A DOWLAND MISCELLANY — John M. Ward

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The format of this year's Journal will be found to differ somewhat from past issues. This year marks the Journal's tenth anniversary and to observe the occasion we are devoting the entire issue to a monograph on perhaps the lute's most celebrated composers written by one of the instrument's foremost scholars.

Lutenists will need no introduction to John M. Ward, professor of music at Harvard University. His work on the Spanish vihuelists, done while a graduate student at New York University, has become a classic in its field. As Claude Simpson has pointed out, his knowledge of Renaissance music and the British broadside ballad is encyclopedic. Prof. Ward now has turned his attention to John Dowland and, building on the brilliant pioneering research of Diana Poulton, has succeeded in adding considerably to our knowledge of the great English lutenist. That Mrs. Poulton's name should run through these pages like a leitmotif should surprise no one; who, after all, has done more to bring Dowland into our consciousness than she? Readers will quickly discover that Prof. Ward's monograph addresses itself to more than Dowland and his music. Here, for example, will be found fresh insights into such important figures as Thomas Robinson, William Barley, and Gregory Howet.

During the Journal's first ten years, important advances have been made in lute scholarship. Published editions of lute music have increased tenfold since 1967 and lute recordings are no longer the novelty they once were. Who can tell what the next ten years will bring? Your editor can see that luthiers and performers alike will continue to be increasingly aware of the importance of building historically accurate instruments and developing authentic performance practices. The baroque lute will continue to attract the attention of more and more lutenists. The future appears bright.

These notes cannot conclude without an expression of gratitude to the Society's Vice President, Stanley Buetens, and Instrumenta Antiqua Publications for preparing the musical examples and layout for this issue.
A DOWLAND MISCELLANY

BY JOHN M. WARD

For nineteen generations of Music 200.

Few English musicians have remained so long of interest to those who lived after them as has John Dowland. Many scholars have studied his life and works, none more assiduously than Diana Poulton. Now Mrs. Poulton has done us all the great service of assembling within the covers of one fat book a summary of what has been discovered concerning this Elizabethan musician during the more than three centuries since his death.\(^1\) That her book is not definitive will surprise no one, the author least of all: although a great deal is known about Dowland, much of it thanks to Mrs. Poulton’s researches, many questions remain—about his life, times, and music. What her book provides, and notably, is a solid, generous foundation for the next stage in the study of one of England’s most

\(^1\)D. Poulton, *John Dowland: His Life and Works*, Berkeley: University of California, 1972 (hereinafter referred to as *JD*). To the abbreviations used by Mrs. Poulton, *JD*, pp. 477-79, I have added the following:

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library (formerly British Museum)</td>
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<td>CSP</td>
<td>Calendar of State Papers</td>
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<td>CUL</td>
<td>Cambridge University Library</td>
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<td>CW</td>
<td>Complete Works</td>
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<td>Edinburgh University Library</td>
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<td>Historical Manuscripts Commission</td>
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<td>MB</td>
<td><em>Musica Britannica</em></td>
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<td>MMN</td>
<td><em>Monumenta Musica Neerlandica</em></td>
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<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office</td>
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<td>TCD</td>
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attractive composers. And with the appearance of her long-awaited edition of Dowland's lute music, our indebtedness to a pioneer in the revival of the lute and its literature has become even greater.2

The following observations on the two books are grouped under the headings: (1) the biography, (2) the music, (3) the index of works, and (4) background material.

1. The Biography.

The most satisfactory chapter in Mrs. Poulton's book is the one on the composer's life, a subject she has made especially her own and one to which she brings a refreshing matter-of-factness.3 The portrait drawn is a lively one, showing an ambitious, extravagant, emotional, volatile, self-centered, at times intensely melancholy man aware of his own worth and, as he grew older, intolerant of critics. But it is not a full-length portrait; too few pieces of the Dowland puzzle are at hand for that. Though in his several writings the composer was at times unusually autobiographical for an Elizabethan and a musician, important gaps remain in the story of his life.

