Dowland’s *Lachrimae* (1604) is perhaps the greatest but most enigmatic publication of instrumental music from before the eighteenth century. This new handbook, the first detailed study of the collection, investigates its publication history, its instrumentation, its place in the history of Renaissance dance music, and its reception history. Two extended chapters examine the twenty-one pieces in the collection in detail, discussing the complex internal relationships between the cycle of seven ‘Lachrimae’ pavans, the relationships between them and other pieces inside and outside the collection, and possible connections between the Latin titles of the seven pavans and Elizabethan conceptions of melancholy. The extraordinarily multi-faceted nature of the collection also leads the author to illuminate questions of patronage, the ordering and format of the collection, pitch and transposition, tonality and modality, and even numerology.

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* 

Peter Holman
In memory of
Robert Spencer
1932–1997
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Note to the reader

Original written sources have been transcribed without changing spelling, capitalisation or punctuation, though I have not retained the contemporary distinctions between italic, black letter and roman type in printed documents, and I have modernised the interchangeable letters ‘i’ and ‘j’, ‘u’ and ‘v’. Readers should be alert to the possibility that quotations taken from secondary sources might have been modernised more radically. All printed books were published in London unless otherwise stated. Pitches are indicated using the system in which the open strings of the viol family are D–G–c–e–a–d′, G–c–f–a–d′–g′ and d–g–c′–e′–a′–d″. Clefs are indicated using the system in which the treble, alto and bass clefs appear as g2, c3 and F4. I have modernised the English system of reckoning the year from Lady Day (25 March), and have used an asterisk to indicate those dates in documents that may have been reckoned using the ‘New Style’ or Gregorian calendar, instituted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 and rapidly adopted on the Continent. It was ten days ahead of the ‘Old Style’ or Julian calendar used at the time in England.
Abbreviations

(based on those used in Grove 6)

CCM  John Dowland: Complete Consort Music, ed. E. Hunt
     (London, 1985)
CMM  Corpus mensurabilis musicae
DM   J. M. Ward, A Dowland Miscellany, JLSA 10 (1977)
EECM  Early English Church Music
EM  Early Music
Fiddlers  P. Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690 (Oxford, 2/1995)
FoMRHIQ FoMRHI [Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments] Quarterly
GSJ  The Galpin Society Journal
JAMIS  Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society
JAMS  Journal of the American Musicological Society
JD  D. Poulton, John Dowland (London, 2/1982)
JLSA  Journal of the Lute Society of America
LSJ  The Lute Society Journal
MB  Musica Britannica
MD  Musica disciplina
ML  Music and Letters
MQ  The Musical Quarterly
Abbreviations

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<td>PRMA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</td>
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<td>RMARC</td>
<td>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</td>
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Library sigla

(following the RISM system as used in Grove 6)

**Austria**

A-Wn Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung

**Germany**

D-Kl Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek

D-Mbs Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

**Great Britain**

GB-Cfm Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

GB-Cu Cambridge, University Library

GB-Ge Glasgow, Euing Music Library

GB-Lam London, Royal Academy of Music

GB-Lbl London, British Library, Reference Division

**United States of America**

US-NH New Haven, Yale University, School of Music Library

US-Ws Washington, Folger Shakespeare Libraries
Preface

John Dowland used the Latin word ‘Lachrimae’ (‘Tears’) to mean three distinct but related things. First, it is the title of his famous pavan, best known as a solo lute piece but also surviving in many contemporary adaptations for other solo instruments or groups of instruments. Second, it is the title appended to Dowland’s adaptation of the pavan as a song for two voices and lute, ‘Flow my teares’, published in The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres (1600). Third, the pavan, now entitled ‘Lachrimae Antiquae’, is the first item of the subject of this book, the collection Dowland published in London in the spring of 1604 as Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares Figured in Seaven Passionate Pavans, with Divers other Pavans, Galiards, and Almands, Set Forth for the Lute, Viols, or Violons, in Five Parts. In what follows I use ‘Lachrimae’ generally to mean the pavan in its various settings, ‘Antiquae’ specifically to mean its five-part setting as printed in the 1604 collection, and Lachrimae to mean the collection as a whole.

