used are not so indicated, and for many chords a number of different fingerings are possible. Each set of fingerings depends upon context; an appropriate musical criterion is the ability to sustain held notes from one point to another without lifting the fingers or leaving them down too long. A complex passage can take hours to work out until the ideal fingerings are used. In the case of Dowland's music, the complexity of the fingerings needed to produce the most musical reading is enormous.

The other important area of technical difficulty in Dowland's music is the shift from one difficult chord to another. Although these shifts cannot sound difficult, they can be among the most technically challenging things to do on the lute, even though the sound of the music is more or less identical to the shift between two easy chords. This kind of "hidden" difficulty appealed to Dowland and is a key ingredient of his style.

Finally, Dowland has a tendency to use stopped strings in place of open ones, particularly if the motive can be played on one string. Thus, a passage on the lute which melodically ascends through the interval of a fourth is often played on one string if the first note begins on an open string. This style of fingering allows for a more graceful articulation from the right hand, which does not have to cross strings, and keeps the tone more even because there is no shift in timbre such as always occurs when going from one string to another.

Recurring and nonrecurring patterns; borrowing

Dowland borrows extensively from his own compositions, and perhaps others as well, and has a number of favorite patterns of riffs and ruffled homophony that he likes to use. In general, the musical material is both changed or reworked. In many instances, the end of the piece will refer back to the beginning, in a manner similar to Italian instrumental music. It is extremely difficult to define what precisely is Dowland's borrowing style, but such a judgment is important in evaluating the later sources which incorporate whole chunks of Dowland's compositions into their fabric. In general, it seems that Dowland's style is referential; the borrowed material fits seamlessly into the flow of the composition, the material is reworked so there is no abrupt shift in style, and the recall of material later in a piece is never overdone.

Since the core repertory is so small, it is essential continually to refer to the songs. In these, Dowland never repeats himself; each piece develops along new lines. Within this independence, there are recurring or favorite motives, or even cross references, as in the case of "Deare if you change", in which the opening motive is the inverse of the Lachrimae motive:⁷¹

Example 8

⁷¹Bk1, No. 7. See the article by Anthony Rooley, EM (Jan. 1983) 6-21, p. 9.

Coordination

As stated above, the elements found in Dowland are more of a necessity than a set of colors from the palette; Dowland's music is intensely varied. This intensity results from the coordination of all of his musical devices, it adds depth to the music. At any given place in a Dowland piece, the different elements of style interact smoothly to create an effect of musical complexity that is normally associated with English vocal writing. This complexity is replaced by another type of musical experience when the polyphonic structure of the piece is altered to add extensive divisions. The reserved, hidden difficulty is replaced by a more immediate, less obvious quality, a quality of which, as I have noted above, Dowland specifically disapproved in his remarks in the front matter of the songbooks.

Chapter IV. **Farewell Fancy.**

The marginally authoritative texts consist of “Farewell” and some of the lute parts from LST. These pieces do not have the same degree of connection to Dowland as those in chapter three, yet they are some of Dowland’s most important work.

Farewell

Although “Farewell” is Dowland’s most extraordinary piece, the text that comes down to us is not as authoritative as those from the prints, since it is from the Holmes lutebooks. Nonetheless, the unusual circumstances surrounding the piece give it special weight. There are only two sources for this piece, D5 fo.43v/44 and the Euing lutebook, fo.41v/42, and these are virtually identical. In all cases, the Euing version varies by leaving out a note present in Holmes, and there are five such omissions. As stated above, the Euing lutebook duplicates a number of the pieces in Holmes and there is good evidence that Holmes is the direct model due to the number and type of errors that are transmitted. Euing is somewhat later chronologically, although it is contemporaneous with the last of the Holmes work, judging by the position of the piece in the mss., it is reasonable to assume that the version in Euing follows fairly closely after Holmes, although it is difficult to be certain about the precise dating.

In any case, the striking feature concerning the provenance of this piece is that in the Holmes ms. Dowland has subscribed his own name,

and it is the only piece in the Holmes collection that is so marked.

Poulton notes:

It is something of a mystery why Dowland should have chosen 'Farwell [*sic*] out of the twenty-two of his compositions contained in Dd.5.78 to which to add his own name and degree.⁷²

The mystery is easily resolved; Dowland was justly proud of his best work. In addition, the weight of the evidence of style is overwhelming that this is an authoritative version, and Dowland had no qualms about signing it. Since the many texts in the Holmes lutebooks are usually problematic in one respect or another, the pristine text of Farewell is evidence that the copy was made from Dowland's own version.

Adding to the confusion is the occurrence that there is a piece in D9 with the same title which is also attributed to Dowland, the D9 piece is completely unrelated and will be discussed separately.

Farewell is one of a pair of chromatic pieces by Dowland, and the pieces are related in a number of ways. Since the state of the text of the other chromatic "fancye" is not comparable to that of Farewell, this other piece and its relationship to "Farewell" will be discussed in the next section. In fact, there is a small group of extant chromatic fantasies, and although only two are attributed to Dowland, several of the others have

⁷²JD p. 116. The title of Farewell is given as "Farwell" by Poulton, even though the "e" is clearly present in the ms.; Dowland often wrote several characters crunched together.

been attributed to Dowland on the basis of style and also on their position within the mss. These other pieces will be discussed in conjunction with the nonauthoritative sources.

The primary source for Farewell is D5, the third of the Holmes lutebooks. Although the source as a whole is problematic, this particular piece is unique in that it seems to have come directly from Dowland, not only because of the autograph and the lack of errors and emendations, but also for stylistic reasons which will be discussed presently.

The date of Farewell is impossible to determine precisely, but the circumstances surrounding the date need to be clarified for reasons of style. If the date of 1603 or 1604 for the completion of D5 is correct, and it seems likely that it is, then the copy of Farewell entered into Holmes' book, and Dowland's visit, most likely took place sometime in the immediate past. It is likely that Dowland added his signature at the same time that the piece was copied, because of the precise color of the ink and the quality of the letters. Although it is impossible to say for certain in matters of handwriting, the flow of the handwriting is usually very consistent from quill to quill and ink to ink, and it seems likely that Dowland's signature was added on the spot, with the same ink and pen used to make the copy.

The upper limit of 1603 or 1604 is not of course the limit for the date of composition but for the entry into Holmes' book. Since the piece falls a little past halfway through the ms., the date of copying is somewhat

earlier than the date for the completion of the ms., but it is impossible to date the surrounding pieces accurately.

Other clues to the date may be hypothesized from the style, the type of lute used, and the title. The style of the piece is fully chromatic, and Dowland's first use of chromaticism dates from about 1597, when it is present in some of the songs in Bk1. Since this is Dowland's first authoritative work the use of chromaticism is inarguably part of his earliest style, and from an overview of the songs it seems that he used it throughout his compositional life, but more sparingly in his later style. Note that there are no fully chromatic songs or consort music, so that this kind of writing is exclusively for solo lute. The piece is referential, as many of Dowland's works are: in Farewell a section of "All ye whom loue or fortune hath betraide", which is no. 14 in Bk1 is reworked. The relationship between the pieces has somehow gone unnoticed, and the song provides the only missing note in the piece, a low D (bracketed in the following example).^{73 74}

Example 9

Since the lute solo is related directly to the song, the question arises as to which one is based on the other. It is impossible to say, but it seems

⁷³Although the D is supplied in the CLM edition in brackets, implying that it is from another source, no source is given. It is unlikely that it is derived from the song, however, since the musical connection has received no comment.

⁷⁴The text here, "lend ears," is possibly a pun to clue the listener in to a borrowed section. This would also indicate that the lute solo was composed first.

likely that the two were composed around the same time, and it is also possible that the lute solo was composed even earlier.

If the title “Farewell” is significant, as well as “All ye whom loue or fortune hath betraide” (and indirectly, pieces with titles with a similar theme, such as “Fortune my Foe” also from Dowland’s early period), then these pieces could be related to an experience in Dowland’s life.

A hypothetical chronology would be as follows: in 1590 and 1592 texts which Dowland is known to have set were sung in public performance.⁷⁵ The first of these, “His golden locks,” may have been set by Dowland, since it is included in his earliest work, Bk1. The second, “My heart and tongue were twins,” is somewhat less likely, since it was not published until 1612, in PS.⁷⁶ In any case, Dowland’s compositional style had fairly well solidified because he was well enough known to contribute six psalm settings of 1592⁷⁷ Also in 1592, the date of Lvov is entered in the flyleaf; both Farewell and Forlorne Hope are copied into the ms. at an indeterminate later date. Sometime in 1594, Dowland applied for the post of court lutanist to Queen Elizabeth that was made available by the death of John Johnson. He was denied the application and fairly soon thereafter left England for an extended series of travels on a permit

⁷⁵JD, p.28.

⁷⁶See also the discussion of the performance of this song in 1592 in JD pp. 29-30.

⁷⁷Thomas Est, The Whole Booke of Psalmes (London, 1592). See also JD, p. 324.

signed by Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex. The travels mark a shift in compositional style; he was no doubt influenced by Marenzio and others.

Thus it seems that Dowland refers to the major disappointment in his life, and the song and the two lute solos reflect that. The entry in Lvov may well have been directly inspired by Dowland's visit, and reinforces that the two fancies are a pair. The hypothesis is further confirmed by the type of lute that Dowland uses. Farewell, which seems to be the earliest piece for which there is a date, although in a nonauthoritative source, can only be played on a seven-course lute. This is because the rising chromatic tetrachord is fingered on the lute from the open string to the fifth fret, and one of its most important statements comes on the seventh course. The placing of many of the chords is idiomatic specifically for a seven-course lute.

The extended neck lutes could not be used because the lowest courses are diatonic, although the later lutes sometimes fretted these strings. Dowland no doubt became well-acquainted with the large lutes after he left England, where the instruments were slower to take hold, and adopted them for all of his later compositions.

The style of Farewell

The style of Farewell is thoroughly chromatic; the chromatic hexachord is present in almost all of the piece. In addition, the level of dissonance is quite high, the piece contains a number of unusual chords and these chords are spaced in close proximity. There is, therefore, little of the contrast that would result from the juxtaposition of a more “tonal” or “normal” style. The contrast is instead developed through figuration and the complex motivic scheme. The style is in some sense the “floating atonality” of Lowinsky,⁷⁸ that is, there is usually some sort of triad supporting the counterpoint, but the succession of triads is frequently blurred by the overlay of accented passing tones.

The most impressive feature of Farewell is its organization and complexity, not only in terms of the contrapuntal treatment of its subject and countersubject, but also in terms of all the features of style, such as range, figuration, section lengths, that are discussed above. It is a masterpiece of invention for the lute.

The counterpoint is predominately four-part throughout--although the actual sounding texture is frequently in three parts, owing to the flow of entrances and exits of the voices. The polyphonic texture can fairly easily be written out in four complete parts, and Dowland employs a host of contrapuntal devices that are really unprecedented in the lute repertory, such as augmentation, inversion, retrograde and stretto.

⁷⁸Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music (Berkeley, 1961, 2nd rev.

The opening phrase divides neatly into the subject, consisting of the ascending chromatic hexachord, and its detachable tail, which contains the opening phrase from *Lachrimae*:

Example 10

The piece consists entirely of motives derived from the first few bars which are subjected to a process of continual development. Although the chromatic language is unusual, the processes of development of the motivic material are certainly not without precedent in the keyboard music of the 16th century. And although there are four- and even five-part pieces for the lute, as in the fantasias and intabulations of Bakfark, the combination of all these devices with the careful placement of the various subjects creates a completely new texture for the lute.

The similarity in contrapuntal style between *Farewell* and Dowland's *adew* is marked. Both employ the same intense variation and coordination of the various aspects of style, and both progress from a D-oriented tonal scheme to one based on G. In addition, they both end with a sequence following a climax, in which the piece is allowed to wind down to its final cadence, and the sequence prolongs the expected end. Both pieces refer to other compositions, and are rounded as well.

The lute fantasia does not usually contain the marked sections of the various dance forms, but the sections are there, nonetheless. The large-

scale and small-scale divisions are all carefully articulated by a sort of “sliding scale” of cadences, combined with the other devices such as range and figuration. The most important cadence comes about halfway through the piece on D. There is a dramatic pause and a drastic shift in range which allows the piece to build from its lowest point to the final climax before the end:

Example 11

The division of the piece into these two parts allows Dowland to employ a number of contrapuntal devices along symmetrical lines. The one and only occurrence of G-sharp in m. 45 is balanced by the solitary A-flat in m. 30, each note appears only once in the piece and the note or notes (they occupy the same fret) is the missing link between the two versions of the chromatic subject. It is this kind of writing, and this is only one example, that makes this piece so remarkable and distinctive.

Example 12

Chapter V. Lachrimae or Seaven Teares

A great deal of confusion surrounds this work, partly because it is viewed from three different perspectives. LST has already generated a certain amount of controversy since it has been recorded several times, and a number of the viol players feel strongly that it should be played without the lute when all of the strings are present. Oddly enough, no one has suggested that reverse, which is that the lute should play alone without the viols.

Some insight may be gained by viewing the work in the context of the history of instrumental ensembles. There are a number of early 17th-century Italian works which have a texture similar to the works in LST but no English sources. The work may have been part of a tradition just beginning around 1600 of music that could be played in any combination. This tradition was an extension of the *ogni sorte* of the 16th century, but recast in the expansive styles of the early 17th century. These styles centered around the basso continuo.

The lute ayres of Dowland differ from most the pieces in LST in one important respect: in the ayres the lute does not double the top part. Although some of the pieces in LST are in the lute ayre texture, in the majority the lute doubles the top part, either completely or to a varying degree. In some instances, only a few notes are missing, in others complete sections.

Because of the complexity of the book in terms of the varying styles

and textures, it must therefore be regarded in three different ways: how we view it, how the player or publishers of the time viewed it, and a theoretical supposition of how Dowland viewed it.

Beginning with the modern perspective, it is clear that the present-day players do not regard the pieces as “lute solos,” despite the evidence of the sources. This is due to a limited concept of virtuosity (characterized by extensive divisions) shared by the modern player and the modern audience. The situation for keyboard, vocal and consort music is completely different; the sources are not rejected because they lack divisions, and in general sources with extensive alterations are regarded as just that.

The view of the players of the time, in so far as it can be deciphered, is a bit more intriguing and diverse. Some players copied the authoritative sources note for note, others felt compelled to add divisions and ornaments, still others simplified or revised to taste. What is difficult for the modern player to understand is the presence of pieces in solo books that lack the top line, or important inner parts (there are no versions without bass parts). There are two ways of looking at the context in which this phenomenon, not isolated by any means, exists; (a) for the player (excluding Dowland himself) the top part was not essential, nor, therefore, were the inner parts either, or, (b) the solo lutebook or print was not that at all, but something which contained consort parts of varying kinds as well which were not played as solos. It is difficult to say precisely which of these views was held by the players of the time, but it would be ridiculous to suppose that the number of

versions with missing material could be attributed to errors. Perhaps in some circles the notation was regarded as mnemonic, not prescriptive, and the players were expected to supply their own material. However, the thoroughness with which Dowland presents his authoritative works would seem to belie any assumption of looseness in regard to the seeming contradictions inherent in the sources.

In regard to the inner parts, these may have been supplied by the performer and just not notated in the copies, particularly in the case of divisions, where the performer would remember from the first time through a section what the inner parts were. Such filling out of the texture might be similar to the process of creating a fair copy for printing. Since the published versions often have thicker textures than the mss. versions, the process might involve the inclusion of a step normally taken for granted by the player working with his or her own personal copy.

The distinction, then, that the modern player makes in regard to the lute solo might have been much less well-defined for the player of Dowland's time. The question then arises as to how Dowland viewed the lute solo.

In the first place, if Dowland says they are lute solos, and the players of his time published them as lute solos and copied them into their solo books, then they are lute solos, regardless of the modern expectation for divisions or sonorities. On the other hand, if we compare the texture of all of these pieces to the ones in the core repertory we find that some of the pieces from LST match perfectly while others do not. A very few are problematic, in

particular John Langton's pavan, which will be discussed presently.

Therefore, the role of the editor is not to say which pieces can or cannot be played as solos, but simply to categorize them on the basis of style.

The seven passionate pavans

LST begins with seven versions of Lachrimae, the first of which is the standard or familiar version that is similar to the versions that were in wide circulation at the time of publication (1604). As stated previously, this version provides the authoritative source for the lute solo in A; the lute part is present in a number of sources. In addition, the lute part provides complete polyphony and presents the melody in its entirety. Had the piece been found with no consort parts or other versions, it would have been accepted as a masterpiece for solo lute with no hint of controversy, since there is nothing in the style of the piece to suggest that it is an arrangement. Had it been by another composer, the key of A might seem unusual, but for Dowland the choice of the easy key was not an essential criterion. In short, the piece is a lute solo in all respects; the other parts are simply an added dimension.

The seven pavans are all given Latin titles that begin with "Lachrimae," as follows:

Lachrimae Antiquae

Lachrime Antiquae Novae

Lachrimae Gementes

Lachrimae Tristes

Lachrimae Coactae
Lachrimae Amantis
Lachrimae Verae

All of the pavans are in the tripartite form, and all allude at least to the opening phrase of the first. The titles are possibly some kind of affect; in any case, the set is unprecedented in English music, and I know of no Continental models. Some of the pieces in the French repertory from about the same time provide a few versions of a piece or tune that are not strictly variation, but they do not provide the diversity of the Lachrimae set.

The pieces are often recorded or performed as a complete set, in the order in which they are printed. Although there is certainly no evidence as to whether they should be performed as a set, in combination, or individually, the degree of variety in the harmonic scheme and motivic material allows the pieces to hold together as a set even though each piece begins and ends in A.

On the other hand, if the set is performed with lute alone, as a suite of lute solos, the absence of the “melodic” line in several of the pavans is problematic. This is assuming, of course, that the top part is the melodic line (it nearly always is in consort music, with the possible exception of the “In Nomines”). The reprinting of these parts allows for the possibility of performing the set as a solo suite, while omitting some of the top part. In this case, the lute part sounds fine as a solo, it is only when one looks at the string parts that suspicions are created about the incompleteness of the lute part.

For the purposes of the discussion at hand, it must be noted that these first seven pieces can work as lute solos, and indeed were thought of as such by some contemporaries of Dowland. However, the pieces that are missing some (or all, as in the case of the miscellaneous dances that are included) of the melodic line are not in the same category as the pieces that contain every note of the melody. The slight change in sonority from Dowland's norm in this case is the deciding factor. It would also be unfair to group the "tuneless" with the "tuneful," since the pieces with the complete melody are masterpieces of solo writing.

Once the set is divided according to the texture of the lute part, the concept of a set of pieces is less likely. The first three pieces work perfectly as lute solos, while the next four contain smaller amounts of the melody. These first three, by virtue of their important place in the print and their complete sonority, form a subset which is a musically complete unit. They are also pieces that can stand on their own, and they share motivic material that is not present in the others.

Other pavans in LST

Semper Dowland semper dolens

“Semper Dowland semper dolens” is the first piece in LST after the set based on Lachrimae, and is one of Dowland’s finest compositions. The title would seem to suggest that Dowland was not the mercurial person that Poulton describes, but instead “always grieving.” The term “dolens” refers in general to the Elizabethan melancholy and specifically to “Lachrimae” (tears), as well as being a pun on Dowland’s name (which most likely would have been pronounced with a long “o”).

The position of the piece in the print and the personal title suggest that this piece was one of Dowland’s favorites, and so was chosen to begin the second half of the print, which consists of various types of dances. The beginning is also related to the tonality of the preceding set, and although it begins in A major instead of A minor, it is motivically similar to the pieces in the Lachrimae set, although the texture is somewhat different. The next examples illustrate the connection to number four from LST, “Lachrimae Tristes:”⁷⁹

Example 12

This piece is one of several that has more than one version in mss. and prints. A number of the mss. versions agree in certain details, and differ in several respects from the version in LST. In particular, the English mss. end

⁷⁹“Tristes” may even be a reference to “dolens.”

the piece in G after a short cadenza, while Dowland's version in LST ends in D following a four-three suspension:

Example 13

The arguments for using the “nonauthoritative” texts as the primary sources could be supported if the version in LST were musically unsatisfactory in any way, but it is not, and in fact the English mss. often provide a less musical reading for some passages.