Nothing, for instance, is known of his first seventeen years beyond the statement, made when the composer was thirty-four, that from childhood he aimed at the "ingenuous profession of Musick."4 Where he learned to play on the lute and compose songs and galliards can only be conjectured. It was probably not in a choir school, where the training was more likely to be in the mutation of the hexachord and the singing of anthems than in fingerling the lute; nor in one of the universities, for by the time Dowland was of an age to enter either Oxford or Cambridge he must already have been an accomplished instrumentalist. My guess is that he received his


3 To the list, JD, pp. 23-24, of those similarly named but not related to the composer can be added Anthony Dulande. According to the Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I (London, 1827), 241, Dulande and his wife, Temperance, were among those who brought suit, 7 May 1585, against the wardens and scholars of Winchester College, Oxford, and St. Mary's College (now Winchester College), near Winchester, claiming "rights of preeminencc in admission to the said colleges" for their children (PRO C.2.Eliz. 1/D/7/34). Though the Dulandes had a son named John, he cannot have been the composer, for he was baptized 12 August 1571, registered at St. Mary's College 25 June 1585, and succeeded to the family estate when his elder brother died. (I am indebted to P.J. King, Northamptonshire Record Office, and P.J. Gwyn, Archivist of Winchester College, Winchester, for this information.) R.P. Graham-Vivian, Windsor Herald, suggests (1962: personal communication) that the name, Dulande, may be of Huguenot origin, since he finds among the Naturalizations of the period "Dolan, Dolling, Dowling, and innumerable others, which might or might not originate in the same name."

4 "To the courteous Reader," The First Booke, sig. π2v.
musical education either as an apprentice to a professional lutenist, who taught the boy himself, or as a “servaunt allowes or Covenaut servaunt” to a wealthy merchant or aristocrat who provided him with a teacher.

The conditions governing such apprenticeships are known, for example, from the indenture, dated 29 March 1596, binding Robert, son of the Queen’s lutenist John Johnson, to George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon, for a period of seven years, the usual length of time for such contracts. In it Robert bound himself to be a “good true faithfull and dilligent” servant to Carey, to remain chaste, unmarried, eschew all forms of gambling, trade neither in his own nor other men’s goods, nor absent himself ‘daie or night’ from the service of his master. The language is conventional, the conditions standard. The single reference to music is brief and general: “the said Sir George Carye doth Covenaut and graunt by theis presentes to teach & enstruct or Cause to be taught and enstructed his said servaunt in the arte of Musicke.” Then follows a list of the usual commitments of a master: Carey agrees to provide the boy with board and room, clothing “and all thinges to him needefull & Convenient dureringe the said terme,” to pay him a penny a year, and at the end of the seven years to provide him with “doble apparrell both lynnen and wollen.”

The indenturing of boys worked to the advantage of both parties, providing the music-loving master with performers for his domestic consort, and the musically-gifted boys with instruction which in many instances must have been first-rate. Johnson, for example, became a member of the King’s Musick a little more than a year after his seven years were up. The boys in the service of the Earl of Salisbury were taught by a member of the same body of musicians, Innocent Lanier. And Dowland’s son, Robert, acknowledged his debt “in part of my Education” to Sir Thomas Mounson, to whom he was probably indentured while his father was absent in Denmark for seven years, during which time Simon Merson, later one of James I’s lutenists, was a member of Mounson’s household and may have been the young Dowland’s teacher.

5 The full text of the indenture is given in App. A. Similar indentures for the years 1558 to 1560 are discussed by W.G.B., “The Science of a Mynstrell,” Essex Review, XLIX (1940), 107-10.