Lachrimae is a typeset folio volume in table layout, with the parts of each piece laid out around a single opening. It contains twenty-one pieces, ten pavans followed by nine galliards and two almands, each with staff-notation parts for five viols or violin-family instruments and a part in tablature for the lute. I list their titles as they appear in the body of the volume (there are some small differences in the way they are styled in the table of contents and between the parts), together with the abbreviations used in this book:

1 Lachrimae Antiquae Antiquae
2 Lachrimae Antiquae Novae Antiquae Novae
3 Lachrimae Gementes Gementes
4 Lachrimae Tristes Tristes
There is still no satisfactory modern edition of *Lachrimae*. The first, edited by Peter Warlock for Oxford University Press (London, 1927), was, not surprisingly, intended for modern strings: it is laid out for the same combination as Schubert’s C major String Quintet (two violins, viola and two cellos), the note-values of the pavans and galliards are halved, and it does not include the lute tablature. The edition by F. J. Giesbert, *Lachrimae oder sieben Tränen* (Kassel, 1954), includes the tablature but only consists of the seven ‘Lachrimae’ pavans. The most recent edition, by Edgar Hunt for Schott (London, 1985), includes *Lachrimae* in a supposedly *Complete Consort Music [CCM]* of Dowland, though it does not print the tablature, has no critical commentary, and is disturbingly inaccurate in places. There is an urgent need for a proper critical edition that includes the tablature, and takes account of variants between the six surviving copies of the publication and the various manuscript sources. In this book, bar numbers refer to the Hunt edition.

For those who can cope with the original notation and can manage to use the table layout, there are three facsimile editions. Boethius Press issued the copy in the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester (Leeds, 1974), with an excellent brief survey by Warwick Edwards of the
Preface

bibliographical and musical issues. Edwards’s introduction was revised with additional material by Stewart McCoy and the late Robert Spencer for the publication by Severinus Press (Newbury, 1992) of the copy formerly in Robert Spencer’s Library, now in the library of the Royal Academy of Music [Edwards]. Most recently, Performers’ Facsimiles have reproduced the copy in the British Library (New York, 1998).

The reader wanting to study Lachrimae seriously will need to compare Dowland’s consort settings with the various song and lute versions. The song books, The First Booke (1597), The Second Booke (1600), The Third and Last Booke (1603) and A Pilgrimes Solace (1612), as well as Robert Dowland’s A Muscall Banquet (1610), were reprinted in facsimile by Scolar Press in the series The English Lutesongs 1597–1632 (Menston, 1968–71). Versions for solo voice and lute were published by Edmund Fellowes in the series The English School of Lutenist Song Writers (1922–4), and were revised by Thurston Dart and David Scott between 1965 and 1969 in the series The English Lute Songs; A Muscall Banquet was edited complete for the first time by Peter Stroud for this series in 1968. The part-song versions were edited by Edmund Fellowes, Thurston Dart and Nigel Fortune as Ayres for Four Voices, MB 6 (1953; 2/1963; 3/1970). The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland was edited by Diana Poulton and Basil Lam (1974; 2/1978; 3/1981).

By and large, writers on Dowland (and Elizabethan music in general, for that matter) have been more concerned with biography and source studies than with writing about the music. This is true of Diana Poulton’s pioneering John Dowland [JD] (London, 1972; 2/1982), though she offered some useful comments on the texts of the Lachrimae pieces and their relationship to other settings. John Ward’s A Dowland Miscellany [DM], the complete JLSA 10 (1977), is largely a series of glosses on Poulton’s book, and therefore shares her preoccupations.

For this reason, I have kept discussion of biographical and textual issues to a minimum, leaving as much space as possible for other things. Chapter 1 deals with Lachrimae as a document, investigating its publication history and the implications of its format, while Chapter 2 considers its instrumentation. Chapter 3 provides a context for understanding its place in the history of Renaissance dance music. Chapter 4 is concerned with the seven ‘Lachrimae’ pavans, and with the questions of meaning, musical context and intellectual background they pose. They are
difficult questions, and scholars have mostly avoided trying to answer them, though I am most grateful to Dr Lionel Pike for letting me read the relevant portions of his unpublished book *Expression and the Evolution of Musical Language*, and to David Pinto for allowing me to refer to his article ‘Dowland’s Tears: Aspects of Lachrimae’ prior to its publication in *The Lute*. Chapter 5 deals with the ‘divers other Pavans, Galiards, and Almands’, considering the significance of the dedications to Dowland’s friends and patrons, and whether the collection as a whole has any coherence. Chapter 6 is a brief survey of Dowland’s influence on succeeding generations, and the process of revival in modern times.

A book of this sort is inevitably heavily indebted to the work of others. My primary debt is to Robert Spencer. He put his unrivalled knowledge of Dowland at my disposal, and generously spent time and precious reserves of energy in the last months of his life reading successive drafts of the first two chapters and finding material for me in his magnificent library. I am grateful to Tim Carter, Tim Crawford, Ian Harwood, Lionel Pike, David Pinto, Rudolf Rasch, Richard Rastall, Julian Rushton, Matthew Spring and Peter Van Heyghen for reading drafts in whole or part, improving it greatly with their detailed criticism. Also, I must thank my daughter Sally for preparing the index, and Clifford Bartlett, Peter Berg, Alison Crum, Charles Foster, Robin Leaver, Paul O’Dette, Judy Tarling and Christopher R. Wilson for helping me in various ways.