Even though the piece ends abruptly this does not of course mark it as consort music, and there is no evidence that Dowland has changed the lute part to suit the viols, whereas there is evidence that the viol parts were fitted to an extant lute solo.

The extension of the rising scale motives in imitation is abruptly truncated in the mss. sources, whereas in LST the energy built up by the repetition of the motive is released in the extended scale which precedes the final cadential material. The stretching of the texture before the final cadence is of course a mark of Dowland's style.

Note that the cadential formula in this case is not a newly composed one but instead part of the stock repertory of cadential material, while the LST version has a quite original cadence, and indeed one that was occasionally used on the Continent. The thinning of the texture after a four-three suspension echoes the ending of Dowland's song “Thou mighty God:

Example 14

The overall proportions of “Semper Dowland semper dolens” are also in keeping with Dowland’s style. Each section of the pavan is longer than the previous section, in this case, the sections are ten, eleven and fifteen bars long. Just as in “Dowland’s adew,” the extra length in the last section coincides with intense motivic development and an extended sequence.

As mentioned previously, the string writing is in a slightly different style from the other pavans, and this difference suggests that the lute solo was composed first, and that there is not quite enough room in the contrapuntal framework to fit all five string parts. Dowland solves this problem by making extensive use of rests and also a cantus firmus style in one of the parts which holds a series of long notes. These long notes often perform the same function as the open strings of the lute; they create an overlapping of the harmonies.

Example 15

Clearly, it is the viol parts which are modified to fit the lute, not of the other way around; if Dowland had wanted the type of cadenza that is in some of the mss. it would have been easy enough to supply it as he did for some of the other dances (although Dowland’s cadenzas are a bit more reserved).

“Semper Dowland” is referential in that it continually uses motives that are included in other compositions. Since it is difficult to date Dowland’s pieces precisely it is almost impossible to say which way the references work--to or from this composition. Another possibility is that Dowland

continually relied on certain motives. As mentioned previously, the beginning of the piece is similar to *Lachrimae* No. 4, but there is also a strong similarity to the song “In Darkness let mee dwell.” Needless to say, the affect of the two pieces is similar.

Since “In darkness” was published six or so years later, and since “Semper Dowland” must have been composed before it was published, perhaps even as much as eight years earlier, it seems likely that some elements were borrowed from *Lachrimae* and similar compositions, reworked in “Semper Dowland,” and then used again in “In Darkness.” However, the same type of instrument is used for the two later compositions and the final version of “Semper Dowland” and a version of “In Darkness” might well have been contemporaneous.

Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall

“Semper Dowland” is immediately followed by No. 9, “Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall.” This remarkable piece is never played as a lute solo, even though it clearly is a solo on the basis of style. Although there are a number of mss. sources for “Semper Dowland,” there is none for “Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall.” In addition, this is one of four pieces in the collection for which there is no earlier, extant source (excluding the different *Lachrimae* versions).⁸⁰ This would seem to imply that the piece was composed later

⁸⁰See *JD*, p. 347.

than the others, perhaps specifically for LST. The date of Umpton's death was 1596, which would seem to indicate the earliest possible date of composition, but it is impossible to say for certain, since the piece could have been rededicated.

It is possible, however, to make a fair estimation of date on the basis of style. In the first place, the piece uses only eight of the nine courses, omitting the eighth but including the diapasons tuned to F and D. Dowland does this although the tuning of the missing course to an E flat would smooth over some rough spots in the counterpoint.

Example 16

On the other hand, the use of the F course as an open string is integral to the piece as shown in the following passage:

Example 17

To be sustained throughout the measure the F must be played on an open string since it is not possible to finger the F on the D course and play the melody without letting go of the bass note. This allows a graceful approach to the cadence. The piece could have been composed for seven-course lute with modifications, but in its "authoritative" form it is clearly designed for an eight-course instrument.

The most plausible explanation for the piece is that it was indeed composed after the death of Umpton (or Unton) and well before the date of LST because it is clearly for a different kind of lute than the rest of the

pieces. The precise date cannot be determined, but Poulton's theory that the piece was composed for LST seems wrong, both on stylistic grounds and because of the type of lute involved. Since the earliest evidence for the use of the nine-course lute is LST itself, the dates for Dowland's use of the eight-course instrument, representing a relatively short transitional stage between his earliest works for seven-course lute and his later works for nine-course lute, cannot be supplied on the basis of the authoritative sources. The mss. sources do give a clue, however, since the eight-course instrument makes a rare appearance at the very beginning of D5, possibly around 1596. Since this type of instrument coincides chronologically with the death of Unton, there is no reason at all to doubt that Dowland wrote the piece following Unton's death, even though Dowland himself was out of the country.⁸¹

In style, "Sir Henry Umpton's Funerall" is most closely related to Dowland's other memorial piece, "Dowland's adew for Master Oliver Cromwell." It shares the pattern of unequal sectional barring, including the extension of the last section. The similarity in motives, melodic planning and fingering is striking. For example, compare the suspensions:

Example 18

The final phrase uses the same melodic descent from D, but it is reworked to fit the more static motivic style of Sir Henry Umpton's Funeral:

Example 19

⁸¹JD, p. 48.

In addition the cadential material is clearly the same.

Aside from Dowland's clear reference to his own work, there is a connection to the pavan "The Countess of Pembroke's funerall" by Anthony Holborne. This unmistakable reference occurs in the first phrase, as well as in the overall scheme of the piece.

Example 20

Dowland knew Holborne, and Holborne was the only lutanist of whom Dowland openly approved. It is no coincidence that Holborne was primarily a composer of consort music, and his lute compositions reflect the same polyphonic emphasis. It was to Holborne that Dowland dedicated one of his finest songs, "I saw my Lady weepe,"⁸² which contains Dowland's trademark, the descending phrygian tetrachord, in the opening statement of the bass. Holborne's "Pavana ploravit" is clearly a tribute to Dowland.

Perhaps the most interesting borrowing in Sir Henry Umpton's Funerall occurs in the middle section. In this case, the borrowing is concealed by augmenting the note values and adding figuration. The essential two-part framework, however, is more or less unchanged:

Example 21

The notes marked with an "x" in the preceding example are derived from the Lachrimae pavan, and the whole passage has either been transposed or else is borrowed from a version in G.

⁸²Bk2, no. 1. The opening composition in a print often had special significance; in

Since the text at this point reads, "Happie, happie they that in hell feel not the worlds dispite," and since this sentiment seems on the surface to be inappropriate for Unton's funeral piece, it is likely that the composition of this piece took place before the text of "Flow my teares" had been written to the tune of Lachrimae, although it is remotely possible that Dowland was writing some sort of "hidden" or hermetic significance into the text.⁸³ Dowland continually dedicated his compositions to patrons in the hope of gaining a position at the English court, and this indicates that he would have been very careful to avoid offending anyone connected with Umpton.

Mr. John Langton's Pavan

"Mr. John Langton's pavan" is one of Dowland's best works, but in terms of text it is also one of the most problematic. Although the entire melody appears in the lute part, parts of it are transposed down an octave while some of it is doubled in the same register as the top string part. The voice leading indicates that it is the lute part that is altered, not the string part

this case it could have been Dowland's connection to Holborne or pride in what is certainly one of Dowland's finest compositions.

⁸³See Francis Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (London, 1979). For a discussion centered on Dowland's works, see the problematic but nonetheless intriguing, see Anthony Rooley, "New Light on Dowland's Songs of Darkness," EM, Jan., 1983, pp. 6-21. The problem is that many of the occult and hermetic symbols can be interpreted in diametrically opposed ways, thus supporting any point of view by the selective scholar. The "black bird of night," mentioned in Dowland's song flow my teares, can be a symbol for wisdom, or evil, or repression, or even chaos and destruction (as *erebrus* of mythology, or even Athena's owl.

(there are a few awkward skips in the lute part). However, there are several versions for solo lute in mss. and prints in D major (the LST version is in F major, a minor third higher) that set the melody as it appears in the top string part. As with most of the Dowland sources, this point cannot be made with absolute certainty since the versions in D could have been a revision that improved the voice leading of an original, undocumented source in F, but the lowest string of the lute would not have been used to good advantage in this case, and Dowland customarily used all of the lute's range.

Whatever the precise genesis of the versions in two keys may be, the source situation is further complicated by the presence of two versions in D: one which follows the basic outline of the LST version and one (the version in Var) which takes the seven-bar middle section of what is presumably the earlier version and rewrites it as an eight-bar section.

Since there is no authoritative version in D, these versions will be discussed in the next chapter along with the other pieces in Var. The facts that the piece existed in some form well before 1604, and that the title does not reflect that Langton was knighted in 1603 which might indicate that the fair copy for the LST version was prepared earlier. However, it seems unlikely that it would have been much earlier since the piece is written for the nine-course lute. Dowland also may have been unaware of Langton's title, although this seems unlikely within the context of a patronage system.

The questions that arise in conjunction with the LST source are as follows. Is JLP the same kind of lute solo that the other two pavans are, and

why did Dowland print the F major version if D would have been a better key?

In terms of Dowland's style, JLP is clearly not the same kind of lute solo as the other two pavans from the same source or other pieces from the core repertory. Although the piece is not easy, it is not as technically demanding as the other solos, and does not exhibit the same sort of idiomatic writing for the lute. In short, the version in LST gives the impression of being a transposition in which the technical problems of the original have been made slightly easier. Although the shifts in octaves were not absolutely necessary, Dowland had to choose between keeping the melody intact and thinning the polyphonic texture or transposing parts of the melody in order to maintain another voice. Dowland chose the latter. Since the piece works well on the lute in D, the choice of F for this version must have been dictated by a preference for a particular sonority. This follows Continental practice in the sense that there were basically two types of writing for the lute established in the mid-sixteenth century: one was based on vocal writing and consisted of intabulations and arrangement of all kinds of vocal polyphony; the other was a freer, idiomatic style that eventually became the fantasia--ricercar style. The fantasia style emphasized motivic development, whereas as the vocal style strove to maintain the polyphonic web. A hybrid tradition was fairly well developed by 1560 in which elements of polyphony and motivic development combined. These separate traditions often observed loose rules for intabulation. Simply put, the polyphonic tradition

emphasized the key of A and the fantasia style emphasized the key of G, although there are numerous exceptions. The underlying principle was to accommodate the two styles to the idiosyncrasies of the lute. Dowland did not necessarily chose the key of F major to suit the viols, but instead to express a particular aspect of the music on the lute; in this case, the polyphonic aspect. When Thomas Simpson published the pavan in *Opusculum* in 1610 he transposed the work up a tone, into a key which is better suited to viols and winds.⁸⁴

The question as to whether the piece is a lute solo at all is difficult to answer. Certainly the piece works as a solo and contains a full polyphonic sound. The new melody that inevitably results from the transposition of the original melody is a sort of hybrid derived from the top two parts. It functions well as a melody with perhaps one or two rough spots. Since the piece is complete in some real sense, it must therefore be considered a solo, with a shade of difference between it and the other pieces which work so seamlessly for lute alone.

JLP is somewhat different from the other pavans in that it does not refer so extensively to other compositions, although the piece contains some motivic rounding within itself. Poulton suggests that some borrowing does occur within two bars of the third section from the song “Awake sweet love” from Bk1 (1597) but the similarity seems coincidental since the excerpt is short and the rhythmic profile is different. Also, when Dowland “self

⁸⁴JD, p. 359.

borrows” he generally includes the full polyphonic framework, not just the melody. Poulton also states that this melodic fragment is only present in the consort version, not in the version in Var. This is clearly not the case as the two passages are virtually identical:⁸⁵

Example 22

Although the technical and motivic aspects of the piece are not as intense as those of the other pavans, Dowland creates an excellent balance between the melody and harmony. The three sections follow Dowland’s usual irregular scheme in terms of section length; the sections contain eight, seven and nine bars. Again, Dowland chooses to extend the last section through the use of a sequence in imitation, but in this case the sequence occurs at the beginning of the section, instead of at the end as a means of bringing the melody down from its high point to the final cadential material. In JLP Dowland sets the sequence over a pedal point (which requires an open string for the lute). The static tension that results from the repetition of the motivic material is resolved when the melody escapes to the highest note of the piece, F. Dowland then begins the stepwise descent to the end of the piece that characterizes so many of his pieces, in this case through the span of an entire octave.

Example 23

A small sequence, in fact the passage discussed in connection with “Awake sweet love,” is used as a device to elide the cadence separating the

⁸⁵JD, p. 359.

two parts of the last section. Dowland leaves the F hanging, momentarily, then returns to pick it up and bring it all the way down the octave. This technique of returning to a high note is used to great effect in Farewell Fancy as well as other pieces.

Summary of the pavans

LST contains ten pavans; the first seven are settings or variations of Lachrimae, and the other three are unrelated pieces. The seven Lachrimae pavans are carefully accommodated to the resources of the ten-course lute, and this suggests that the six pavans which follow the standard version (composed much earlier) were written specifically for LST. The first three pavans in the set of seven are fully realized for lute and may be considered solos in all respects. There are a number of concordances for the first Lachrimae pavan which may be based on an earlier version. There are no concordances for the others, except for a few Continental sources that reproduce some of the lute parts in the collection whether they contain the top part or not. In addition to the consideration that the first three Lachrimae pavans contain complete lute parts, stylistic similarities among the three suggests that Dowland thought of the pieces as a subset of the seven. All seven are in the same key, and could easily be performed as a set on strings or with some type of lute accompaniment, perhaps even as written although this does not seem likely since the lute emphasizes the top part and changes the contrapuntal balance.

The three pavans that follow, “Semper Dowland, semper dolens,” “Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall,” and “Mr. John Langton’s Pavan” may also be considered as a set since the lute parts also contain the complete polyphonic framework and are similar in style to the core repertory. All three were composed early in Dowland’s career and for seven- or eight-course lute, not the nine-course instrument of LST; Sir Henry Umpton’s funerall may be the earliest of the three. The first two were changed little for LST, but JLP fits the style of the ten-course lute perfectly and is most likely an arrangement of an earlier version in D for which there are several nonauthoritative sources. The possibility exists, however, that the version in LST is an updated version of an original in F for which there is no extant model. The transposition into F seems more a response to a desire for a thick sonority than to the disposition of the open strings and overall range. The “King of Denmark’s Galliard”, for example, has exactly the same sort of range that JLP would have if Dowland had chosen to set it in D.

There are a number of concordances for “Semper Dowland,” but none for “Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall” in the English mss. As mentioned previously, there are also concordances for JLP in the key of D, although none in the key of F. The lack of concordances for “Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall” is particularly surprising since it is an early piece and of very high quality. It may have started out as a ceremonial piece, and perhaps this affected its currency. Funeral pieces generally did not circulate as well as other genres, with the exception of Holborne’s “The Countess of Pembroke’s

Funerall” which is fairly well represented, and indeed is probably derived in some way from “Dowland’s adew” and “Lachrimae.” The argument that any of the various mss. versions should be taken as the authoritative version is not supported by the evidence, since the superior lute part in LST is not adapted to the viols in any way, whereas the viol parts are arranged to fit the lute part. In short, the piece is a lute solo in every respect and is the best version.

“Sir Henry Umpton’s Funerall” is not represented in the other sources, but it is also a solo of the same quality as “Semper Dowland semper dolens.” It contains a number of references to other pieces, including the Lachrimae pavan. Although it is not included in CLM it is also an authoritative solo.

“John Langton’s Pavan” is very close in style to the other two pavans but is slightly different in that the melody has been transposed in some places to provide a thicker texture in the lute part. Dowland’s intentions for this piece are not clear, and although the piece satisfies all the requirements of a lute solo it is a shade different from the other two.

The three pavans together form a set similar to the first three Lachrimae pavans; they are fully polyphonic and share a number of stylistic similarities.

The Galliards

LST contains nine galliards; of these only those three that have fully polyphonic lute parts will be considered for the present discussion. These

three are “The King of Denmark’s Galliard,” “Sir John Souch’s Galliard” and “Captaine Digorie Piper’s Galliard.” All three of these pieces can be considered lute solos. A few of the other galliards appear in mss., complete with melodies, and will be discussed along with the rest of the nonauthoritative sources since these differ substantially from the versions in LST. The most notable of these are “The Earl of Essex’s galliard” and “Mr. Henry Noel’s galliard” (“Mignarda”). The rest of the LST print consists of two almans, which are not in the solo style and therefore are not included in the present discussion.

The collection, then, contains nine pieces for solo lute, three in each important genre. There has been some discussion of the numerological significance of the pieces in LST.⁸⁶ For present purposes it is interesting to note that there are a total of twenty-one pieces in the collection, which is three times seven, and seven is the number of Lachrimae pavans. There are nine lute solos, or three times three, and there are three in each of three genres. This is hardly coincidental, but does little more than reaffirm the special nature of the fully polyphonic lute pieces.

The King of Denmark’s galliard

⁸⁶In “A Dowland Miscellany,” John Ward goes to great lengths to show that there is some sort of pattern of numbers to explain the G double sharp in “Go from my window.” The explanation is not entirely convincing since patterns of this sort can be found in almost anything.

“The King of Denmark’s galliard” is one of the most remarkable pieces of Dowland’s time. It was one of the few pieces to achieve a life of its own. There are a great number of highly personal versions, including an extremely long and elaborate set of variations in Var. The sources are interesting in the wide variety of ornament signs and divisions that they exhibit. There are also a few early sources in minor; there are very few examples of this particular type of minor mode variant in the English lute repertory that I know of, and it is tempting to dismiss these versions in D minor as very poor versions or even intabulations made from mensural notation that is lacking sharps.⁸⁷

The version chosen for inclusion in CLM is the one from Var. The divisions in this version, however, are so long and repetitive that it seems unlikely that all of them are by Dowland. In any case, LST is the authoritative source and its version is preferable.

“The King of Denmark’s galliard” is one of many pieces which were called “battle” pieces. These pieces were inspired by, and loosely based upon, “La Bataille” of Jannequin, which was the most popular piece of the sixteenth century. All of these pieces attempt to imitate battle sounds by musical means. A comparison of “La Bataille” with Dowland’s piece shows that they have little in common, and as yet a model for Dowland’s piece has not been found. A likely candidate is “De la tromba”, for which there is no Continental source but a number of English sources (including a version for

⁸⁷The idea that these variants result in some way from errors is only advanced because of the relatively poor quality of the sources involved.

broken consort in Morley's Consort Lessons and a version for two lutes in JP). The model was probably popular around the time of the Italian vogue in 1588, and Dowland's version must have existed in some form shortly thereafter. The lute duet version in JP is incorrectly identified as a version of Dowland's piece by Poulton and will be discussed below.⁸⁸

The most intriguing aspect of "The King of Denmark's galliard" is Dowland's contrapuntal style. The lute part contains three constructions which are either rare or nonexistent in the core repertory, and these concern the treatment of parallel fifths. In the first phrase of the piece, Dowland repeats the interval of a fifth, then "reveals" the mode by introducing an F sharp in the figuration, then uses an open fifth on the dominant followed by another open fifth for the final chord of the phrase. Of these three, the "revealed fifth" is used in the core repertory, as in the following example from "Dowland's adew"

Example 24

In this case, the figuration rises from the D to an F sharp and is imitated by the top part. This kind of construction is fairly common in the contemporaneous sources and is present, though not as common in Dowland. It is rarely used in the songs and never used in the string writing. The string parts for "The King of Denmark's galliard" supply all of the missing thirds. The piece thus has several different possible sonorities. The revealed fifth technique is derived from Continental models, in particular the fantasia, but

⁸⁸JD, p. 138.

is present in the dance style as well, as in this pavan by Ferrabosco from Var (No. 6):⁸⁹

Example 25

The revealed fifth at the beginning of a piece or a section is in a sense a polyphonic adaptation of a subject; since the dance movements begin with a full sonority instead of a single voice in imitation, the fifth is a way of imitating the fantasia style. In addition, the harmonics on the lute that are naturally present supply an added dimension to what would be a bare sound in the strings.

The difference in sonority between the string parts and the lute part is problematic because it raises the question of whether these other types of fifths are appropriate for a lute solo or were only employed on the lute when it was used to accompany the strings. The problem is compounded by the occurrence of some of the missing thirds in a few of the less reliable sources, but not in others, including Var.

In JD, Poulton rightly notes the similarity of Dowland's piece to two pieces for harpsichord; these are "The Battle" by William Byrd and "A Battle and no Battle" by Bull.⁹⁰ In the case of the Byrd piece, it is possible to give a date since it is included in My Ladye Nevells Booke which was completed in 1591. The Byrd source is most likely contemporaneous with Dowland's

⁸⁹The same technique is used in pavan No. 1 in Var by Mauritius, Landgrave of Hesse.