6 Concerning the Earl of Salisbury’s musicians, see App. B.

7 Varietie of Lute-lessons, sig. [A2]. Merson (the name is also spelled Merston) is known to have been in Sir Thomas’s service from the statement made on 5 October 1615, at the time he was examined in connection with the Overbury murder, “that he served Sir Thomas Mounson about the space of Nine yeares, and about Six yeares past he [Sir Thomas] preferd this examinante to the kinges service, but yet he sometimes followeth Sir Thomas still” (PRO, SP 14/82).
Assuming—no more is possible at present—that John Dowland was a “servaunt allowes or Covenaunt servaunt,” to whom was he apprenticed? Perhaps to Sir Henry Cobham: in 1595 Dowland described himself as having been Sir Henry’s “servant” fifteen years before, when Cobham was Elizabeth’s ambassador to the King of France, 8 and the young musician may have been in his service earlier. Or Dowland may have been apprenticed to George Carey, to whom he dedicated his First Booke of Songs or Ayres; in it he thanked the Baron “for your honorable favours towards me, best deseryng my duty and seruice,” and did not “let passe the remembrance of . . . [Carey’s] vertuous Lady my honorable mistris, whose singular graces towards me haue added spirit to my unfortunate labors. . . .” 9 Or he may have been apprenticed to Henry Noel, who signed himself “yf olde M[a]ste[r and ffriend” in a letter written to the composer, probably in 1596, urging him to return to England from the Landgrave Maurice’s court, “for her Matie hath wished divers tymes your return.” 10

Of Dowland’s first studies in music we know nothing, unless there is a hint in his twice mentioning Hans Gerle’s Tabulatur auff die Laudten (1533), once in his contribution to the Varietie of Lute-lessons (1610), and again in the introductory matter to A Pilgrimes Solace (1612). 11 If the German’s introduction to lute

8In the letter written to Sir Robert Cecil on 10 November 1595; facs., JD, opp. p. 40.
9At the close of the dedication Dowland signs himself “your Lordships most humble servaunt” (my italics), a term he used only one other time in his printed works, at the end of the dedication of A Pilgrimes Solace, and here the meaning of the words, “Your Honours humble servaunt,” is unmistakable since on the title page the composer is described as “Lutenist to the Right Honourable the Lord Walden.” Use of the term in the dedication of The First Booke makes it almost certain that the composer was in Carey’s service in 1597. If so, one of the tasks the Baron may have given Dowland was the instruction of Robert Johnson, apprenticed to Carey the year before.

Like his father, Carey is known to have maintained musicians and may even have played on the lute himself, as Morley implies in his dedication of the Canzonets of 1597 to the Baron:

I haue also set them [the canzonets] Tablature wise to the Lute in the Cantus book for one to sing and plaie alone when your Lordship would retire your selfe and bee more priveate: howbeit I wote well your Lordship is neuer disfurnished of great choice of good voices, such indeed as are able to grace any mans songs.


11In an appendix to JD, pp. 450-59, David Mitchell points out that the calculations for fretting a lute which Dowland outlines in his contribution to the Varietie of Lute-lessons reveal knowledge of another of Gerle’s works, the Musica Teusch of 1532.

8
playing was one of Dowland’s textbooks—and why else would an Englishman have been acquainted with a book of that nature printed in Nürnberg thirty years before he was born, and have recalled it so late in life?—then from our point of view it was a choice curious and old-fashioned, though no more so than another German’s textbook, the Micrologus of Ornithoparcus, which Dowland translated and published in London in 1609. At times the composer was remarkably conservative in his views, a fact noted by his contemporaries, some of whom were later to criticize what he did as “after the old manner.”

Though Dowland tells us nothing of his first teachers, he appears eager to tell us of later ones. Indeed, there is something naïve in the way the thirty-four-year-old composer, with a B.Mus. from both universities, recounts, in his address “To the courteous Reader” of The First Booke, “sundry times leaving my native countrey, the better to attain so excellent a science,” finding “excellent masters” in Germany, among them the Italian Alessandro Orologio, “a right learned master of Musicke”; Gregorio Howet, lutenist to the Brunswick-Lüneburg court; and later Giovanni Croce, “that worthy master,” with whom Dowland had “familiar conference” in Venice after being frightened out of going “to Rome to study with a famous musician named Luca Marenzio,” one of whose letters is reproduced at the beginning of The First Booke, though it is no more than a polite expression of the Roman’s interest in making the composer’s acquaintance. Surprisingly, no monodist is among the musicians Dowland names despite the fact that he was in Florence, “plaid before the duke” and “got great favors” for his efforts¹²; and in Venice he sought out, not Giovanni Gabrieli, with whom so many foreigners studied composition, but Croce, the more conservative “Vicemaster of the chappel,” perhaps because Croce was a writer of canzonettas and had more to teach a composer of four-voice ayres.

The conservative streak which seems to characterize the man may explain why Dowland was so proud of being twice a “Bacheler

¹²According to Claude Palisca (1961: personal communication) no mention of Dowland’s visit to the Medician court appears in the “Storia d’Etichetta ovvero Diario di Corte” for the years 1594-96; this Ms. provides an account “of the most important or exemplary examples of the treatment of foreign and non-Florentine guests of notes.”
of Musicke" and once a "Doctor of Musick." What if anything the academic experience contributed to his work as a composer is uncertain; what it contributed to his thinking as a musician is possibly to be seen in those parts of the "Other Necessary Observations belonging to the Lute," included in the Varietie of Lute-lessons, where he "maintains a strong connection with the old musica speculativa (as does Ornithoparcus in his treatise), with definitions from ancient authorities, a discussion of intervals according to Pythagoras and Boethius, and constant exhortation for an understanding of musical theory . . . ." Little wonder he lashed himself "Bacheler of Musick" in the Folger LB. The fact that Dowland received degrees from both of the universities does not in itself prove that he was for any time in residence at either of them. The requirements for a degree were sometimes fulfilled in absentia: by Morley, e.g., who received a B.Mus. from Oxford in the same year that Dowland received his, was at the time organist of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, and had been magister pueros of Norwich Cathedral during the preceding four years (see Music & Letters, XLI [1961], 98); and by Thomas Vautor, who, on 11 May 1616, was exempted from attending the lectures of the praedector musicae at Oxford, "being in practice in the country," on the same day supplicated for the B.Mus., and two months later was granted the degree, having in the meantime composed "hymnum choralum sex partium" (Grove's, 5th ed., VIII, 709).

Which of the universities awarded Dowland the doctorate is not known. Thomas Lodge implies it was Oxford in his tribute to the composer printed at the end of his translation of S. Goulart's Learned Summary Upon the famous Poem of William Saluste of Bartas (London, 1621), sig. Eee4v:

This makes me admire Doctor Dowland, an ornament of Oxford; whose memory ought to accompany this witty Tract of Musick; whose Musickall concet (by reason of the aeriall nature thereof) being put in motion, mouthe the body, and by purified aire, inciteth the aeriall spirit of the soule, and the motion of the body: by affect, it attempteth both the sence and soule together; by signification, it acteth on the minde: to conclude, by the very motion of the subtil aire, it pierceth vehemently, and by contemplation suckett sweetly; by conformable qualitie it infuseth a wondrous delight; by the nature thereof both spirituall and materiall, it rauisheth the whole vnto it selfe, and maketh a man to be wholly Musiques, and for her cause onely his: Thus much in memory of his excellence, and conclusion of this discourse. For a discussion of the Ficinian theme on which Lodge based his variation, see G.L. Finney, Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: 1580-1650 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, n.d.), Chapter VII.

What an Oxford lecture on music was like can be judged by the one in praise of the art delivered on 29 October 1582 by the praedector musicae publicus, Matthew Gwinnie, of the College of St. John the Baptist, and printed in J. Ward, The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College (London, 1740), pp. 81-87. Gwinnie "lectured on music at Oxford until forced to abandon the subject for lack of 'suitable books,'" was later physician to Sir Henry Unton (in memory of whom Dowland wrote a "Funerall"), and after that appointed first professor of Physic at the newly founded Gresham College; see R. Strong, "Sir Henry Unton and his Portrait: An Elizabethan Memorial Picture and its History," Archaeologia, XCIX (1965), 53-76.

out at "simple Cantors, or vocall singers, who though they seeme excellent in their blinde Division-making, are meerely ignorant, even in the first elements of Musicke, and also in the true order of the mutation of the Hexachord in the Systeme, (which hath ben approved by all the learned and skilfull men of Christendome, this 800 yeeres,) . . . .” 17

However Dowland obtained his musical training, we can assume that by the time he was seventeen and in Paris serving Sir Henry Cobham his apprenticeship was over. The ambassador’s letters and dispatches are full of interesting matter, some of it concerning music and musicians; and while the servant is not mentioned in Sir Henry’s writings, they provide an English view of France, its capital, and some of the important cultural events that took place during the time the composer was probably living in Cobham’s house.