⁹⁰JD, pp. 138-142.

version, and the two may be related or derived from the same model. The important stylistic feature of the Byrd piece is the repetition of the open fifths to begin the piece, this sonority is lacking in the Bull version:

Example 26

In his version, Byrd includes the third in the dominant chord, but he places it low in the chord which produces an unusual sound. It seems likely that in this case, the parallels are deliberate, and for mimetic effect; more importantly, since they are present in only one of the authoritative sources, their use is the exception to the rule.

Although the model for rhythmic and melodic structure is most likely an unknown Italian piece, it is also possible that elements are derived from French dance music that was so popular in the mid-16th century. Many of these make use of the same essential contrast between D and F, although the outside sections are minor instead of major. The difference in mode may partially explain the few versions of Dowland's piece in minor. The use of the major mode would have been a sort of modernization of the harmony, expressing the essential relationship of Marenzio's "Io piango" that was in vogue at the end of the century. The structure of some of these dances make use of the four plus four phrases using first and second endings.⁹¹

⁹¹For a French lute piece that uses figuration similar to Dowland's, see "La guerre," edited in *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute*, edited by Daniel Hertz (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1964), no. 39, p. 50. The piece is transcribed from Pierre Attaingnant's *Tres breve et familiere introduction* (Paris, 1529), fo. 59-59'. An earlier but unrelated battle piece appears in the Capirola lutebook (c1517). Many of the mid-century dances in *Het derde musyck boexken* published by Susato (Antwerp, 1551) exploit this relationship. For example, "Si par souffrir," fo. 14 v.

In CLM, Poulton gives the form of the version in LST as “ABC.”⁹² In fact, the form of “The King of Denmark’s galliard” is a bit more complex; there are no double bars separating the sections. The piece is twenty-four bars long, consisting of three sections of eight measures each, but each eight-bar phrase breaks down into two four-bar phrases of which the second is a variation of the first. Simply put, the piece is composed within the framework of a galliard, but has written-out repeats with variation and first and second endings for the outer two phrases and just a variation for the middle phrase. This type of phrasing was not uncommon for dance music from the mid-16th century on, but it was usually confined to one of the two sections. The correct form is then $A^1A^2BB'C^1C^2$, with no repeats indicated. Divisions to the piece would then be adding to the variation present already in the structure. The absence of double bars could be an error, but this is unlikely since in such cases one of the double bars is left out, not all three. The evidence suggests that Dowland considered the piece as one long section, and the stylistic evidence supports this.⁹³

The D major and F major opposition is a favorite of Dowland’s, containing within it the “mi contra fa,” caused by the juxtaposition of F natural and F sharp. The shift in harmony between the two chords is

⁹²CLM (1978), p. 322 (no. 40).

⁹³Oddly enough, modern performers emphasize the sectional articulations that Dowland seems to have tried to avoid by pausing between the sections. An exception is the recording by J. Lindberg in which the continuity is maintained (although he creates a strange mix by importing variations from other sources).

perfectly suited to the eight-course lute which has open strings at D and F, although the piece could have originally been written for a seven-course lute since there is also an open string tuned to F on the fourth course. This last possibility seems the most likely not only because of the relatively early date of composition, but also because the low, open F string is not absolutely crucial to the flow of the piece, and could be played easily enough on the seventh course:

Example 27

In this example, the breaking of the chord rhythmically allows the player plenty of time to finger the low note in what would otherwise be an awkward stretch. Further contrast in tone is achieved between the sections by supplying full sonority to the chords in the middle section:

Example 28

In the example above, Dowland creates a rhythmic shift by the use of a “sforzando” chord, that is, a chord which is a full strum with no polyphonic basis for the extra voices. The effect is intensified by the use of an accented passing tone (or suspension) placed on the top two courses.

This construction is interesting because it occurs in only a few of the concordances and is therefore useful in establishing connection between the sources that contain.

In contrast to the second section, which begins by stating F major with no sort of transition, the third section begins by providing a bridge that

moves quickly from F back to D. This bridge functions one way the first time it is heard, but in another the second time since the piece has already moved back to D.

This kind of tonal ambiguity combined with motivic self-reference is made possible by the structure of the piece, and is very unusual for solo lute music. In short, “The King of Denmark’s galliard” is an elegantly composed miniature, and the version in LST is in all respects authoritative and should be included in the composer’s canon. Since the piece inspired so many versions with variations, these versions are interesting as part of the Dowland phenomenon, but there is no evidence that Dowland approved of any of them.

Sir John Souch’s galliard

There are three versions of this piece: the lute song “My thoughts are wingd with hopes” in C minor which is in Bk1 (No. 3), a version for solo lute in D5 in the key of G minor which is probably an arrangement of the lute song or of an early consort version, and the version in LST which is similar to the lute song but has somewhat different inner parts. The version in CLM is the version in D5. The critical note in CLM reads as follows:

Several instances of characteristic word-painting suggest the vocal form may have preceded the galliard. The text of **D5** is not entirely satisfactory and may have been an arrangement by Holmes himself since it exists nowhere else. Some of the obvious errors can be corrected by comparison with **Bk. I** and **LoST**.⁹⁴

⁹⁴CLM (1978), p.320.

The version in CLM is therefore based in part on LST and Bk1, but the critical commentary fails to mention which notes have been changed. There are a few brackets in the music but no indication of which source was used. No variants are listed. Poulton adds the following in JD:

‘My thoughts are wingd with hopes’ (No. 3) is a superb melody in galliard form.... That the song came first and that the instrumental pieces were derived from it seems certain. The upward leap of a sixth in the Cantus on the word ‘mount’ and again of a fourth on the word ‘moon’ are characteristic examples of word painting which appear to be a direct response to the poetic image.⁹⁵

Poulton also suggests that it was an instrumental galliard at the early date of 1584 because she states that it fits the text of a poem by Anthony Munday, who added the rubric “To Dowland’s Galliard.”⁹⁶ This would then push the date of “My thoughts are wingd with hopes” earlier than 1584.

Taking these statements in order, there is little or no evidence that the song preceded the lute version and some evidence to suggest that some sort of instrumental version came first. Poulton simply does not realize that it is easier in some ways to write in the appropriate words for the “word-painting” when setting the words to the music rather than the other way around. The assumption must always be that the dance came first, then was set to words. The most obvious reason for this is the extremely strange meter, line length and overall style of the majority of Dowland’s songs in dance rhythms.

⁹⁵JD, p. 223.

⁹⁶JD, p. 146.

Poems with odd line lengths (other than the sevens and elevens of madrigal verse) ought always to be suspect as poems written to a preexisting tune. Poets did not, in the English song tradition, go out of their way to write such irregular stanzas as those in, for example, “Flow my tears.” The most telling point concerns the musical and rhythmic structure of the piece, which as Poulton notes is a galliard. Since a number of the songs in galliard form are likely to have been derived from instrumental models, the most probable explanation is that the song is indeed in the same category as the others. As for the word painting, the word “mount” follows an upward skip in the music, but the skip is between phrases and the phrase descends, rather than rises:

Example 29

Since the sense of the line would be even more appropriate for the word “descent”, the theory is at the least ambiguous. As for “moon”, this kind of obvious word painting was frowned upon by Dowland’s contemporaries. Pilkington, for example, notes that it is inelegant when singing the word “eye” to stick the finger in the eye.⁹⁷ In any case, when Dowland himself sets these words in his other songs, he uses a more refined

⁹⁷“But there are some, who to appeare the more deepe, and singular in their judgement, will admit no Musicke but that which is long, intricate, bated with fugue, chained with sincopation, and where the nature of everie word is precisely exprest in the Note, like the old exploided action in Comedies, when if they did pronounce *Memeni*, they would point to the hinder part of their heads, if *Video*, put their finger in their eye. But such childish observing of words is altogether ridiculous.... From the letter “to the reader” in the front matter of *A booke of ayres* (London, 1601) [Philip Rosseter], reprinted by Scholar Press (Menston, 1970), David Greer, ed., vol. 9, no. 36.

approach, as in his song “Say love if ever thou didst find,” in which Dowland does not use a skip between phrases but instead a linear ascent to set the word “moon”. The weight of the evidence in the case of word painting is therefore inconclusive, or even argues the other way.

In the case of “Flow my teares,” the irregular poetic structure argues that the text came later. In the case of galliards, the rhythm of the galliard falls naturally into iambic pentameter:

Example 30

Therefore, the regular form of the poem is not a reliable clue.

Finally, Poulton’s theory that this particular piece is the one to which Munday refers is inconclusive. Since the poem is in pentameter, it would fit any number of galliards, Poulton’s statement to the contrary notwithstanding.⁹⁸ Indeed, her own fitting of the text to the music contains a number of awkward spots:

Example 31

As for Holmes’ version in D5, it seems likely that he simply made his own unambitious arrangement, possibly from an early consort version. The poor quality of his version is apparent in such details as the transpositions in

⁹⁸“there is no other that will accomodate the rhythmic structure of the ditty” JD, p. 146. It seems clear that the poem does not fit the tune very well.

the bass part and the thinner and simpler texture. In centonizing fashion he borrows the characteristic phrase from *Lachrimae*, but the melody does not fit smoothly with the rest of the section; it sounds “borrowed:”

Example 32

The reference to *Lachrimae* is clear, however, since the opening melody is the second half of the *Lachrimae* phrase (as stated previously, this second half is the implied melody to the standard phrygian bass line which Dowland adopts for his first half melody).

The LST version is complete in all respects; the reference that seems out of place in Holmes’ version is elegant in Dowland’s:

Example 33

The bass line, which in the Holmes version has been transposed for ease of playing is in its proper place, and the lute part is extremely difficult to play from the very first bar:

Example 34

In another place, Holmes has changed the alto line because it is awkward to play; the change results in a change of harmony:

Example 35

In short, the texture of Dowland’s version is more polyphonic. Holmes never uses four-part writing but is content with two and three parts; Dowland uses all the different textures, and he uses these different textures to provide contrast between the phrases and sections.

Since the Dowland version is authoritative in every respect it should be

included in any edition of the canon. The presence of a nonauthoritative version in G minor is analogous in some ways to CLM's treatment of the source situation for *Lachrimae*. In this case, as with *Lachrimae*, it is possible to create a musical version based on other sources. However, the existence of the isolated version in G minor is inconclusive; there is no strong evidence that Dowland was responsible for it.

The galliard uses many of the familiar Dowland formulas. In addition to the suspended seventh pattern and the melodic borrowing cited above, the piece ends by composing out the linear descent from E to A, analogous to the descent from D to G in the G minor pavans:

Example 36

At first glance the overall structure appears simple by Dowland's standards; the barring and phrasing are relatively straightforward. As in "The King of Denmark's galliard" Dowland uses four-bar phrases within eight-bar sections. In this case, however, he exercises some contrapuntal ingenuity in the motivic development of the opening theme, which returns again and again but in a different form as well as in a different relative place in each section. The opening motive, consisting of a "diminished" tetrachord with half steps at top and bottom, is first presented over a bass line that moves from A to E in a variation of a phrygian pattern (followed by a descending phrygian cadence).

Dowland hints that this is not the usual sort of opening theme by reversing the melody immediately:

Example 37

In bar five, the pattern is transposed to create a parallel phrase, but in bar seven, the opening motive serves as the cadence by means of rhythmic manipulation (it is shifted over one beat).

Example 38

In bars 14 through 16 (the end of the second section) the pattern again serves as the closing motive, this time augmented:

Example 39

In bar 19 the pattern appears for the first time in the middle of a phrase, the third section, in tenths with the bass and in a new profile, using the rhythm of the second bar with the melody of the first. In a sense, bar two has returned combined with bar one:

Example 40

To end the piece, Dowland again uses augmentation, but disguised with a bit of figuration borrowed from the beginning of the third section. The melody is shifted back one measure, so the cadence is a bar later than expected, and Dowland hints briefly that the melody will reverse as it did in the opening phrase before settling on A.

The total effect is of sophistication against the background of a very simple form. In the same manner, but with different means, Dowland uses a simple motive in a variety of ways that invite the listener continually to reinterpret it within the predictable galliard structure.

Captain Digorie Piper's Galliard

The third galliard from LST that comes with a complete lute part is

“Captain Digorie Piper’s galliard,” hereafter referred to as “Piper’s galliard.”

The piece exists in several versions, and as a lute ayre it is known as “If my complaints could passions move” (Bk1 no. 4).

As with many of Dowland’s galliards, there are a number of sources for this piece for a variety of instruments and voices. That the piece was extremely popular is shown by the large number of versions, as well as the popularity of the related pavan, “Piper’s pavan.” There are a large number of concordances from the vocal version in English mss., indicating that the song version has its own history.

Of the foreign versions, the most interesting is the one included in Trésor d’Orphée (1600) of Francisque. Although this version is not referred to in CLM,⁹⁹ it is clearly the work of an excellent lutanist and may well be by Dowland himself. It is noteworthy for the free paraphrase of the melody and light use of figuration. The appearance of the piece in a foreign source in a somewhat free form points to an early date composition, and this is substantiated by the other sources, particularly D2, which is the earliest of the Holmes lutebooks.

Of the English sources, none is an exact copy of the lute part in LST, although a few seem either to be based on it or a related consort version. In this instance, there is little hard evidence to determine which version, lute solo, lute song or four-part ayre, or consort version was composed first,

⁹⁹It is, however, in JD, p. 62. “An extremely free setting.” Less free, however, than English versions.

although as stated previously the dance form usually predates the song.

Poulton believes that the lute solo was composed first:

...in spite of all the uncertainties, two details point to the lute solo as the earlier form. Firstly, in bar 5 in both the vocal and consort versions beat 3 has the note C in the melody which is absent in all copies of the solo galliard. There is no technical difficulty in playing this note on the lute and, indeed, it is found in the lute part in *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares*. Its presence so greatly strengthens the melody that it seems certain it was a later improvement, added when the song was made, rather than it was omitted in a reduction of the song as a lute solo. Secondly, the underlay of the words in several instances in the Altus and Tenor voices is very awkward and destroys the natural verbal rhythms to an extent that suggests the four-part ayre was an afterthought.¹⁰⁰

The above comments can be viewed in a number of ways, but the most important point is that even though the authoritative sources (the song and the lute part from LST) are acknowledged to be musically superior, they are not used as the basis for the edition. The bar that Poulton describes is as follows:

Example 41

Although Poulton states that the note C is not difficult to play, this could be said of any note on the lute, since one note requires one finger. It is the relationship of notes in a chord or phrase that provides the difficulty. The passage can be fingered in three ways, but if the F sharp is to be sustained, rather than let go, the fingering is quite awkward, requiring a difficult bar

¹⁰⁰JD, p. 135.

chord and an awkward stretch between the first and fifth frets (refer to the diagram above). In fact, the evidence suggests that the mss. versions simplified the texture technically, as with many of Dowland's pieces, but since the authoritative sources agree and are musically superior there is no reason not to use the version in LST as the standard text. Poulton's comments concerning the technical aspects of the passage are at the least open to different interpretation. As for the unsuitability of the inner parts to the text in the lute ayre, this is often the case for Dowland and the lute ayre in general. The misfit may mean a number of things, including Poulton's idea that the four-part version came later. In any case, the solo song version is not affected, since the words fit quite well, and so there is no evidence to suggest that any version is the earliest, the piece could have started as a consort piece, a lute solo, a lute song or any combination of the three.

Poulton's statement that none of the solo sources contains the note C in bar five is not correct, as shown from this transcription from the version in 30:

Example 42

This version is strikingly similar to a version in D9. As I will show, there are a number of other similarities in these ignored mss. sources to the readings of the authoritative sources themselves. Although "Piper's galliard" as it exists in LST (and indeed in many of the mss. versions) is clearly suited to a seven-course lute, it is possible that it is one of Dowland's earliest pieces and could have been written for a six-course instrument. This is because the

seventh course is used so sparingly and only to sound the octave below the D on the second fret of the fifth course at cadences. None of the motivic material runs “off the edge” of the instrument; that is, from the sixth course onto the seventh course. This point is important in order to understand the nature of the source, although for practical purposes Dowland’s version is preserved and most of the mss. make use of the seventh course.

The style of “Piper’s galliard” is perhaps best illustrated by contrasting the version in one of the other sources, such as the two included in CLM, with Dowland’s version from LST. The version from LST differs from the majority of the mss. sources from the very first chord:

Example 43

Dowland marks the first chord with a full strum, while the majority of the mss. sources do not. The strum is, however, echoed by D9. In bar two all sources agree that the first chord is an open fifth, and most use the high chord position where the G in the tenor part is played on the seventh fret. The third bar is virtually identical in all sources; the version in LST omits the third eighth note in the bass. This part is in direct imitation of the melody. In the fourth bar the LST version uses four notes on the first chord; in general this reflects the thicker (and more difficult) texture that Dowland prefers throughout the first section. On the second beat of the fourth bar, the majority of the sources rearticulate the D in the bass, while the versions in LST as well as Bk2 do not. This also reflects a difference in style; it is more difficult, and presumably more artistic, to sustain a voice rather than

rearticulate it: these rearticulations are characteristic of the nonauthoritative sources.

In bar five, Dowland again uses the full strum, although in a five-note chord; this strum helps mark the second four-bar phrase and prepares the G in the tenor for the suspension in which the G is actually reiterated. This special emphasis on the suspension is only present in LST. The G makes a delayed appearance in the mss. where it is almost weakened into a passing note. versions. It seems likely that the mss. makes this technical adjustment because the suspension is so difficult to play. Similar adjustments of this sort are found in versions of other Dowland pieces.¹⁰¹ The author of the version in 30 transposes the suspension up an octave, preserving the musical content while resolving the difficult stretch on the last beat between the F sharp and the C. The C in the alto part of the D2 version may be a downward transposition for the same reason or a misprint (a line error) for an F natural. The F natural is clearly indicated in the string parts but not in the lute parts of LST. Perhaps this indicates that some of the lute parts are related to an earlier version, either for lute or consort. In any case, in LST Dowland chose to include the melody rather than the inner part.

The comparison of the different sources shows that for the most part the version in LST is more challenging and more musical, and provides a fuller sonority. The only reason, surely, that the nonauthoritative source was chosen for CLM is because it has divisions. Yet in cases such as this it is

¹⁰¹See Fantasie No. 7 in Var. CLM, no. 1a, bar 16.

imperative to provide the authoritative source, and if divisions are desired, to add them in the context of a separate version. Curiously, CLM includes two versions of this piece, one as “definitely” by Dowland, and the other as “not a genuine Dowland version” (p.313). Both are from related mss.¹⁰² Even though there are two sources for CLM no. 88, no variants are given. The source published by Francisque is not included at all, even though, as mentioned previously, it was known to Poulton.

Summary of the galliards

LST contains nine galliards; of these, three are fully polyphonic and are authoritative lute solos in all respects. These are “The King of Denmark’s Galliard,” “Sir John Souch’s galliard” and “Captaine Digorie Piper’s galliard.” The last two exist as authoritative lute songs: “My thoughts are winged with hopes” and “If my complaints could passions move,” adjacent numbers in Bk1 (3 & 4) respectively. Although these are the only galliards that are fully polyphonic, several other of the galliards exist in mss. sources and prints as lute solos, in particular “The Earl of Essex’ galliard,” which exists also as the song “Can shee excuse.”

A great deal of confusion surrounds the editions of these works, and this confusion stems from the great number of individual ms. versions from which to choose a basic text. The FD version of “The King of Denmark’s

¹⁰²30 is taken as the basic text but is “identical” with D9, a Holmes ms. like D2, the copy text of the supposedly genuine Dowland version.

galliard”, for example, has over 300 bars, while Dowland’s version from LST has only twenty-four. The diversity of the sources has obscured the central issue, which is that as with most of Dowland’s dance movements the authoritative sources are in every respect superior to the nonauthoritative sources, but are passed over by the editors of CLM because of an unstated agenda that favors division-laden settings. This modern editorial policy has produced a situation which is almost the reverse of the one in Dowland’s time; instead of being presented with an unornamented form which the performer could embellish to taste, the modern performer is presented with a personalized, heavily ornamented version that usually contains a number of textual problems, and which, whatever its historical or intrinsic merits, represents at best a realization of Dowland’s composition by another composer, and at worst, a trivialization of his intention.