For example, on 11 February 1580 the ambassador agreed to deal "earnestlie with the Q. Mother [Catherine de’ Medici] to the intent she might procure the deliueraunce of Alfonso [Ferrabosco],” Elizabeth’s musician. 18 On 7 March 1580 he wrote to Mr. Secretary Wilson that one of his servants, Jackson, was bringing “certaine Italian musike bookes . . . in the behalfe of her Majestie.” 19 On 19 September 1580 he mentions the Tessiers, a family of musicians sometimes assumed to have been acquainted with Dowland (though on no more evidence than the appearance of a song in Robert Dowland’s Musicall Banquet):

And now there is an olde Musiciane named Guillaume Tessier, borne in Bretaigne, with his two Sonnes, and a daughter who pretend [sic] to passe into Englane, whom I have persuaded for that the tymes are full of troubles, and all Courtes occupied in the consideration of the events thereof, that he wold rather deferr his journey, but the sickness [i.e., plague] in Paris, and the lacke of rewardes hear will force him (as he says) to seek countryes. 20

17 A Pilgrimes Solace, sig. (A2v).
19 CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XIV, p. 184.
20 Ibid., p. 424. Though Guillaume Tessier dedicated his Primo Libro dell’Arie Francesi (Paris, 1582) to Queen Elizabeth, he is not known to have crossed the Channel. However, one of Guillaume’s sons, Charles, is known to have been in England in 1597, during which year he offered his services to Anthony Bacon, the brother of Francis (see G. Ungerer, “The French Lutenist Charles Tessier and the Essex Circle,” Renaissance Quarterly, XXVII (1975), 190-203), dedicated some copies of his Premier livre de chansons & airs de court (London, 1597) to Penelope Rich, the Earl of Essex’s sister, and a manuscript of lutenist airs de cour “A mon seigneur Giorgio Broue,” presumably the brother of Lord Cobham (not to be confused with the ambassador of the same name); see J. Ward, "Tessier and the ‘Essex Circle,’" Renaissance Quarterly, XXIX (1976), 378-84. (The three letters and the MS of airs appear to be written in the same hand, i.e., Tessier’s.) If Tessier was the French gentleman Queen Elizabeth “would fain hear . . . sing and play who is so much commended” (IHM, Salisbury Papers, X, 139), he was still in England in May 1600.
On 26 September 1582 Cobham mentions a letter he had received from “one La Chapelle... wherein he offereth to serve her [Elizabeth] yf she please,” and adds, “whose manner of playe on the virginalles and cunninge in musike is knowen unto her highnes, as I understand by him, since his beinge in Englaunde.”

And on 8 August 1583 he agreed “to deliver to the Frenche kinge [Henri III] concerninge the French Singer [?Tessier] nowe returned as muche as yow commaundd me. . . .”

Neither Cobham’s predecessor, Sir Amias Paulet, nor his successor, Sir Edward Stafford, include comparable references to music or musicians in their letters and dispatches. The frequency of such references in Cobham’s suggests a fondness for the art, a fondness which may explain why the young Dowland was among his ‘servants.’

For Dowland’s biographers, probably the most interesting passages in Cobham’s dispatches are the descriptions, some quite detailed, of the court entertainments. Such were the “private banquet” the Queen Mother arranged for her son the King on 15 February, “Shrove Monday,” 1580, and which included a masque of Portuguese men and Spanish women; the King’s masque the next night, when the maskers were dressed “like Almayne Reithers” and “Almayne women”; the Queens’ (i.e., the Queen Mother and Louise de Lorraine, the wife of Henri III) masque of “Battuti, or

21 CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XVI, 343-44. The musician referred to is almost certainly Jacques Champion, “sieur de la Chapelle,” father of the more celebrated Chambonnieres. La Chapelle’s having been in England sometime before 1582 appears to confirm T. Dart’s conjecture (“John Bull’s ‘Chapel,’” *Music & Letters*, XL [1959], 279-82) that the pieces “de Chappel” in the Messaus Mss. are by the French keyboard player.