All three galliards are early works, as are the majority of pieces in LST, and are clearly written for seven course lute.¹⁰³ The theory advanced by Poulton that Sir John Souch’s galliard existed first as a lute song cannot be substantiated; neither can her theory that the piece is the galliard to which Anthony Munday refers. Indeed, the evidence suggests that the majority of these works began as consort pieces, or coexisted as lute solos and consort pieces, and the texts to the songs in galliard rhythm, like those for the pavans, were written later expressly to fit the tunes.

¹⁰³The “King of Denmark’s galliard” uses the eighth course but the early sources only use seven.

Although the contrapuntal structure of the galliards is less complex than that of the pavans, Dowland employs many of the same devices to create motivic and harmonic relationships within each piece. Dowland also draws upon his favorite motivic material, most of which is derived from *Lachrimae* (some is from other sources). The harmonic language of “The King of Denmark’s galliard” is unusual among the pieces in the core repertory owing to Dowland’s use of parallel fifths as well as dominant chords that consist of a fifth without the leading tone. This treatment of the fifths will be a crucial issue in the discussion of the pieces from Var, below.

In contrast to the pavans, Dowland made few if any musical changes to accommodate the galliards to the nine-course lute, although some such changes were made to some of the other galliards which are not fully polyphonic. The absence of alterations to the text of the sort that were generally made, such as including some of the extra bass notes, reinforces the hypothesis that these are lute solos which have been imported more or less unchanged into the collection.

Chapter VI. Robert Dowland: Var and MB

Very little is known about Robert Dowland, yet his publications of 1610 have shaped the modern versions of Dowland works. Only two pieces of evidence concern his age; one is that Robert himself states that he was about thirty-five years old at the time of his marriage in October of 1626. This would put his birth around the year 1591, when John Dowland was twenty-eight. 1626 was a crucial year for Robert since his father had died a year earlier. Robert's subsequent appointment to court no doubt gave him the financial security and social status to marry, although this is of course conjecture. The other, more general piece of evidence is Robert's statement in the front matter of Var that he is "but young in years." In 1610, he would have been around nineteen, which seems about right; he would then have produced his first publication at a younger age than his father, who was twenty-four at the time of the publication of Bk1.¹⁰⁴

Modern editors have relied primarily on Robert's work and that of Holmes. It has generally been assumed that because of the father-son relationship of the Dowlands that the versions in Var and the one piece in MB are authoritative in all respects. This judgment has been made in spite of stylistic evidence to the contrary. Furthermore, all of the versions of

¹⁰⁴Poulton originally proposed the date of 1586 for Robert's birth. Cecil Hill, in his article "John Dowland: some new facts and a quartercentenary tribute," (MT vol. 104, Nov., 1963, pp. 785-6) refutes Poulton's date by producing Robert's marriage allegation from 1626 which gives Robert's age at that time. See also JD, p. 28.

Dowland pieces in Var have one sort of textual problem or another, and several, including John Langton's pavan are unplayable without extensive reliance on other sources. The poor quality of the texts, moreover, is a phenomenon that is specific to the Dowland pieces: those of the other composers represented in the book contain few if any errors (and some of these, particularly the compositions of Ferrabosco and Bathchelar, as well as others, are extremely complex in structure and must have been very difficult to set in type). In short, if it were not for the familial connection, Var would tend to be judged a poor source. It could possibly have been excluded, at least for some of the pieces, from the list of prime sources or "copy texts." It is certainly no better as a source than NB from a stylistic point of view, or than many of the foreign sources which have been not only excluded from modern editions but from most of the critical commentaries as well.

Stylistically, the versions of John Dowland pieces printed by Robert Dowland have much in common with those in the Holmes lutebooks: they all contain divisions, some of which are quite elaborate, and a number of the texts are of poor quality. In terms of the core repertory, as defined in the preceding chapters, these pieces are quite different in style, even though the majority of the pieces date from the same time. The following discussion will center around two basic interpretations: did Dowland change his style to suit the times and add divisions to modernize his works for publication (works which then might have had some sort of authoritative divisions from the very start), or did Robert Dowland perform the same kinds of revision on

his father's texts that any lute player of the time might have done, thus obscuring their original form?

Varietie of Lute-Lessons

Var is an extraordinary collection of lute music, and it is quite easy to become immersed in the richness and diversity of the collection to the extent of becoming oblivious to its limitations. There is no critical edition of the collection, and even an accurate transcription is currently unavailable; the edition by Hunt is woefully inaccurate, and reproduces many of the errors in the original.¹⁰⁵ This is partly due to the complexity of some of the pieces; they are among the most intricate of those written for solo lute. Nonetheless, the extravagance of the collection and the international character of its contents do not justify treating the source in a radically different manner from the mss. which are every bit as difficult to transcribe.

In order properly to evaluate the versions of Dowland's music that appear in Var it is necessary to consider the source as a complete entity, and to try to determine whether there are styles or patterns that are common to all the works represented, or merely to select groups. In other words, can the same rules apply to Var in terms of personalization that hold for the ms. sources and, to a certain extent, the nonauthoritative printed sources?

¹⁰⁵Varietie of lute-lessons, Edgar Hunt, ed. (Schott, c1957). The Hunt edition not only excludes concordances but does not even accurately transcribe the basic tablature of Var. Many of the measures have the wrong number of beats in them, and in some cases the wrong tuning is used for the transcription. It remains, however, the only transcription of this important print.

A few points stand out about the genres that are represented in the collection, and they are all important in regard to the versions of Dowland's work. First of all, the collection contains a mix of styles and genres, and, in addition, the pieces at the end seem to have been composed later. In this respect the collection is remarkably similar to *Trésor d'Orphée*. The style of the majority of the collection is retrospective; some of the pieces could well have originated around 1580,¹⁰⁶ a date reflected in the types of dances that are included. The collection is easily divided along the lines of genre. The first section contains fantasias which are all remarkably similar in style and composed for the most part by European composers. Dowland contributes his most famous of the nonchromatic fantasias. This section is followed by the pavans, some of which include highly elaborate divisions while others do not. Next is the section of galliards of which all but one are indisputably either based on works by Dowland or perhaps by Dowland in all respects. All of the galliards are attributed to Dowland except for the last two. The penultimate galliard is attributed to Robert, but there is an early ms. source which confirms that the piece is by John; the misattribution is likely a simple case of misplaced type, since the last galliard is clearly by Robert and the space at the end of the music where the attribution occurs is of a similar size and position in both pieces. The galliards are followed by almaines of which one is probably based on a Dowland original, although it is unattributed. Thrown in with the almaines are a number of masque tunes. At this point in

¹⁰⁶In particular the pavan by Ferrabosco, (no. 6) which is written for a six-course lute.

the print, if we assume that the pieces which are later in style are towards the end of the book, the pieces reflect a style consistent with the time of publication, with possibly a few exceptions. The last two sections consist of courantos and volts, and these pieces are Baroque both in form and style; they were written for the French lute, although in the “*vielle accord*,” the tuning most widely used in the sixteenth century.

The most striking feature of the collection is that two of the pavans are in a style identical to that of the pavans in the core repertory, and these two are attributed to Anthony Holborne and Thomas Morley, who were friends (possibly close friends) of Dowland. These pieces may even contain subtle references in their motivic material to pieces by Dowland, and, most important, these are the only pieces in the dance category (that is, pavans, galliards, almaines, volts and courantos) that have no divisions. Compare the opening phrases of the pavans by Holborne and Morley to the beginning of “Sir Henry Umpton’s funerall”:

Example 44

Each piece emphasizes the E flat on the second course of the lute over the open G in the bass, an interval which is quite dissonant (perhaps striking is a better term) on the lute, then moves to a temporary cadence on D. The high note D is then announced on the top course, and then brought down through figuration to a cadence on G. Each piece functions in a remarkably similar way. It seems to me that this is not a coincidence; it seems probable that Holborne and Morley were invited to contribute to the collection, that

they knew that the collection would represent the best and most impressive music of the time, and that they deliberately chose or wrote works which emphasized the qualities that they thought were the most important: full polyphony with attention to motivic development, melody and harmony, with sparing but functional figuration and no divisions. The stylistic similarity is reinforced by the common background of Dowland and Morley.

It seems also possible that the reason that no divisions were added to these pieces is no accident either, particularly as both were active in London at the time of publication and must have been known to Robert personally, particularly in light of Morley's involvement in music publishing; it was Morley who had arranged the license for the publishing of Bk2 from Este with Dowland's wife. Another factor might well have to do with John's relationship to his son; Robert might have felt entitled to revise his father's works--even to the extent of adding divisions--but he might have been more sensitive about pieces by other composers, particularly in light of Morley's seniority and the important positions held at court by both Morley and Holborne.

In short, the presence of the two pavans by Holborne and Morley serves not only to reinforce the style of Dowland's core repertory but also as a reminder that the division style so popular at the time of publication had not affected two of the most important composers at the English court. The presence of highly elaborate divisions for Holborne's work in various ms. sources is analogous to the text situation for Dowland.

The most important aspect of the relationship of Var and MB to the mss. is the presence of divisions in early mss. that bear some relationship to the divisions in Var.¹⁰⁷ Another important consideration is the similarity in the types of variants in text for all the sources. The presence of divisions in Var similar to those in the earlier mss. is crucial to establishing Robert's connection to the works. The question, simply put, is whether Robert was the writer of the divisions or was he simply the publisher, or editor, of existing material? Did he elaborate his father's lute works or simply publish them? If the dates can be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty it can be shown that Robert would have been too young to have written the divisions himself, and this would define his role as either a modifier of existing material or a transmitter of Dowland's work as he received it. The matter of dating is quite complicated, not only because there is so little evidence for Robert's date of birth but also because the dating of the most important source for early versions of pieces that are included in Var and MB, the Holmes lutebooks, is also uncertain. The dating and the relationship of these sources will be discussed case by case below.

Fantasia No. 7

This fantasia was the most popular of the ones written by Dowland and is one of the few that is well-represented outside of the Holmes lutebooks or

¹⁰⁷Note that the text relationship does not specifically apply to MB because there are no divisions in the Holmes version.

sources related to Holmes. Not only are there at least seven separate sources, including Continental versions, but there are a number of paraphrases as well that make use of not only the motivic material but the entire polyphonic structure. There is, of course, no authoritative source, but the ascription to Dowland is as firm as it can be. Dowland's authorship is indeed one of the few certainties concerning the piece. An interesting feature of the source situation is the attribution of pieces which contain paraphrase material to Dowland loosely on the basis of style; this method of attribution, which runs contrary to established practice for Continental composers, adds to the confusion surrounding Dowland's work.

There are two basic versions, as well as the related or paraphrase versions. The version in Var is one version, and the mss. versions constitute another. Although no two versions are identical, the mss. versions agree for the most part, and this is due to the nature of the piece: the compilers of the lutebooks in general altered the musical surface of the fantasias less than that of the dance genres; this is understandable since the complex motivic structure of the fantasie does not lend itself to divisions. The two exceptions to this rule are cadences and the final cadenza of the piece.¹⁰⁸

The text of the version in Var is unusual in that it is not found in the mss. sources at all, even though several of them contain the piece and are contemporaneous with or later than Var. The version in Var is thus unique,

¹⁰⁸Of course there are some sources that embellish everything but these are in the minority.

and this text situation holds true for all the Dowland pieces in Var. It is a startling fact that lutanists preferred to copy other versions than the one printed by Robert Dowland. On the other hand, the lute parts of LST were frequently reprinted and copied. It is possible to hypothesize therefore that the lute versions in Var may not have been considered authoritative enough even at the time. It may have been apparent to the reader of the time that the Dowland texts were markedly inferior to the pieces by the other composers in the collection.

The versions in CLM represent the two basic texts, although as stated previously the canon is affected in a general way by this particular piece due to paraphrasing. Since the critical apparatus for each piece is independent, however, the precise relationship between the two texts is not defined, and a number of errors or variants in the Var version have been let stand in the modern edition. In addition, a few changes have been made to the text of the Var version, presumably from the text of the other versions, but since the critical commentary for the Var version is nonexistent, it is impossible readily to determine how these changes were made and why some changes were made and others not. Finally, the source situation has been complicated because the text of Var has been determined to be authoritative in CLM, yet in instances where the Var versions differ from the mss. versions, and both versions “work” (that is, they produce reasonably acceptable results in terms of loosely defined standards of style and consonance), the readings of the

mss. versions are often preferred for no very obvious reason. This odd situation requires demonstration and discussion.

The first example illustrates what appears to be a printing error in Var, and this type of error is one that is particularly troublesome for the modern editor. In this case the typesetter appears to have set two bars of the piece over again, thus creating two extra measures:

Example 45

The problem with this kind of error is that a distinct musical phrase is simply reproduced intact; there is no absurd contrapuntal or harmonic aberration which alerts the editor to an error. In dealing with this and similar problems three questions arise. First, is this a typesetter's error, which should therefore be classed along with the more usual sorts of errors that are generally included in the critical commentary? In other words, is this the sort of situation that arises from human error in the way that printing a character on the wrong line does? Second, would this passage be considered "wrong" on the basis of style alone; and, third, what then is the significance of the variant text of the other sources?

CLM's answer to the first question, that is, the nature of the error, was to regard this type of error in a different light from the line error because the result is playable since it merely sets the same bar twice. After all, motivic repetition is a legitimate stylistic tool. Any exact repetition of musical material, however, needs to be regarded with suspicion because it is not

within the style of the music of this period, and certainly not within the style of Dowland's core repertory. In terms of whether the extra bar would be considered "wrong" on the basis of style alone, it seems clear that motivic material in fantasias is rarely repeated but instead varied and developed. When material is repeated, it is altered or developed, or the register is shifted. The passage in question is inconsistent with Dowland's style, because of the exact and redundant nature of the repetition. Since the passage makes some sort of musical sense, the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that this is a case of the exception proving the rule, particularly since it prolongs the drive to the cadence. It is at this point that editorial judgment has to operate. In my judgment, based on the reasons outlined above, the repetition is an error. But whatever the editorial decision, there should be a critical note.

The stylistic evidence for the error is reinforced by unanimity among the other sources. All of them omit the extra two bars.¹⁰⁹ In this particular case, the best reading is to correct the Var version on the basis of both style and the other sources.¹¹⁰

The next passage which I believe is absolutely crucial in terms of editorial policy is in bar 61 of the Var version. For purposes of clarity I have transcribed the two together; the CLM version is on the lower staves; note

¹⁰⁹The one exception, the foreign source TGG, leaves out the two bars entirely, perhaps making the same mistake as the compositor of Var, but in reverse.

¹¹⁰For those numerically inclined, the corrected version has ninety-nine bars, instead of 101, which is a product of three threes (three times thirty-three).

that the passage in question begins on a half bar in CLM but on the full bar in Var.

Example 46

In this particular case it seems clear that an emendation has been made to the text of Var purely on the basis of material in another source, even though there is no error in the original. Indeed, one could argue that in this case the error could be in the mss. versions. Possibly the CLM editors felt that the mss. version is more musical, since the bass makes more of a line, but one could say that the Var version is more musical because it makes more of a sequence. In any case, it is clear that the choice here is one of informed preference or arbitrary, mechanical transcription, and that without mention in the critical commentary the original text as well as the original tablature are both obscured. The emendation also alters the rhythmic profile of the bass line.

The text of the fantasie is difficult to edit for these and other reasons, but as long as the process is accessible to the player, or reader, and the choices are made in a manner consistent with the evaluation of the source material, the edition will maintain its integrity. The final major textual and musical problem is that the ms. version contains a substantial number of bars which are lacking in Var. This is much more difficult to resolve. The additional bars occur at two separate points, and their emendation affects a third point. These points are noted in CLM in the text (not the critical

commentary). Oddly enough, the extra bars in the Var version, discussed above, are not noted at all.

The text situation is extremely complex in regard to these extra measures in the mss. sources, and the editorial situation is different from the situation discussed previously. The “missing” bars could have been left out by the compositor who worked on Var. In any case, there should be a note somewhere in the edition of the Var version (CLM, 1a) to this effect. Alternatively, another version could be created that supplies the missing bars from the mss. sources. Since the version in Var works musically, there would have to be a strong stylistic reason to make this change. Unfortunately the stylistic evidence is ambiguous. A review of the events is in order at this point.

The two basic versions are more or less identical up to bar 28, at which there is a basic shift in the metric structure. The CLM version contains two more beats (not “extra” beats, as I will show), and this moves the musical fabric over, so that a number of subject entrances are now in the middle of the bar. In other words, the “downbeat” has been shifted. This is not necessarily an error, although one could argue that the musical result is weaker in some sense. One of the more interesting aspects of this piece is the way in which the sources deal with the measures which by that time had become fairly standard as four semibreves.

Anyone who transcribes early music is sensitive to the implications of an unresolved half bar, even if the metric structure persists to the end of the

piece, resulting in a half bar at the very end. In fact, both sources come out even because the ms. version on which the CLM version is based is missing a half bar in the bar before the end. The situation has been hopelessly confused by another half bar which has been *added* by the editors of CLM from other sources which resemble Var at this particular point. The version represented by No. 1 in CLM is therefore conflated; contrary to the stated editorial procedure it is not based on one primary source.¹¹¹

There are six errors in CLM's critical commentary for the version in JP alone in the first twenty-five bars, which amounts to less than one quarter of the piece and less than five percent of the entire critical work. This amounts to more than one error for every three opportunities.

In many ways, the variants of this piece reflect the nature of the sources. The type of personalization so readily apparent in those pieces with extravagant divisions is still present here. Each source is personalized, but because of the nature of the piece the variation between the different versions telescoped, as it were: instead of wholesale division, we find subtle differences in figuration, chord voicing, ornamentation and cadences. Taken singly, these small differences appear to be minor variants, but because of their number and character these variants create a very different sound for each version--a sound that is lost in part when relegated to the algebra of the critical commentary or distorted by conflation with other equally personal

¹¹¹CLM p. xvi. "In each case a single source has been followed. Important differences of reading in other texts are given in the Notes."

versions. For example, JP routinely substitutes the low D on the seventh course for the note an octave higher. Since the seventh course was universally used by 1600, this change does not reflect a change in the instrument or even a later date for the version. It is simply a tendency in the source which reflects an individual lutanist's preference. On the other hand, a similar tendency in the early Holmes books to add the low D (in a different color of ink) may reflect different reasons. In this case, in a limited sense, the addition of the D creates a later version.

The idea of reconstructing an original is clearly impossible in such a situation. In a historical situation in which individual performers were expected to add their own embellishments and impose their personal idiosyncrasies on any text, sorting out the Dowland wheat from the sources evident supply of chaff is impossible. One solution to this is to regard each version as discrete and to choose one or more to print (in a sense, invalidating the others), preserving their individual characters by refusing to make changes except in the case of demonstrable musical errors (which would, in the usual manner of critical editing, be corrected either from another source version or simply by the editor's best judgment). This is probably the best that can be done for Dowland and the English lute repertory. It would, after all, reflect the historical situation accurately. The editor's conscience is pricked, however, by Dowland's own versions, by his claim to have been misrepresented, and by the evident distance, musically speaking, between *his* versions (in the case of the core repertory) and the manuscript editors. What

the modern editor needs to do is to: a) answer the challenge of the fantasie as well as present more than one version; b) stick to a single copy text for each version, making only such amendments as are required by musical grammar and editorial insight; c) include a description of the character of the other versions not reproduced in the edition, and (d) be punctilious in detailing any changes to copy text so that the reader can reconstruct the historical document intact.

In the case of the version in Var, it must be pointed out that if this fantasie were, for example, in a European source, it would have been dismissed as a bad version and not even included in the critical commentary; however, since it is connected to Dowland through his son it cannot be ignored.

In terms of the missing seven bars, there are two ways to view the problem. The first is to propose that the version in Var is a paring down of the piece; that is, a revision that cuts what was presumably extraneous material. The alternative is that the version in Var is the result of yet another printer's or editor's error, and I believe that the weight of evidence points to this solution. In the first place, Var is simply not a reliable text for Dowland's works. Although the pieces of other composers contain few errors, and were presumably made from well-prepared fair copies, Dowland's works seem to have been typeset in haste. In the second place, there are very few instances in fantasias where sections are deleted by the composer as the

result of “mature consideration,” although sectional changes occur occasionally in pieces with divisions.

The spot at which the deletion occurs is bar 44:

Example 47

It is apparent from the example that the cadential material is identical. One could therefore argue the point both ways: the deletion might reflect a change which Dowland deemed possible and desirable, or, alternatively, the compositor lost his place and resumed typesetting the piece at an identical cadence seven bars later. Although it is of course impossible to prove the point one way or the other, a number of factors indicate the greater likelihood of the compositor error explanation. In the first place there is the general nature of Var as a source, which is good in general but specifically not for Dowland. Second is the absence of sources which reproduce the version in Var, including later sources. Third is the internal motivic evidence. Each motive in the piece receives some sort of treatment before leading to the next. In the mss. sources, the triadic motive introduced in bar 45 is repeated several times, each time in a somewhat altered form, consistent with the style of the piece. In Var, however, the treatment is quite short. Since the material comes out of the same cadence, the piece works in its shortened form but seems musically more cohesive with the extra bars.

It is important to point out, however, that even if the missing seven bars represents a compositor’s error, the emendation may not have been by John

Dowland. Since the evidence suggests that John had little if any connection with the print of Var. In this case the best we are left with is an editorial omission on the part of Robert, which is no better or worse in terms of textual authority than a compositor's error.

In JD, Poulton suggests that the opening subject may have been derived from an Italian *lauda*. Since the borrowing of Lauda material has never been documented to my knowledge, this seems a remote possibility at best, particularly since the tune in question is not quite the same as Dowland's. Furthermore, the source that Poulton cites is from 1675.¹¹² The work of Ward has shown that the subject was one of the many popular hexachord subjects in use at the end of the 16th century.¹¹³

Poulton states the following about the fantasie:

The piece evolved into two distinct versions; the earlier is found in all the MS sources and in the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of Besardus; the latter, in *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*. There are a number of different readings among the MSS sources which probably represent the small changes which inevitably creep in when a piece passes from hand to hand and is written out by one copyist after another. In *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*, many small points, where the MSS seem to have strayed, are cleared up, and two major alterations are introduced. At the beginning of bar 29 two beats are dropped and from then onwards the bar lines are placed two beats earlier, and seven bars are eliminated after bar 44. Altogether this version is musically more satisfying and represents Dowland's mature revision of the work, although its appearance in Add. 38,539 (probably written after 1615) suggests that the earlier version continued in use after the printing of *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*. It is noticeable that the piece is not found in any of the

¹¹²See JD, p. 113.

¹¹³"A Dowland Miscellany," pp. 32-34.

really early source books for Dowland's work and it is likely that it was among the later compositions of his great creative period.¹¹⁴

The above comments indicate how hard it is to arrive at a text or texts for this piece, since no conclusion is above suspicion. Poulton's statement that the variants in the "early" version are due to copyist changes is not consistent with the patterns of changes found in the sources, which indicate a degree of personalization, as opposed to aleatory changes. The statement that the version in Var is musically more satisfying is purely subjective; in any case, a number of important changes were made to the Var transcription in CLM, so the "musicality" of the Var version derives from the other versions as well. The hypothesis that the work is a late work, or a "late early" work is based purely on the absence of the piece in the early sources. It does not take into account that the piece was clearly designed for a seven-course lute, which is evidence that the piece was one of Dowland's earliest works, perhaps earlier than "John Langton's pavan." Similarly the idea that it is a "mature revision" is inconsistent with the type of lute used since no attempt was made to incorporate the use of extra strings used in Var even though there was opportunity to do so. The overall unreliable quality of the text is also evidence against a late revision; if Dowland had taken the trouble to revise the text it seems unlikely that it would contain so many errors.

Since the variants produce such individual versions, and since the errors are not easily resolved, it is quite impossible to produce a standard

¹¹⁴JD, p113.

text. The editors of CLM have produced two versions, each of which borrows substantially from the other. In addition, these versions ignore the possibility that the extra two bars in Var are likely to be an error, as well as the missing seven bars. Finally the ms. version might well be corrected in bar 29 so that the barlines are consistent with Var. The Var version, in my judgment, should contain the following features for ease of performance. The two bars which appear to have been printed twice should be deleted, with a note at the bottom explaining that they may be reintroduced if desired; the missing seven bars should be introduced into the Var version, with a note that they may be deleted; and minor variants should be placed in the critical commentary, with a note describing the style of each source. The “extra” two beats, then, are all that would distinguish the two versions, so the need for two versions is unnecessary unless one feels that the half bar is a permissible stylistic option for Dowland. Based on the canon and the core repertory this seems extremely unlikely, and this is reinforced by the problems that the half bar creates in the mss. versions.¹¹⁵

The proposed solution has a number of advantages. It is superior for performance and study because material can be added or deleted easily to produce the different options. The basic text follows the reading which is slightly more likely on the basis of the evidence, but allows for a different interpretation. The reading may look like a composite conflation, but is not,

¹¹⁵As of this writing, I have not seen the BTH version, and I cannot confirm that it is a useless version as stated in JD.

since all the changes could easily be owing to printer's errors. In fact, it is less a hybrid than either of the versions in CLM.

Even though the weight of evidence suggests that a considerable amount of the character of each version is owing to errors of one sort or another, and that the remaining differences reflect the personality of the compiler, it is better to provide the alternate solutions so that they are easily accessible and not buried in the critical commentary. Material that is borrowed to correct errors can then be placed close at hand for the performer. The missing seven measures may be printed at the bottom of the page and marked by a sign in the text, so the performer can play the piece either way, as well as easily compare the two versions.

John Langton's Pavan

“John Langton’s Pavan” (JLP) presents in many respects the same problems of text that are present in the fantasie. As noted previously, there is an authoritative version in F in LST that contains no divisions but has been updated in a number of ways to suit the nine-course lute. For reasons of sonority the melody has been changed by transposing some sections; however, all of the melody is present.

There appear to be four versions of the piece in D: in addition to the versions in Var, LST, and D5, there is a foreign version in BTH which is at present unavailable. Poulton describes the version as poor, and it is not included in her critical commentary, yet emendations to the text in CLM have been made on the basis of the version in BTH. Therefore, the text of JLP cannot be properly unraveled at this time and the following discussion is of necessity subject to later revision. In addition, the critical commentary of CLM offers no comparison of the two versions in Var and LST, even though they are closely related and emendations to the texts of both have been made on the basis of the other version in CLM.

As noted before, the version in Var is in the same key as a version which is present in the earliest mss. However, the version in Var differs in two important respects, although it is not quite clear how these differences occurred.

The first important difference is that the fundamental structure of the

second section has been altered so that it contains eight measures instead of seven. The alteration has been skillfully done, so that there is a natural sense of proportion to the section, although it certainly cannot be said that it is superior to the version in LST. The core repertory shows that unequal section length is a common feature of Dowland's work. The purpose of CLM's revising the section is therefore unclear.

The second difference is that the figuration of the early version in D has been expanded and reworked. The revision has either been done carelessly or the compositor created a number of errors in setting the type. Since the errors in Var as a whole seem to center on Dowland's work, it seems likely that the reviser created the errors, as opposed to the printer. In any case, it seems extremely unlikely that it was Dowland himself who created the errors, and by the same token it is hard to imagine that John could have even glanced at the text since the errors are so obvious. Another piece of evidence to support this theory is that the errors occur only in the sections with divisions. The most plausible explanation is that someone, probably Robert, revised a version that contained the lengthened middle section and then reworked the divisions on the basis of some earlier version. This was probably done at the last minute, and for whatever reason there was no time to correct the proofs. The other possibility for the creation of the text in Var is that Robert or someone used the "short" text which survives, was able to add the extra measure with relative ease, but was then confounded by the complexity inherent in the divisions, which involve careful use of rhythmic

signs. The printer, of course, could have been the one confused by the complexity, but this seems unlikely since very difficult texts by other composers are set accurately in the collection.

Inherent in this argument is the presence of divisions of some sort at such an early date that they could not in all likelihood have been created by Robert, and must have been written by John or someone else. Since the transmission of the divisions is never exact, these “original” divisions may, as Poulton suggests, have been revised in all cases, but to varying degrees, for inclusion in Var. Another explanation, and one that I believe is somewhat more consistent with the evidence, is that the early mss. versions are based on a relatively unornamented Dowland version, but that the copyist or lute player altered or developed all of these versions to varying degrees. There were probably multiple versions played by Dowland as well. The similarities and differences between these early versions and Var can then be explained because they are all related in some way to one or more Dowland versions. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the early versions are by Dowland and that the later versions are Dowland’s revisions, particularly in light of the poor quality of the texts as well as some of the unimaginative reuse of material. It would surely be more fruitful to think along these lines: each player made changes to the text that he or she received or heard, and Robert or someone else continued the process. Since one of the most troublesome errors in the source occurs precisely at the spot where the divisions must be altered to adapt to the extra measure is then not a

coincidence but a failure to rewrite the material. The error could possibly be due to the use of a very old copy in which the changes had been scribbled in the margins and then misread, but this is also unlikely because lute mss. usually do not leave enough room for an alteration involving this many notes. The most plausible hypothesis is that the text went awry at the conceptual stage, and therefore the errors could not realistically come from the pen of John himself, the creator of the most sophisticated and complex forms for lute music of his time.

The following example shows the error in the extra measure of the second section:

Example 48

The note values of the alto part, represented in tablature, look exactly the same in the bracketed parts, above, although a different rhythmic flag is in effect. If the compositor of Var was working from a ms. source related to Holmes' version, it is of course at this spot that the piece would be derailed, because the poorly revised version in Var has added an extra beat. The use of the same pitch material at a different spot in the measure (due to the extra material) shows how the divisions do not really suit the new phrase, although a reasonable reconstruction can be made, assuming that the original had the correct number of beats.

The other places where the important errors in the text occur is at cadences; the version in Var contains more notes on the cadential trill, which

is typical of the rhythmic inflation of pieces that have divisions, but the note values do not add up to a complete measure, nor is there a simple way that the error could have occurred, such as the omission of a dot, that would produce a trill within the style. Either the trill was intended to be atypical, or the reviser simply did not bother to add up the notes in the cadence. The latter possibility seems more likely considering the style of the time, and Dowland's particular style; it seems unlikely that Dowland could have created an error of this nature; in fact, to my knowledge there are no such errors in any of the pieces that we have so far considered as "core repertory." One spot in particular is worth mentioning since the type of error is similar in both sources:

Example 49

Taken along with the similarity of the passage to the missing beat, this suggests that there is a relationship between the two sources which accounts for the errors. In the above passage, the reviser probably added divisions to a text that was already corrupt, and produced a version that has the same structure as the faulty original, but with more divisions. In the case of the bar with the missing beat, which resulted initially from the addition of an extra measure, the reviser has clearly created a "short" measure by borrowing material from the earlier version without expanding it. This type of oversight reinforces the theory that it was not John Dowland who created the errors and opens the possibility that the revision may have been based on a nonauthoritative text, either the version in D5 or a related version.

Because the bar with the missing beat consists of musical material borrowed out of context, there is really no musical solution that will produce a satisfactory measure with the right number of beats. In other words, the material is designed to fit in the space of seven semibreves, and stretching the material will create one sort of problem or another. For example, the reconstruction in CLM has much to commend it, since it provides a playable version not too far removed from Dowland's style, but it alters the rocking eighth note motion in the treble, and changes the level of division in the alto. The alto is clearly derived from melodic material from the unornamented strain, and if it is stretched alters the melodic balance.

The solution does, however, preserve most of the bar in its original form. Another solution might be to add a beat of material in the style of the piece, but the added material would shift the harmonic balance of the original. The final alternative is to preserve the measure as a short measure, but even though there are short measures in the literature, there are none in Dowland, so this solution is unsatisfactory as well.

The other two places in need of correction are essentially similar and seem to have resulted from either the addition of two extra notes in the trill signs or the addition of an extra dot. Of these two, it is difficult to choose which is the better reading, since both corrections result in acceptable versions stylistically, but deletion of two extra "notes" in the trill seems to be more in the style of this particular piece. Indeed, an identical trill is used in

bar 28 of the version in D5. Poulton chooses this revision for bar 47 but not for bar 9.

Example 50

Bar nine is not exactly parallel since the end of the trill resolves differently. However, the rhythmic configuration is similar and I believe both passages should be treated the same. The version in BTH might amplify this passage. In any case, the solution in CLM adds another level of rhythmic division, using six flags, which I think is inappropriate, particularly as the cadence would then slow down rather than speed up. Although this type of cadence is found in the literature, it is extremely rare and is not found in Dowland.¹¹⁶ A more conventional solution is more appropriate in this instance, which is provided in the above example.

The Galliards in Var

Introduction

There are seven galliards in Var. Of these, six are attributed to John Dowland and one is attributed to his son Robert. As mentioned previously, the attribution of no. 6, “Lady Clifton’s Spirit,” to Robert is most likely the result of a compositor’s error; the attribution belongs with galliard no. seven. It is no coincidence that each of the sections of Var contain seven pieces,

¹¹⁶It is used in Batchelar’s “Monsieurs Almaine” in Var. (Almaine No. 1).

although what significance is to be attributed to this fact is unclear.¹¹⁷ The number seven is important for attribution purposes, however, because John's fantasie is the seventh piece in the first group, and Robert's pavan is the seventh in the second group. The galliard to Robert's pavan is the seventh in the third group, with the attribution misplaced. The final piece by John is the seventh piece in the fourth group. Although it has no attribution, it is ascribed to John in other sources. The mere presence of the piece in the seventh position gives weight to the attribution, even though the version is not necessarily authoritative.

The classification of the mss. sources as "early" and the versions in Var as later revisions has led to CLM's policy of including two versions for some of these pieces side by side, numbered "a" and "b." This policy to a certain extent obscures the degree to which all of the versions differ, each with its own character. In addition, the alternative version is usually taken from Holmes. CLM thus tends to present two privileged views of the repertory, while at the same time excluding the authoritative versions of many pieces found in LST. In one case, "The Earl of Essex's galliard," another ms. source has been chosen as the alternate version because the Holmes version lacks divisions, thus further skewing the balance of the sources. To make matters worse, for some pieces, such as "Queen Elizabeth's galliard," no

¹¹⁷Note that the almaines do not really constitute seven pieces; the number seven for this group is the result of mixing the almaines with the masks. In this way, the group was made to come out to seven items. Since there are seven categories of pieces, but only six groups, it seems likely that seven groups were intended but there were only enough pieces for six.

alternative version is presented, even though the two sources differ in significant details; for others, the alternative is presented in the back of the book, along with the marginal pieces.

In any case, it is the galliard that is the form most used to display John's work in Var. Oddly enough, these galliards appear to be his most popular work and represent works that were available through other sources, including LST. Because some of these pieces were already available, Poulton and others have suggested that John published these versions in Var to provide authoritative texts. The differences between the versions in Var and the mss. versions have been attributed by Poulton and others to be the result of a late revision by John, even though the style suggest that most if not all of the galliards are early versions of early pieces. In other words, there is nothing very new in these pieces, and the degree of revision is less than in JLP. This is as one would expect, since the level of figuration is almost always more restrained in the galliard. The pieces as a whole share a number of stylistic traits, and each one has its own specific problems in terms of text.

The King of Denmark's Galliard

As mentioned previously, the version in Var is similar in its basic structure to the version in LST, with the addition of substantial variations. Little can be added to the discussion that is presented in the chapter on LST,

except to emphasize the point that all of the versions of this piece are different, and this version is no exception. The text has few errors, and is carefully set; and this is unusual for a Dowland text in this collection. The quality of the text may be due to extra attention on Robert's part, or even to his own additions (if he made them), but it is difficult to do more than speculate. The piece seems overly long and unimaginative, but the popularity at the time of just this kind of style cannot be underestimated.

Queen Elizabeth's galliard

"Queen Elizabeth's galliard" is one of Dowland's more interesting works, since it contains a metric shift and is written in two instead of three sections. Stylistically, it contains the kind of motivic development which is normally associated with a fantasie, but which Dowland employs to a certain extent in the galliards in LST. There are only two versions; the one in Var and one in D2. All of the evidence of style and provenance indicates that this is a very early work. At some point the title was changed, no doubt in the hopes of changing Dowland's fortunes at court.

The essential difference between the version in D9 and the version in Var is that the D9 version, titled "K. Darcies sprite,"¹¹⁸ has different figuration in the melody, along with some ornamental signs. In addition, the last bar differs slightly; the compiler of D9 must have seen a version that had

¹¹⁸for a discussion of the title see JD, p. 158; CLM, p. 323.

something in common with Var because the last bar of the piece was originally written down as it is in Var, then crossed out (but still visible) and revised. It is unclear when this revision took place, although it was probably well before 1610, based upon the date of D9. The relationship of the two versions to each other suggests that Holmes had access to a source for Dowland's pieces that may have been somewhat closer to the authoritative text, and that Holmes changed the authoritative reading to suit his taste, at least for some works. The other interesting feature of Holmes' version is that in bar 13 a note is supplied in the alto part which slightly improves the voice-leading, and this note is absent from the version in Var and might therefore have been omitted in error. The revised passage reads as follows, with the supplied note in brackets:

Example 51

The critical commentary of CLM does not list all of the variants in the Holmes version, which is therefore inaccessible to the user of that edition. Since the only differences are in the figuration, it is understandable that only one source would be included in the complete works, but at least that source ought to have been fully represented with an entire list of variants, not just a few. Since many of the galliards from Var are included in the CLM edition along with an ms. version, it seems wise to include the D2 version for the sake of completeness, particularly since it differs in significant details.

Stylistically, "Queen Elizabeth's galliard" is close to the style of pieces in the core repertory. The divisions are integrated into the motivic flow of

the piece and do not sound out of place within the melodic contours. Their shape is derived from that of broken consort music, in which the melody is embroidered within a fairly narrow range, but the relentless energy of the broken style is muted here by the use of short phrases. The following example shows how the melodic material of the first phrase is related to the second. Note that the divisions never stray far from the model.

Example 52

The Earl of Essex's galliard

Along with "Piper's galliard" and "The King of Denmark's galliard" "The Earl of Essex's galliard" ("Essex") attained a sort of universal appeal and currency.¹¹⁹ There are many different versions for all sorts of instruments and ensembles. Dowland himself set the tune as the song "Can she excuse my wrongs," and the song is quite popular today. In a typically Romantic fashion it is often said that the song is written about Queen Elizabeth,¹²⁰ and although the tone of the song may support this hypothesis in a general way there is no real evidence to support this conclusion, other than

¹¹⁹The "Frog" galliard belongs in this group as well, but the only authoritative text is the lute ayre version.

¹²⁰"The stanzas of this song, though they have no author's name in the songbook, reveal some evidence of belonging to a group of ayres which, in my opinion, were written by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to play their part in the tortured and tragic relationship that existed between him and Queen Elizabeth I." *JD*, p. 226. The explanation in *JD* that follows, pp. 226-9, is speculative.

the connection between Elizabeth and Essex. As with many of these texts, the words can easily be interpreted in a number of ways.

“Essex” is one of the few lute solos to incorporate a popular song into the tenor part. Although this practice occurs in mid-16th century mensural dance music, and in later consort music, it is rare in solo lute music--not only because the tune is easily lost in that register but also because of the presence of octave stringing (which Dowland does not use). The octave stringing creates an odd effect when the tune crosses over from unison to octave, as if a voice pops in and out. The tune in question is “The woods so wild,” and the use of the tune is discussed by a number of writers.¹²¹ Poulton notes the similarity of Dowland’s treatment of the tune to Byrd’s.¹²²

There are three versions transcribed in CLM; these are the versions in Var, FD, and 30. A great deal of confusion surrounds the sources for this piece, and much of it is exacerbated by the presentation in CLM. The version from 30 is at the end of the book (No. 89) because it is considered idiosyncratic. There are, however, many idiosyncratic or unusual settings or versions of other pieces which are not included or even mentioned in CLM. The critical commentary to No. 89 is incomplete, and as usual, does not account for the different versions. The Version from FD contains the usual problems associated with the source.¹²³ The versions with no divisions are

¹²¹JD, pp. 153ff.

¹²²JD, p. 154.

¹²³“The so-called ‘Dowland Lute Book’ in the Folger Shakespeare Library,” JLSA vol ix (1976) pp. 5-29.

ignored, and this fact is particularly important in the case of Essex, since there are more than the usual number of unornamented versions, including two in Holmes' books. The versions in Holmes are not compared. The description of the sources as basically belonging to two families is inadequate and does not account for the editorial decision to include three basic texts. Nor does the description of sources discuss the non-ornamented versions, and the important relationship of the sources to the lute song and the Cambridge consort parts.

Further confusion results from those sources that are without title, or contain conflicting attributions. In addition, several of the foreign sources give the title as "Piper's galliard," and the variants in the foreign sources are not included in the critical commentary of CLM. It is beyond my present scope to make an exhaustive study of all of the sources; the present discussion will center on the text of Var.

As noted previously, there are several versions without divisions, and these are mostly early, notably the two versions in the Holmes lutebooks and the printed version in NB. An indication of the integrity of the divisionless version results from its preservation by both Barley and Holmes, even though both men provided divisions for many other pieces.

The sources fall into several groups according to a variety of factors, including phrase length, divisions (or absence of divisions) and voice leading. Poulton correctly notes that the versions in Var and NB are the only ones with nine measures in the middle section, moreover, the two versions

are closely related in other ways (which she does not note). This does not mean, however, that all of the other versions form a set. Nor does it explain why the two authoritative versions, that is the lute song and the version in LST, contain eight bars in the middle section. Since a number of these factors (phrase-length, ornamentation, etc.) are interrelated, a grouping into families based on one principle alone fails to reveal the salient features of the relationship of the sources to each other. For example, if the grouping is based on the presence of divisions, there are two families, some of which have a nine bar middle section and some of which do not. The lute song, LST and Barley versions are all grouped together, with two versions by Holmes and a number of foreign sources. Many of these are similar in style but some are not. Poulton's grouping according to section length puts the NB and Var versions together, and rightly so, but it does not show that the first phrases of sources from both groups are nearly identical, nor does it reveal the slight differences. Furthermore, it does not show how some of the "short" versions are quite different not only in figuration, but also in harmonization and voice-leading.

The long section described above has its parallel in the lute part of LST which has nine bars in the first section, but eight in the second. The string parts have only eight bars in their parts but since the last bar is determined by context the lute part may not be in error. This long section might even be an option of sorts, the note in the string parts was of course interpreted as a fermata, and it seems likely that the lute player could add material at will in

the open space of the final bar. It could also be an error that arose from the formulaic application of cadential material.

The most logical way to group the sources is by the different compositional techniques which govern them. It is clear that a number of sources influenced others, but it is difficult to express the precise relationship between them. Five versions were in circulation at a relatively early date. These are the Holmes versions, a mixed consort version for which there is a “consort” part (i.e., only the melody, in mixed consort style), the two authoritative versions which are the lute song and the version in LST (the latter does not include the melody in the lute part and is transposed) and the version in NB. In addition there are a number of foreign sources which I have not yet seen. The compositional techniques in this early layer are influential in determining the patterns of the later versions. As Ward points out in his discussion of “The King of Denmark’s galliard,” new patterns not present in any original are added at a later date, building on all or part of an earlier version.¹²⁴ The same is true of Essex, although not to the same degree.

Nearly all of the sources begin with an almost identical phrase:

Example 53

The exceptions are the song and a later version which is based on the melody as it appears in the song. The song sounds A, which is equivalent to G in the C minor version.

¹²⁴“A Dowland Miscellany,” p.61.

It is unusual to see such a degree of conformity for a first phrase, but thereafter the sources diverge. An interesting aspect of the first phrase is that all of the sources agree that the “A” in the second bar in the melody should be an A flat, unambiguously presented in the tablature. This corresponds to a B flat in the key of D (for the lute song version). This note has been much discussed in the literature, even though it is, of course, essentially *musica ficta*. Poulton states that it should be natural on the basis of the sources even though all the sources she cites to support this view are foreign and described as “poor versions” in the critical commentary of CLM. In addition she cites Morley’s consort lessons as an example even though the flat is clearly indicated in the treble part. This flat, she says, is an error because it creates a cross relation. Of course, the source is replete with cross relations, which were *de riguer* for the style. The point is the weight of evidence, bolstered by the authoritative text of LST, overwhelmingly supports the flat.¹²⁵

The close relationship of the versions in NB and Var establishes a direct connection between the two, which is unusual because the standard scholarly view is that the versions in Var are the result of Dowland wishing to provide a correct text. The three strains are almost identical; of course, the version in Var provides divisions. A possible explanation is that the extra bar in the middle section is an error, and that the version in Var repeats the error, and includes divisions on it. The divisions might be by Robert, and he might

¹²⁵Dowland not only includes the flat in the treble part but doubles the melody in the lute part, so that the flat is present twice.

have based his text on NB, or if not NB, surely a related version. The extra bar comes at the cadence, and is not really functional, as extra bars are in the core repertory, nor is it a reworking of the material as it is in JLP.

Example 54

The bar has the character of a lead-in to the next section, and originally might have consisted of first and second endings. The extra bar in LST is essentially similar, where the final chord is rearticulated for no apparent reason.¹²⁶

A comparison of the style of the second half of the first strain in the version of FD and Var highlights some of the problems with the text of FD, even though it is included in the authoritative section of CLM:

Example 55

Note the substitution of C for A flat in bar six, the unimaginative figuration in bar seven, without a passing sixth, the inclusion of a D in the alto part, which creates a line of sorts in the alto part, but an unmusical one. The text of FD supports the theory of Ward that this version is most likely that of a student of Dowland's, and the texts connected with Dowland must be viewed in that light.

In the version in FD there is figuration that seems to have been borrowed from the missing lute part of Morley's Consort Lessons. Lute

¹²⁶The second ending theory is proposed for the LST version by Hunt in John Dowland / The Complete Consort Music (London 1985).

parts to a number of the pieces in this collection have been found, and they appear to be either the missing parts or at the least closely related to the missing parts. Poulton suggests that the consort parts are more likely based on a lute solo version and the dating of the sources certainly supports this,¹²⁷ but stylistically the material is very close in style to mixed consort writing. In any case, the inclusion of this material directly relates the consort part to two lute solo versions; the version in FD and the version in G, and the latter two are similar in a number of other respects

Despite the inclusion of a puzzling extra bar in the version in Var, which is obviously intentional, the text is in a very good state in comparison with other Dowland texts in this source. Although the texture of the divisions is primarily one- and two-part writing, the imaginative use of figuration gives the impression of polyphony. The figuration is ingeniously designed to take into account the presence of the tune in the tenor part in the third section; by establishing a wide-ranging scalar figuration from the beginning of the repeat of the first strain, the composer allows the melody of the last section to be easily integrated. Had the design followed the more usual pattern of divisions, the melodic line would have shifted abruptly in the third section. The final cadence is somewhat formulaic:

Example 56

The last chord is written in a position that John Dowland did not normally use, since the top notes are all on stopped strings and the bass is

¹²⁷JD, p. 225.

open; a more characteristic scoring would be the following:

This position would solve possible tuning and timbral problems that can occur in high positions that are mixed with open strings.

The Earl of Darby's galliard

Nos. four and five of the galliards in Var are a facing pair; “The Earl of Darby's galliard” on the right and “The Lady Rich's galliard” on the left.¹²⁸

The position of these two pieces in the print underscores the remarkable stylistic similarity between the two, which will be discussed presently.¹²⁹

There are seven sources for the “Earl of Darby's galliard” (“Darby”), three in the Holmes lutebooks (two in N6 and one in D5), one each in G, W, and Tol, as well as the version in Var. The second of the two versions in N6 appears to be a revision of the first, and it follows consecutively in the ms., on fo. 2.¹³⁰ There are therefore actually five good mss. versions. Of these, three have no divisions, and these are G, W, and D5. The majority of the mss. sources can therefore be said to lack divisions, and the versions with divisions in very general terms seem to be somewhat later. The sources with divisions might even have been based in part on Var, particularly in the case

¹²⁸Pages 48 and 49 in the Schott facsimile edition.

¹²⁹Poulton is of the opposite opinion: “‘The Right Honorable Ferdinando Earle of Darby, his Galliard’, No. 44, is also in G major, but is entirely different in character from that of ‘Lady Rich’.” JD. p. 157.

¹³⁰CLM (second edition, 1978), p. 325.

of N6. All of the versions in the mss. require a seven-course lute, and this, combined with the style of the piece, suggests a very early date of composition, despite the presence of early sources that date c1600. These early sources, Euing and Weld (W and G) as well as D5, are the three that lack divisions, and it seems reasonable that the divisions were added later.

All of the sources follow the same basic plan; the differences lie in the type of figuration in the divisions, if present, and in the voice leading of the polyphony. The harmonization suggests that the lute part was primarily an accompanying part for consort in that it contains a number of parallel fifths, and the figuration, when present, is entirely on the top string. As I will show, these are characteristics shared by “The Lady Rich’s galliard.” The source in Var contains a major error, which is typical for Dowland pieces in this collection. In the divisions to the last section the final measure has been omitted, so that the repeat is a measure short. The piece is transcribed in CLM with the short section, with no comment, either in the text or the critical commentary, although Poulton does mention it in JD. The error was no doubt created by the last two bars, which are simple articulations of G major; whoever revised it forgot that the last bar was a double length bar and neglected to provide divisions for it. The version in N6 has the correct number of bars, and the penultimate bar is probably the missing bar to Var; the Var version should be corrected or at least annotated.

The similarity of the divisions in the Var version and those of the version in N6 suggests that the N6 version is either based in part on Var or on

another similar version; both versions contain an unusual number of fifths in the counterpoint, and they also contain an odd passage in the third bar before the end, the antepenultimate bar, and this passage might be related in some way to the missing bar. The measure is as follows:

Example 57

In this case, the bass note is changed from G to E. Although changes of this kind do occur in the literature, they are rare and are usually errors. The note E may or may not be present in the alto part, depending on how the passage is fingered or realized, but it would be unusual to change the bass note on the basis of a “root” progression, although the lutanist in this case might have decided the E was a better note simply on the basis of ear. The divisions might also have been adapted from a consort version that differed in some respects from the early form of the solo, which hypothetically had no divisions. A hypothetical sequence of events might be as follows: the original form of the piece is welded to a version for mixed consort, with its characteristic top-string melody, perhaps even a part by Dowland. The two errors enter at this point because the bass is different in the consort version, or it is a simple mistake in writing the character. Holmes either copies this version or a similar version, sees that the repeat of the last section is short, and supplies a simple cadential figure for the missing bar. Holmes also makes his usual changes in the figuration, but does not notice the difference in the bass or does not bother trying to restructure the divisions from the bottom up, which would be much more complex than the process of personalization.

Holmes may even have borrowed from “Queen Elizabeth’s galliard” in reworking the divisions,¹³¹ although the melodic material in question was in common use in mixed consort music.¹³² Nonetheless, it is the sort of paraphrase that Holmes makes but Dowland does not; if Holmes were working from Var he had only to turn the page:

Example 58

Another possibility is that the same sequence of events occurred, but that the error is the bass note of the divisionless section, which should have been changed (and would have been, by a more knowledgeable lutanist) to suit the division pattern, and the mistake was perpetuated. It is unclear from the voice leading which is the more musical solution. A clue is provided by Tol which gives the note as E in both strains. The arranger for the version in Var must have intended the bass note to be G at some stage because the note D is supplied in the alto part. This note might have been present in the working copy or it might have been added at a later point to fill in the chord, without realizing that harmony would be different in the division section. The sense of the divisions is similar to the situation for some of the passagework in JLP; the divisions do not flow in a natural way from the basic text but instead seem forced or borrowed and adapted in parts.

¹³¹There is a consort version of Queen Elizabeth’s galliard which is most likely in Holmes’ handwriting. Although it is not mentioned in CLM in the critical commentary for No. 41, there is a short discussion in JD, p.152. The circumstances surrounding the title discussed in JD are speculative.

¹³²For example, in “My Lord of Oxenford’s March,” from Morley’s Consort Lessons, transcribed by Sydney Beck (New York, 1959) p. 134.

Although the version in Tol is not as elaborate as the version in N6, it should be considered as a separate version because it is more cohesive. The selection and editing of the versions for this piece in CLM do not really give a fair representation of the sources. In presenting the more elaborate of the versions, CLM fails to mention that several of the versions have no divisions and that others have only modest ones.

The Lady Rich's galliard

As mentioned previously, “The Lady Rich’s galliard (Rich) and “Darby” are remarkably similar stylistically, and this similarity extends to the nature of the sources as well. There are roughly the same number of sources, and a simple majority of these lack divisions. The sources with divisions show the characteristic individual treatment, although the divisions are not quite as extensive. The counterpoint and motivic treatment are quite similar, as is shown from a comparison of the opening phrases, and it seems apparent that the two pieces were arranged by the same person.

Both pieces move from G to D in the first phrase, through a melodic descent from the high D on the top string. In addition, they both rely on fifth harmonies. The figuration that is used in the divisions is quite similar as well. Although the motivic material is different, both the function and range are the same; this is particularly evident in the third section in which repetitive sequences are set up in the melody to link the chords.

“Rich” has two versions that are in foreign sources, and these were unavailable to me. CLM gives the form of these versions as ABC, that is, without divisions, and if true, this supports the theory that the divisions were added later, as in Derby, since these foreign sources and the English ones without divisions are in general earlier.

The critical commentary in CLM for “Rich” is fairly extensive, although as is the case with the other pieces in Var variants from the mss. versions are not given. A9 provides copy-text for the MS. version (No. 43), the basic text of which is taken from D9. This implies that there is no relationship between the printed and mss. versions, which is clearly not true. In the critical commentary in CLM, under the separate heading for the version of this piece from Var, Poulton states, with no analysis or further comment, “This version embodies Dowland’s final revisions of the piece.”¹³³ Her statement has no basis in the evidence of the sources, since it cannot even be shown that Dowland created the version in Var; and, the unfinished quality of the text in Var is at odds with Dowland’s “final revision.” In addition, there are sources which are from later mss. which might be connected more closely with a Dowland version, in particular JP, discussed below.

Although two versions are selected for inclusion in CLM, the problem of variants is particularly acute due to the wide divergence of the sources. The critical commentary does not list all of the variants for all of the sources,

¹³³CLM (1978), No. 43a, p. 325.

and in order to deal with the version in JP, which is really a very different version, with many variants even in the unornamented sections, Poulton reproduces the tablature for well over half of the piece without comment; however, this does not cover the full extent of the variants. To a somewhat lesser degree the version in Mar., like that of JP, must be considered a separate version, not a variant of a standard text.

In the case of Myn, Poulton notes “The writer of this MS is extremely erratic in his use of the time marks,” but she does not list any variants for this source.¹³⁴ This is a particularly unfortunate omission, since the compiler of Myn adds the missing thirds to the dominant chords of the opening phrase:

Example 59

The incomplete nature of the version in Var as well as the wide discrepancy in the sources makes it difficult to find a version which may be said to be close in style to Dowland’s core repertory, but by analogy with the other pieces one can hazard the proposition that the unornamented versions no doubt reflect an early Dowland version, and it is possible to imagine what it might have looked liked based on a number of the nonauthoritative sources; the same may be said of “Darby.”

Bar thirty-two of the version in Var is unusual because the figuration changes the chord to minor:

Example 60

¹³⁴CLM (1978), p. 324.

In reference to this measure, Poulton writes the following:

The F is always sharpened until the last bar of the repeat of the second strain, where a natural is suddenly introduced with startling effect. At first hearing it is tempting to reject this as an error, but with familiarity a liking for it grows, and in my opinion it is intentional...¹³⁵

Poulton's comment is unusual because it refers to the version in Var, which (as she notes in other contexts) contains many errors, and the comment does not take into account that an F natural in this position is highly unusual, if not unprecedented, and out of character with the style of the piece. The arbitrary decision to let it stand unremarked in the edition does not take into account that all of the other sources with similar figuration give F sharp for that bar.

In terms of the voice leading of the sources, the version in Marsh is noteworthy in that it supplies a very full sonority for the chords which in several of the other sources lack thirds. For this and other reasons, this early version is the best text for the unornamented sections.

The Lady Clifton's Spirit

As mentioned previously, this piece is incorrectly ascribed to Robert Dowland in Var; the ascription no doubt refers to the next galliard in the collection, "Sir Thomas Monson's galliard," which is clearly by Robert but

¹³⁵JD, p157. Note: Poulton's comments are followed by a musical example, but the example is clearly taken from the wrong section of the piece (the third or last section). It is clear from her comment that she is referring to the passage I have transcribed above.

unattributed. There are only two sources for Lady Clifton, and Poulton lists only one variant between them: the cadential figure in bar eight. Although there are a few more variants, the texts of the two versions are very close. The version in D2 is titled “K. Darcies Sprite J:Dowl”, and as Poulton notes, the early date of the source and the attribution are convincing evidence that the piece is by John Dowland.¹³⁶ In addition to the evidence unearthed by Poulton for the early date of composition, the style of the piece and the type of lute indicated by the tablature suggest that this is an early work, possibly the earliest for which there is a fairly good text. This conclusion is based not only upon the style, which is fairly straightforward compared to that of the other galliards in terms of motivic development, but also on the way that the piece fits comfortably on a six-course lute; there are very few Dowland pieces for which this is true and the only one at this level of attribution. The style of the figuration in the divisions may seem complex, due the extensive use of ruffled homophony, but it is little more than a rhythmic elaboration of the unornamented sections.

In terms of emendations to the text, I would make a few changes from the transcription in CLM based on style and the internal structure of the piece. Bar thirty-one in CLM is emended as follows:

Example 61

The changes have been made no doubt to avoid the appoggiaturas; however this style of dissonance is certainly within Dowland’s style, and the

¹³⁶CLM (1978), p. 325.

bass retains the shape of the unornamented section (see above).

The change is unnecessary and alters what could easily have been the original intent.

In bar forty-two the tablature reads thus:

Example 62

The bar is transcribed in CLM by changing the rhythmic structure:

Example 63

An analysis of the style of the passage shows that this solution is out of character with the arpeggio style; the error probably results from a slight misalignment of the characters. The tablature no doubt was meant to appear as it is renotated next to the original in the example above.

This kind of alignment error is quite frequent in both mss. and prints, and is much more likely to have occurred than the misplacement of two flags. In addition, the solution conforms to the rhythmic and motivic style of the piece.

Bars thirty-five through thirty-six may refer to the beginning of “Tarleton’s resurrection”, which is also found in the Holmes lutebooks:

Example 64

Since Tarleton died in 1588, the piece is very likely from around the same time as “Lady Clifton’s spirit.”¹³⁷

Sir John Smith's Almain (Smith)

Smith is one of the most important pieces in terms of what the sources reveal about the performance options of the time. The piece was quite popular, and there are at least eight versions. Of these, the versions in Var and FD are quite similar, except that the version in FD omits a number of the bass notes. Poulton states that the version in Schele, which I have been unable to examine so far, is similar to the version in 38. The version in 27 is a fragment. The other versions are all different, not only (as usual) in figuration, ornamentation and voice leading, but also in the way that they treat the piece as a series of sections, each of which may be ornamented or reordered to create a different total length. This piece is most likely to have been conceived for use in mixed consort, not only because of the presence of relentless figuration in the melody, but also because several versions either contain only the melody for the division sections or a very sketchy bass, . In CLM, Poulton edits the version in Var as well as the version in 38, even though the latter has only a treble for the divisions. No attempt has been made to reconstruct the bass. Poulton makes the following comment on the style in CLM:¹³⁸

There is no proof that this setting is by Dowland but the single line arrangement of the divisions is similar to that of No. 48a [“Lady Laiton’s Almain”], to which he signed his name. At first sight these

¹³⁷“Tarleton’s resurrection” is from the Wickhambrook lute book (circa 1590), fo. 11, and is for a six-course lute. See the discussion in JD, p. 102.

¹³⁸CLM (1978), p. 326.

two settings suggest they might be [mixed] consort parts, single parts of duets or arrangements to play with a bass viol, but comparison with the bass of each strain will show that the divisions do not fit over an exact repetition.

In fact, the divisions not only fit, they fit perfectly. Even their not fitting does not make them lute solos, since the divisions in a lute solo must fit as well. Poulton's original impression is no doubt correct;, of the three possibilities that she lists, the combination of lute and bass viol is extremely unlikely on the basis of style. This leaves the lute duet and the mixed consort as possibilities. The lute duet is certainly possible, but less likely because lute duets tend to sound the cadential chord together at the end of sections, and the version in 38 presents only the melody. All of the evidence points to this version being a mixed consort part, and if so, this would help to explain the style of writing in other sources: lutebooks were not exclusively limited to solos.

In terms of the lack of fit that Poulton mentions, there is only one bar that even remotely looks out of place, bar eleven:

Example 65

The dissonance here, however, is present in Var, so it cannot be a mistake. In any case, any lack of fit could easily be explained by the disposition of the consort parts, but this is not necessary since the parts fit perfectly. If Poulton is basing her theory on no. 48a, it seems at first that these divisions do not fit (even though this has little or no bearing on

“Smith”). But the problem with the versions in Var is not the divisions, but the edition: Poulton has left out an entire section of music (present in another source). When all of the sections are present, the divisions fit perfectly.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the modern edition is its blank contradiction in this instance of a principle adopted in its treatment of LST. It presents a consort piece as a lute solo, even though there is only a melody present; but in other cases the edition criticizes contemporaneous prints for printing the harmony with no melody present and refuses to consider the pieces concerned as solo lute music at all.

Many of the versions of “Smith” contain incomplete harmonies at cadences, which reinforces the theory that the material is adapted from some sort of consort part, or that the missing thirds are provided by ornaments, some of which are present in mss., but none of which is present in Var. The version in Var also contains fingering patterns which are not characteristic of Dowland’s style. For example, the cadence figuration is generally “scored” on open strings:

Example 66

Dowland customarily uses stopped strings in these situations (and supplies the leading tone). The internal evidence for the version in Var therefore suggests that the piece was arranged or adapted from a consort part, and the mss. concur. In addition, there are a number of early sources without divisions, as well as some foreign sources, and the style of these divisionless

pieces is consistent with that of the other galliards with multiple versions, discussed above.

A Musicall Banquet

MB was published in 1610, the same year as Var, and it seems likely that this was deliberate on the part of Robert. A few authors, such as Holborne contributed to both volumes. The modern reception has not been very favorable; except for Dowland's incomparable song, "In Darkness let mee dwell," few of these pieces are performed today, although the version of Caccini's "*Amarilli*" is often cited for its realization of the new figured bass style. Few of the songs occur in contemporaneous ms. sources. In contrast to the texts of the pieces in Var, for which John Dowland seems to have had little if any responsibility, his connection with this print seems to be more tangible. The three songs represent his mature, and, in the case of "In darkness," his best, work. The integration of the lower courses into the three songs, as well as the style in general, seems to indicate that they are contemporaneous with the print, perhaps even specially composed for it. If so, the one lute solo, "Sir Robert Sidney's galliard," ought to be regarded in a somewhat different light than the lute solos in Var.

Sir Robert Sidney's galliard

The problems associated with the text of "Sidney" are essentially the

same as those of the galliards in Var. The version in MB has two titles: it is referred to as “Sir Robert Sidney his galliard” in the table of contents, and “The Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Lisle, His Galliard” on the page of the actual text. These are, of course, the same person. The title in the table of contents may be an earlier name for the piece, or perhaps Robert wanted to include all of Sidney’s titles. The earliest extant version of the piece is the one in D2, the earliest of the Holmes lutebooks. It is titled “Suzanna galliard,” no doubt because of the similarity of the opening phrase to the tune “Suzanne ung jour.”¹³⁹ If the similarity is intentional, the reference extends only as far as the first phrase. Poulton transcribes this early version as no. 91 in CLM, but provides no variants, saying only “Comparison with No. 38 shows this galliard to be almost certainly by Dowland, but in copying it Holmes has made a number of errors.”¹⁴⁰

The similarities she speaks of are in the divisionless sections, since the version in D2 is in three sections without repetitions. There are a few differences, and these all involve minor changes in fingering and voice leading; the essential structure is the same. Although Poulton states that the Holmes version contains a number of errors, there are no editorial marks in the transcription and no notes in the critical commentary.

The third and last source for the piece is the version in LST, entitled “M. Bucton’s galliard,” and this may be the original title. The lute part of

¹³⁹See JD, p. 150.

¹⁴⁰CLM (1978), p. 335.

the version in LST, as noted previously, does not contain the treble part, but is still useful in conveying Dowland's own sense of the voice leading. The LST version is a tone higher, in G, but the polyphonic texture is somewhat expanded, so that the bass is sometimes an octave lower.

The early version reflects the patterns of the galliards in Var; it has no divisions and contains complete sonorities. The difference is that for this piece there are no "broken consort" arrangements: the style of the divisions in the MB version is quite different from any of the pieces in Var which are attributed to John. There are some similarities, however, to the figuration in "Galliard to Lachrimae," which John published two years later in PS. This does not mean that the text is authoritative in the same way, however, since some of these characteristics show up in Robert's pavan and galliard pair in Var which are dedicated to Thomas Monson. However, the style, the state of the text, the type of lute, and Dowland's connection to the print, all of these factors make a strong case for the texts being closely connected with John himself. The possibility remains that Robert may have contributed to a certain indeterminate extent.

Before discussing the unusual style of figuration, which may well be French, it must first be noted that the entire third section is nearly identical to a section of "April is in my mistress face." In spite of the remarkable currency of Morley's piece, the reference has to my knowledge gone unnoticed. Dowland's version, of course, is in triple meter:

Example 67

I give both the LST version and the MB version. The LST version is in the same key, and it is reasonable to suppose that the consort version reflects the very earliest version of the piece, based upon the general pattern of the sources.

The question arises as to who borrowed from whom, and it is entirely possible that the musical material was “in the air” when Dowland and Morley were at Oxford. Although it is impossible to say for certain, the best guess is that Morley used Dowland’s material, since Dowland always limits his borrowing to fragments, and Morley borrowed freely from his contemporaries. Still, it is possible that he quotes his classmate. The madrigal version existed as a lute song as well, and it may have been in this form that the reference first took shape.¹⁴¹

The opening of the galliard quotes Dowland’s own song “I must complaine” (Bk3, No. 17):

Example 68

The structural pair of the melody and bass are integrated into the polyphony of both the consort and lute solo versions, as is shown in the following example. Note how Dowland uses the bass line of the ayre to create a delayed point of imitation between the alto and bass of the consort version:

Example 69

¹⁴¹See the discussion of the possible model for the poem in JD, p. 273.

The style of the divisionless sections is full polyphony, as it is in the core repertory. The opening section contrasts four- and three-part writing:

Example 70

Note the use of stopped strings in the bass line, which is a characteristic of Dowland's style. The divisions to this section maintain the sense of full polyphony, by the use of "marker" chords at downbeats--that is, full chords which cannot be completely sustained but which create a full sound at regular intervals. Note too that the figuration spans the entire melodic range, which is a characteristic of the pure solo style.¹⁴²

The dotted rhythms contrast with evenly paired notes; these notes were probably played in a sort of *inéga*le style. Late sources often revise the earlier even patterns of sixteenths into dotted groups, which may reflect a performance practice of the time. In any case, the notation makes a subtle distinction of a type that is not found in the pieces in Var. The positioning of the phrases in dotted rhythms follows the same principles of motivic development that Dowland uses in "Sir John Souch's galliard."

The tuning of the lute for this piece is a little unusual. The piece calls for eight courses, the two "diapasons" are at D and C, even though by 1604 Dowland was using a nine-course lute. In addition, the piece has a number of cadences in F that would benefit from the added resonance of the open bass string. For some reason, Dowland chose not to use the open F course.

¹⁴²The mixed consort lute parts employ runs, usually octave runs, that cross ranges, but these usually go no lower than the third or fourth course.

At the beginning of the B section, Dowland uses five- and even six-part writing, thinning the texture for the second half of the phrase to provide a smooth transition to the thinner style of the subsequent division.

The final section consists of four-part writing throughout, and the thicker texture in the second half of the phrase gives the end of the piece weight. The last bar of the C section contains basically the same trill as the last bar of the first section (not the division sections), which is a characteristic of Dowland's style. The trill leads into the final divisions. The last two bars contain an unusual cadential figure:

Example 71

The addition of the C in the top part of the penultimate bar creates an interesting effect, but it seems to be uncharacteristic of John's writing, not only because it is ostentatious, but also because it disrupts the carefully articulated descent in the top part from E flat down to F. This descent is perhaps the most important common thread in Dowland's style. Of course, Dowland may have written the cadence, but this feature and a few others, particularly at cadences, suggest that Robert may have had at least a touch of influence. Note that at the following cadence the combination of rhythmic flags and tablature characters for the trill does not "add up", precisely in the same way that it is incorrect in JLP in Var:

Example 72

Conclusion

There are two types of freely-composed pieces for solo lute in the sixteenth century: dances and fantasias. From the very beginnings in Capirola and Dalza, through the inspired and passionate Narvaez and Fuenllana, past the cool and polished Milan and Milano, Gintzler and Bakfark, and, finally (closer to England) Attaingnant's lutanist(s) and Le Roy, the lute solo is expressed through these ineluctable modes.

John Dowland is no exception. There is nothing really new here, only invention (in the Elizabethan sense) and wit (in Ben Jonson's sense). He is primarily a composer of songs and consort music, and he writes some lute solos, mostly dances with truly catchy tunes that are widely imitated and arranged, and some with points of imitation. The consort music employs the trademark of a good composer of that time, that is, a particularly English style of counterpoint that allows the melody and harmony to be clearly heard, and this process of adapting the contrapuntal style of the fantasia to the homophonic style of the dance music was well-established on the Continent before Dowland used it. Dowland's songs and consort music would have seemed both innovative and traditional to the English; it is his lute solos that are in a sense unfashionable. His hybrid style might have seemed a bit dense to the English, who paradoxically liked their part music solid and their lute music wispy, no doubt as a result of the proliferation of easy amateur lutebooks from France at the end of the century; as a result Dowland's solos

were uniformly revised to suit the taste of the time by his admirers and imitators, a process which no doubt made them even more popular.

The culmination of Dowland's own vision of the contrapuntal lute solo is embodied in LST, which Dowland himself styles "lute lessons." At this time, consort parts to lute solos were expected and they existed side by side, no doubt as part of the social process of music making. Our modern definition of the lute solo does not and should not apply. Many mss. contain these consort parts, and the printing of these parts now as then as "lute solos" simply reinforces the theory that the players at that time thought of a lute solo as something different than our present romantic conception, which is discrete and inflexible. Dowland did nothing conceptually new in LST except to line the parts up. Had he not included these parts, the players and scholars of the twentieth century would have embraced these bare and thorny pieces as the last great flowering of the conservative style of lute writing from the renaissance.

It is these pieces, and the ones just like them from the songbooks, that constitute the lute solos of John Dowland. To this short list we may add his "Farewell" fancy, in his own handwriting, his own style and signed. As for the rest, they are peripheral. True, we may say that there is Dowland lurking in the hundreds of different versions of pieces attributed to him, and in the case of Var, this presence is keenly felt. But a significant number of Dowland's arrangers, people such as Jane Pickeringe (or her copyist), Francisque, and, of course, his own son Robert, had their own share of wit

and invention, and we cannot say for sure that a piece is by Dowland merely because it is artful. Far better instead to rely on Dowland's own opinion, and restore the pieces from the songbooks and LST to the canon. Indeed, these pieces *are* the canon.

The solo lute music of John Dowland underwent two extensive processes of transformation. The first of these, which was the revising, arranging and making divisions to Dowland's pieces for lute, consort music and lute ayres, began in Dowland's own lifetime and continued through the first half of the seventeenth century. The second process occurred and is still occurring throughout the twentieth century and involves the application and, more importantly, the misapplication of various editing techniques that center on the selection and transcription of various texts attributed to or connected with Dowland.

The interpretation and editing of Dowland's lute music depends to a great extent on the reception of his music during these two time periods, as well as the degree to which his music has been substantially revised. The purpose of this dissertation has been to take the small but not insignificant number of pieces that can be directly connected with Dowland and show that these pieces share a remarkable number of stylistic similarities that are not shared to any great degree by subsequent revisions of his pieces by Dowland's contemporaries. In doing so, it has been necessary to a degree to redefine the modern conception of a lute solo according to the performance practice of Dowland's time.

By taking into account these two processes which have been applied to Dowland's music, it has been feasible to establish a core repertory of authoritative texts and, by using these pieces as a reference point, to expand the canon to include a few more pieces representing Dowland's style that exist in less authoritative sources. The picture that emerges of Dowland's pieces for solo lute is one which is in many ways diametrically opposed to the views presented by modern editors, but it is nonetheless a balanced evaluation that accurately reflects the source situation for his music.

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useful information, but it has a number of serious drawbacks. The material is so interspersed with the author's opinions that it is impossible to distinguish fact from fancy; lack of documentation and proper footnotes makes the unravelling very time-consuming. Stylistic comments on the pieces, which form a major portion of the book, are superficial.

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MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1: *Galliard to Lachrimae*, m. 11

Handwritten musical notation for Example 1, m. 11. The score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and a 7/8 time signature. It contains a complex melodic line with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, featuring a simpler accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes. A dynamic marking 'p' is placed above the final note of the upper staff.

Example 2: *Galliard to Lachrimae*, m. 46

Handwritten musical notation for Example 2, m. 46. The score consists of three staves. The upper two staves are in treble and bass clefs respectively, with a key signature of one flat and a 7/8 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests. The lower staff contains a figured bass line with letters (F, B, C, G, A) and accidentals (sharps and flats) indicating fingerings and pitch. A dynamic marking 'p' is present above the second measure of the upper staves.

Example 3: *Care-charming sleep, end.*

Top: Add. 11068; Lower: Bod. Dor.c.57

Handwritten musical score for Example 3, 'Care-charming sleep, end.' The score consists of four staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It contains a melodic line with several slurs and a final fermata. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: 'In to thy-self gently o gent-ly o gent-ly slide'. The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C), containing a melodic line with slurs and a final fermata. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C), containing a bass line with lyrics: '- and kiss him in to slumbers like a bride'. The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 4: *Lachrimae (LST), m. 1*

Handwritten musical score for Example 4, 'Lachrimae (LST), m. 1'. The score consists of two staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It contains a melodic line with slurs and a final fermata. The second staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C), containing a bass line with slurs and a final fermata. The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 5: *Flow my teares, m. 1*

Flow my tears fall from your springs

Example 6: Top: *Lachrimae* (NB);

Lower: *Galliard to Lachrimae* (PS)

Example 7: Top: *Resolucon* (N6);

Lower: *Dowland's adew* (Bk2), beginning.

Handwritten musical score for Example 7, consisting of two systems of two staves each. The top system shows a treble clef staff with a melody and a bass clef staff with a bass line. The bottom system is similar but includes a "rk 2" annotation above the treble staff. Dynamics like "p" are marked throughout.

Example 8: *Dear if you change; Flow my teares*, m. 1

Handwritten musical score for Example 8, showing two staves of music with lyrics. The first staff has the lyrics "Dear if you" and the second staff has "Flow my teares".

Example 9: Top: *All ye whom love or fortune hath
betraide, B section*

Lower: *Farewell, m. 41*

Lend ears and tears to me most hap-less

[sic]

Example 10: *Farewell, opening subject*

subject tail

Example 11: *Farewell*, mm. 35-6

Handwritten musical notation for Example 11, consisting of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill-like figure. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. The music concludes with a wavy line on both staves.

Example 12: Top: *Semper dolens* (LST);
Lower: *Lachrimae tristes* (LST), beginning

Handwritten musical notation for the top part of Example 12. It consists of two staves in common time. The upper staff is in treble clef and features a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The lower staff is in bass clef and features a bass line with quarter notes. Chord symbols are written above the notes in the upper staff.

Handwritten musical notation for the lower part of Example 12. It consists of two staves in common time. The upper staff is in treble clef and features a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The lower staff is in bass clef and features a bass line with quarter notes. Chord symbols are written above the notes in the upper staff.

Example 13: Top: *Semper dolens*, end (LST)

Lower: *Semper dolens*, ms. versions

Handwritten musical score for the top part of Example 13. It consists of a single staff in treble clef. The music begins with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note, and then a series of eighth notes. There are several accidentals (sharps and flats) throughout the piece. The score ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for the lower part of Example 13. It consists of two staves, one in treble clef and one in bass clef. The music begins with a series of eighth notes in the treble staff, followed by a half note. The bass staff contains a series of eighth notes and a half note. There are several accidentals (sharps and flats) throughout the piece. The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 14: *Thou mighty God*, m. 19

Handwritten musical score for Example 14, *Thou mighty God*, measure 19. The score is for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Piano (P). The lyrics are "in a dy-ing, a dy-ing dy-ing song." The piano part includes a dynamic marking "p." and a sharp sign on the final chord.

Soprano (S): in a dy-ing, a dy-ing dy-ing song. (Note: R# above the final note)

Alto (A): (in) a dy-ing dy-ing song

Tenor (T): in a dy-ing dy-ing song.

Bass (B): (dy-)ing dy-ing song.

Piano (P): (piano accompaniment)

Example 15: *Semper dolens* (LST), end (strings only)

Musical score for Example 15, showing five staves of music. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The music is written in a style that suggests a string quartet or similar ensemble.

Example 16: *Henry Umpton's funeral*, mm. 23-4

Musical score for Example 16, showing two staves of music. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The music is written in a style that suggests a string quartet or similar ensemble.

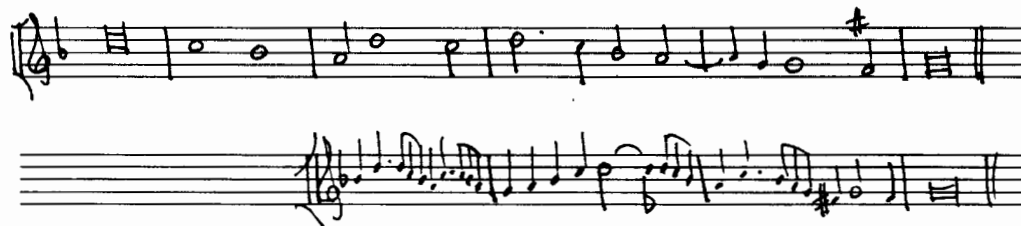
Example 17: *Henry Umpton's funeral*, mm. 11-12

Handwritten musical notation for Example 17, showing two staves (treble and bass clef) with notes and rests. The music is in a minor key and features a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. There are some handwritten annotations above the notes.

Example 18: Top: *Henry Umpton's funeral*, m. 9
Lower: *Dowland's adew*, m. 35

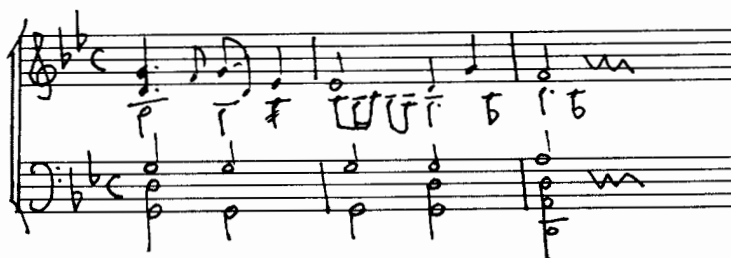
Handwritten musical notation for Example 18, showing two systems of two staves each. The top system is for "Henry Umpton's funeral" (m. 9) and the bottom system is for "Dowland's adew" (m. 35). Both systems show melodic lines in the treble and bass clefs with various annotations like "p" and "MF".

Example 19: Top: *Henry Umpton's funeral, superius, end*
Lower: *Dowland's adew, end*



Two staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef, G-clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It contains a melodic line with various note values including minims, crotchets, and quavers, ending with a repeat sign. The bottom staff is in bass clef, F-clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It contains a more complex melodic line with many beamed notes and rests, also ending with a repeat sign.

Example 20: Antony Holborne: *The Countess of Pembroke's funeral, m. 1*



Two staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef, G-clef, with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a common time signature (C). It contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. Below the notes are some handwritten letters and symbols: 'p', 'r', '#', 'U', 'U', 'r', 'b', 'i', 'b'. The bottom staff is in bass clef, F-clef, with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a common time signature (C). It contains a bass line with various note values and rests.

Example 21: *Henry Umpton's funeral, superius mm. 12-16*



A single staff of musical notation in treble clef, G-clef, with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature (C). It contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. Below the notes are several handwritten 'x' marks: 'x', 'x', 'x', 'x', 'x', 'x', 'x'.

Example 22: Top: Awake, sweet love

Middle: John Langton's pavan

Lower: John Langton's pavan (Var)

see-med faire she only I could love

Example 23: Top: John Langton's pavan (LST), end

Lower: Flow my tears, m. 2

fall from your springs

Example 24: Dowland's *adew*, beginning

Handwritten musical notation for Example 24: Dowland's *adew*, beginning. The score is written on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music begins with a whole note chord in the bass staff (F2, C3, G2) and a dotted quarter note in the treble staff (G4). This is followed by a quarter note (A4), an eighth note (B4), and another quarter note (C5). The piece concludes with a wavy line indicating the end of the phrase.

Example 25: Alfonso Ferrabosco (the elder): *Pavan no. 6*
from Var, beginning

Handwritten musical notation for Example 25: Alfonso Ferrabosco (the elder): *Pavan no. 6* from Var, beginning. The score is written on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature (C). The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music begins with a whole note chord in the bass staff (F2, C3, G2) and a dotted quarter note in the treble staff (G4). This is followed by a quarter note (A4), an eighth note (B4), and another quarter note (C5). The piece concludes with a wavy line indicating the end of the phrase.

Example 26: Top: Byrd: *The battle* (My Ladye Nevell's
Booke, 1591)

Lower: Bull: *A battle and no battle* (Paris
Cons. ms. 18548, no. 84)

A handwritten musical score for Example 26. It consists of two systems of music. The top system is for 'The battle' by Byrd, and the bottom system is for 'A battle and no battle' by Bull. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a 3/2 time signature, and various rhythmic values and accidentals. The bottom system has a handwritten note: 'A Battle and no Battle Bull Paris Conservatoire MS 18548 no 84'.

Example 27: *The King of Denmark's galliard*, m. 16

A handwritten musical score for Example 27, showing a single system of music. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a 3/2 time signature, and various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Example 28: *The King of Denmark's galliard*, m. 9-12 (LST)



Example 29: *My thoughts are wingd with hopes* (Bk1)

My thoughts are wingd with hopes my hopes with love Mount love on - to the man in clearest night

Example 30: *Can she excuse*

Can she ex - cuse my wrongs with virtues cloake?

Example 31: JD, p. 146

It chanced on a time that a lewd thief Did enter in a man's house for some relief

Example 32: Top: John Souch's galliard, m. 3
 Lower: Galliard to Lachrimae, m. 2

Example 33: John Souch's galliard (LST), m. 2

Handwritten musical notation for Example 33, showing two staves of music for the second measure of John Souch's galliard (LST). The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both are in 3/4 time. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and a trill-like flourish at the end of each staff.

Example 34: Left: John Souch's galliard (LST), beginning
Right: D5 version

Handwritten musical notation for Example 34, comparing the beginning of John Souch's galliard (LST) with its D5 version. The left side shows the original in treble and bass clefs, 3/4 time, with one sharp. The right side shows the D5 version in treble and bass clefs, 3/4 time, with two flats.

Example 35: Left: *John Souch's galliard (LST)*, m. 5
Right: D5 version, m. 5

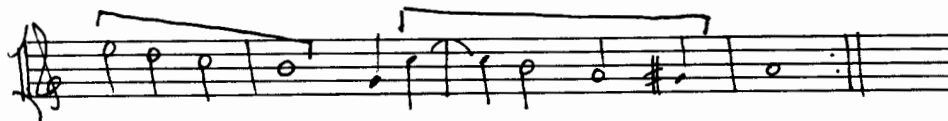
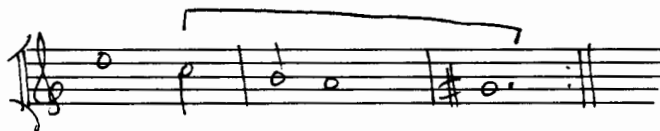
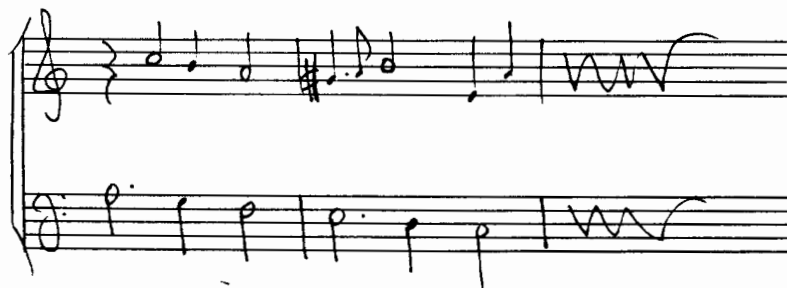
Handwritten musical notation for Example 35, showing two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals and dynamics markings.

Example 36: *John Souch's galliard (LST)*, superius, end

Handwritten musical notation for Example 36, showing a single staff of music in treble clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals and dynamics markings.

Example 37: *John Souch's galliard (LST)*, superius, m. 1

Handwritten musical notation for Example 37, showing a single staff of music in treble clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals and dynamics markings.

Example 38: *John Souch's galliard* (LST)Example 39: *John Souch's galliard* (LST)Example 40: *John Souch's galliard* (LST), mm. 19-20

Example 41: Left: *Piper's galliard*

Right: LST version, m. 5

Handwritten musical notation for Example 41, showing two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The first measure contains a dotted quarter note on G4 and a half note on B3. The second measure contains a whole note chord of G4 and B3. The third measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The fourth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The fifth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The sixth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The seventh measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The eighth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The bottom staff begins with a bass clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The first measure contains a dotted quarter note on G3 and a half note on B2. The second measure contains a whole note chord of G3 and B2. The third measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The fourth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The fifth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The sixth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The seventh measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The eighth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3.

Example 42: *Piper's galliard* (30)

Handwritten musical notation for Example 42, showing two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The first measure contains a dotted quarter note on G4 and a half note on B3. The second measure contains a whole note chord of G4 and B3. The third measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The fourth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The fifth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The sixth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The seventh measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The eighth measure contains a quarter note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The bottom staff begins with a bass clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The first measure contains a dotted quarter note on G3 and a half note on B2. The second measure contains a whole note chord of G3 and B2. The third measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The fourth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The fifth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The sixth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The seventh measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3. The eighth measure contains a quarter note on G3, a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on B3.

Example 43: Top: *Piper's galliard* (LST)
Lower: CLM version

The image displays a handwritten musical score for 'Piper's galliard', comparing two versions: the LST (Lute School Tradition) version for the top part and the CLM (Conservatory of Music Library) version for the lower part. The score is written on two systems of staves, each with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The top system shows the LST version, and the bottom system shows the CLM version. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals (sharps, flats, and naturals). The CLM version includes some specific annotations, such as a '3' above a note in the first measure of the lower staff, indicating a triplet, and a '3' above a note in the second measure of the lower staff, indicating a triplet. The overall structure of the piece is consistent between the two versions, with the CLM version providing a more detailed and specific notation for the lower part.

Example 44: Top: Dowland

Middle: Holborne

Lower: Morley

The image displays three systems of handwritten musical notation, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The notation is in a historical style, likely representing a lute or similar instrument. The first system shows a melodic line in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff, with a 'p.' dynamic marking. The second system continues the piece with similar notation, including a 'd.' dynamic marking. The third system concludes the piece with a final melodic flourish in the treble staff and a corresponding bass line. The handwriting is clear and legible, with some decorative flourishes at the end of each system.

Example 45: *Fantasie no. 7 (Var)*, mm. 60ff. The staves are positioned so that the part that is typeset twice is below its first appearance.

The image shows a musical score for Example 45, consisting of four staves. The top two staves represent the first appearance of a musical part, and the bottom two staves represent a second appearance of the same part, positioned below the first. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various rhythmic values and articulations. There are some handwritten annotations, including arrows pointing to specific notes and some markings that look like '21' and '7'. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some slurs and accents.

Example 46: Top: CLM

Lower: Var

The image shows a musical score for Example 46, consisting of two systems. The top system is labeled "CLM:" and the bottom system is labeled "VAR:". The "CLM" system has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), with a note value of "note values doubled" indicated. The "VAR" system has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The "CLM" system features a complex rhythmic pattern with many notes, while the "VAR" system features a simpler rhythmic pattern with fewer notes. There are some handwritten annotations, including asterisks and a bracket.

Example 47: Renotation of the two versions of *Fantasia*
no. 1 (CLM)

Top: Var, m. 43

Lower: Holmes. Original note values

The image displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. The 'Var' version (top staff) shows a sequence of notes with some slurs and ties. The 'Holmes' version (bottom staff) shows the original note values, which are generally longer than those in the 'Var' version. The two systems are separated by a dashed line.

Example 48: Tablature from *John Langton's pavan*

Top: D5, m. 29

Lower: Var, m. 31

The image displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system is a six-line guitar-style staff with a treble clef. The bottom staff is a six-line guitar-style staff with a bass clef. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. The 'D5' version (top staff) shows a sequence of notes with some slurs and ties. The 'Var' version (bottom staff) shows the original note values, which are generally longer than those in the 'D5' version. The two systems are separated by a dashed line.

Example 49: *John Langton's pavan*, (CLM m. 30)
 Top: D5; Lower: (Var)

Handwritten musical notation for Example 49, showing two staves: "DS" and "Var". The notation includes rhythmic symbols (F, E, C, A, G, B) and letters (c, e, c, c, a, e, c, a, a, l, e, a) written on a five-line staff. The "DS" staff has a "6 c" at the end, and the "Var" staff has a "6 c" at the end and "[sic] a" below it.

Example 50: *John Langton's pavan, cadential trills*

Musical notation for Example 50, showing a cadential trill in the treble clef and a bass clef accompaniment. The trill is marked with a 'T' and a bracket. The bass clef part has a 'p' marking.

if a longer trill is desired:

Musical notation for Example 50, showing a longer cadential trill in the treble clef and a bass clef accompaniment. The trill is marked with a 'T' and a bracket. The bass clef part has a 'p' marking.

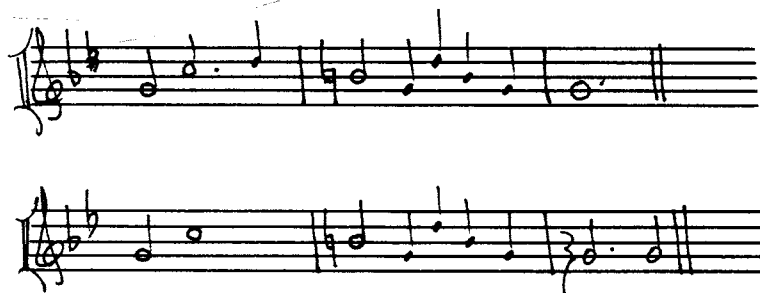
Example 51: *Queen Elizabeth's galliard (Var), m. 13*

Musical notation for Example 51, showing a cadential trill in the treble clef and a bass clef accompaniment. The trill is marked with a 'T' and a bracket. The bass clef part has a 'p' marking.

Example 52: Top: *Queen Elizabeth's galliard (Var)*, m. 1ff
 Lower: divisions on first section

Example 53: *The Earl of Essex's galliard, beginning*
 Top: most lute versions, second line: lute
 ayre, Third line: LST, Lower: 30

Example 54: *The Earl of Essex's galliard* (NB), m. 15



Example 55: *The Earl of Essex's galliard*, m. 5

Top: FD Lower: Var

Handwritten musical notation for Example 55, m. 5. It consists of two systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is G minor (one flat). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and dotted notes, along with rests. The first system is labeled 'FD' and the second system is labeled 'Var'. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Example 56: *The Earl of Essex's galliard* (Var), end

final chord: f more typical: f

Example 57: *The Lady Rich's galliard*

Left: Var, m. 45

Right: Divisions, m. 57

Example 58: Left: *The Lady Rich's galliard* (N6), m. 13

Right: *Queen Elizabeth's galliard* (Var), m. 9

The image shows two staves of handwritten musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains two measures of music. The first measure consists of a series of eighth notes, and the second measure contains a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains two measures of music. The first measure consists of a series of eighth notes, and the second measure contains a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note. The notation is handwritten and appears to be a transcription of a historical manuscript.

Example 59: Three versions of *The Lady Rich's galliard*

Top: Myn "Dowland's bells"

Middle: D9 [without title]

Lower: Var

[// 8's]

[// 8's]

(1)

A?

(1) line error: f on fourth course

Example 60: *The Lady Rich's galliard* (Var), mm. 31-32



Example 61: *The Lady Clifton's spirit*

Left: Var, m. 23

Middle: Var, m. 31

Right: CLM, m. 31



ME 62 and 63

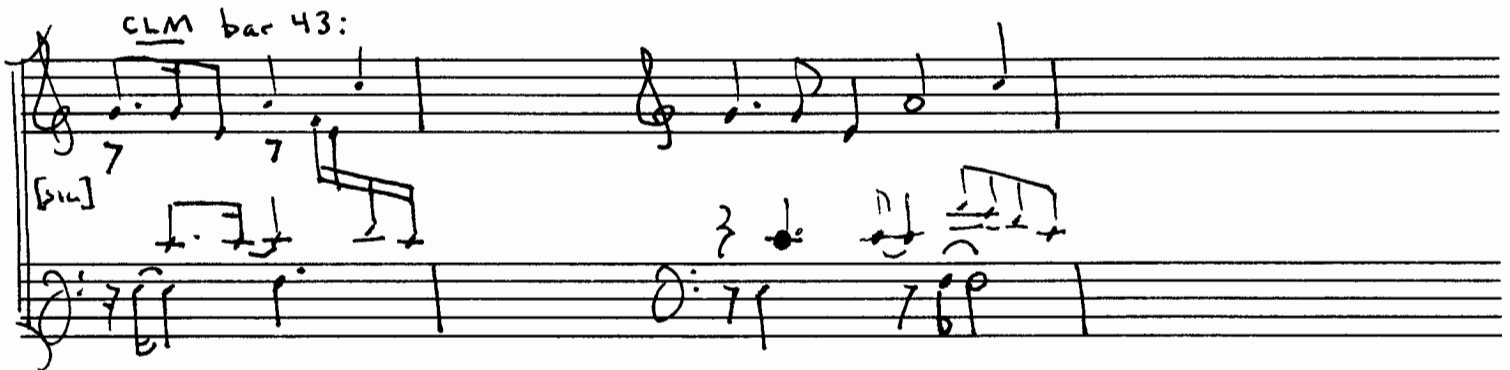
The lady Clifton's spirit

Top left: original tablature (m. 42) Var

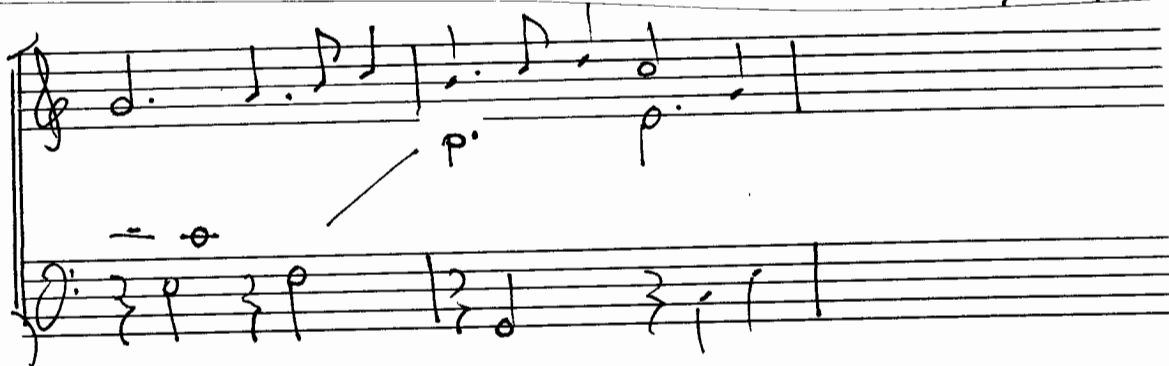
Top right: renotation to correct possible alignment error

lower left: CLM edition, m. 43

Lower right: renotation transcription



ME 64 Top: The lady Clifton's spirit, Var mm 35-6.
lower: Tarleton's resurrection, beginning.



Example 65: *Smythes allmayne* (38), mm. 9-12, reconstructed

VAR.

(Bass is taken from first section)

Example 66: *Sir John Smith's alman* (Var)

Left: mm. 7-8; Right: m. 55

Tab. bar 55
"open"

Tab. bar 39
partially "closed" or
"stopped"

Example 67: Comparison of *April is in my mistress' face*
and *Bucton's galliard* (LST), end

Morley:

but in her heart but in her heart her heart a cold De- cem - ber.

Dawland:

Example 68: Comparison of ayre "*I must complaine*" and
Bucton's galliard

Example 69: Comparison of ayre "I must complaine" and
Bucton's galliard, polyphonic framework

Sop.

I must com-plainte If my com-plaints

Bass:

I must com-plain

LST

[TENOR OMITTED]

Detailed description: The image shows three systems of handwritten musical notation. The first system is for Soprano (Sop.) and Bass. The Soprano part is in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The Bass part is in bass clef with a common time signature (C). The lyrics are 'I must com-plainte' and 'If my com-plaints' for the Soprano, and 'I must com-plain' for the Bass. The second system is for Lute Setting (LST), indicated by a bracketed 'LST' above the first staff. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. The middle staff is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature and contains the text '[TENOR OMITTED]'. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. The notation is handwritten and includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Example 70: *Sidney's galliard*, beginning

Musical score for Example 70: *Sidney's galliard*, beginning. The score is written for guitar and includes a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes a treble staff, a bass staff, and a guitar-style staff with fret numbers and fingerings. A bracket under the first two measures of the guitar staff is labeled "stopped".

Example 71: *Sidney's galliard*, end

Musical score for Example 71: *Sidney's galliard*, end. The score is written for guitar and includes a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes a treble staff and a bass staff.

Example 72: m. 40

Musical score for Example 72: m. 40. The score is written for guitar and includes a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a 3/4 time signature. The notation shows a sequence of notes with fingerings and fret numbers.

Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)

Handwritten musical notation for the first system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'p.'.

Handwritten musical notation for the second system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p'.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p'.

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p'.

Handwritten musical notation for the fifth system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p'.

Handwritten musical notation for the sixth system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p'.

Handwritten musical notation for the seventh system of 'Sir Henry Umpton's funeral (LST)'. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'p.'. A bracketed number '[7]' is visible above the final measure.

Sir John Langton his Pavin.

p. 1

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Sir John Langton his Pavin." The score is written on six systems of two staves each, using a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/2. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *pp* (pianissimo). There are also some performance instructions like "Var." and "9:16: F.". The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots. The handwriting is clear and legible.

3L p. 2

Handwritten musical notation for the first system, measures 1-2. The music is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The treble staff contains a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes and some triplets. The bass staff contains a simpler accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

Handwritten musical notation for the second system, measures 3-4. The treble staff continues the melodic line with a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff continues with a steady accompaniment of quarter notes.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system, measures 5-6. A measure rest labeled '15' is present above the treble staff in measure 5. The treble staff features a melodic line with some slurs and accents. The bass staff continues with quarter notes.

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system, measures 7-8. The treble staff shows a melodic line with some rests and slurs. The bass staff includes some chords and rests, with a measure rest in measure 7.

Handwritten musical notation for the fifth system, measures 9-10. The treble staff continues with a melodic line. The bass staff features a series of chords and notes, including some triplets.

J.L. p. 3

Handwritten musical score for a piece in G major, starting at measure 20. The score consists of five systems of two staves each. The first system is marked '20'. The second system has a 'p.' dynamic marking. The third system is marked '25' and includes a 'Var.' (variation) section. The fourth system has a 'z d.' marking. The fifth system continues the piece. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various rhythmic values and articulations.

J.h. p. 4

30

35

40

31: 1, 1: F instead of F.

J.L. p. 5

Var.

15

19

50

42:1: F instead of F
47:5: F. instead of E

The most sacred Queene Elizabeth, her Galliard.

The musical score is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/2 time. It consists of five systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The first system includes a 5-measure rest in the treble staff. The second system includes a 'Var.' section with a 10-measure rest in the treble staff. The third system includes a 15-measure rest in the treble staff. The fourth system includes a 9-measure rest in the treble staff, with a '[d=d.]' annotation above it. The fifth system includes a 20-measure rest in the treble staff. The bass staff throughout contains a steady accompaniment of eighth and sixteenth notes. The score concludes with the Roman numeral 'IV 3: 3' at the bottom left.

A.E. Galliard

p. 2

25

30

33

Finis. John Dowland,
Batcheler of Musick.