22 CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XVIII, 64.

23 The one mention of music in the *Copy-Book of Sir Amias Poulet’s Letters, Written During His Embassy to France (A.D. 1577).* ed. O. Ogle (London, 1866), p. 4, is dated 26 May 1577 and reads: “Q: Mother the xijth of this presente honored the victorie of Monsieur in the recoverie of La Charité with a very solemne and sumptuous Bankett. . . . This bankett was adorned with all sort of musick and other delightes, the musicians being also appareld in sylke after the best fashion.”

24 For Cobham’s account of this entertainment, see App. C.

25 CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XIV, 164. “. . . there entered into the chambere a dozen maskers playinge on lutes and after them six maskers appareld like Almayne Reithers, and xvj other with them too and too hande in hande appareld in a sorte lyke Almayne women. . . .” (PRO, SP 78/4/A, f. 10).
Flagellanti" on 19 February 1581\textsuperscript{26}; the "magnificences" held in honor of the Joyeuse wedding—these occupied the better part of the month of October 1581 and included the celebrated "Balet comique de la royné" performed on Sunday, 15 October—\textsuperscript{27} an evening of dancing on 28 September 1581\textsuperscript{28}; and another on Sunday, 17 December 1581, to honor the marriage of the Marquis of Conti with the Countess of Montafie.\textsuperscript{29}

Whether Dowland accompanied the ambassador to any of these festivities is not revealed, though presumably Cobham was accompanied by one or more of his servants and the young lutenist may have served his turn. If Dowland saw nothing of the indoor displays, he may have seen some of the outdoor ones, like the tournament held in the courtyard of the Louvre on 24 September 1581, when "the Duke of Mercury [Mercoeur], armed, entred the feeld ... in a charr[i]ot, the Duke of Guyse on horsebacke, armed, entred next ... lastely the kynge, armed, came in a shyppe" which is described thus in the program of the "Magnificences qui se doibvent faire aux nopces de Monsieur le Duc de Joyeuse":

Son entrée aura la forme dung triumphe maritime estant enduit dans ung grand nauire au deuant duquel seront deulx ou trois rochers comme petites isles flotantes sur leua pleynes de sereines marines et tritons sonnans de divers instrumentz et sortes [de] musique en batterie pour inciter et pour accompagner le triomphe du Roy.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., XV, 69. "It pleased the Quenes for to commande me to be yesternyght at the courte to see their yong damoysselles, and Ladyes maske, Which entred fyrste with a solemn sone, song before them, passing two and two, appareld lycke the Battuti, or Flagellanti, with their churche candles in their handes, and nicely making shew to whippe themselves with ribbons of sondry sylk in stead of the corded whippes. . . . Havinge finished this kynde of processione, / or shew of the Flagellanti they departed, and after retourned, being properly clothed in white sylke garments, with their black vysors, dauncyng a very rare and hard dances, full of dyvers and strange passages. / After that they uncovered their faces, continuing something in dauncyng, wherewith the Lenten feast finished. . . . " (PRO, SP 78/5/21, p. 429). Neither this mask nor the ones on 15 and 16 February 1580 are mentioned in M. McGowan, \textit{L'Art du ballet de cour en France} (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1963).

\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., XV, 328. On 19 September 1581 Cobham wrote: "yesterday in the eveninge the Duke Joyeulx was fyanced to his spouse and after that the Courtvards daunuced very sombtiously apparrelled more than hath bin lykely [qv. lately] seene" (PRO, SP 78/6/42, f. 80). On 3 October he wrote: "It pleased the kinge to send Monsieur Gonde [the Marechal de Retz] ynto me for to comaund me to see his Maske and daunce on Sundaye at night whether I went . . . ." (PRO, SP 78/5, f. 92). And on 21 October, six days after the performance of the celebrated "Balet," he had nothing more to report about it than "havinge ben present at these laste three dayes pastymes, As at the yonge Queenes daunce on sonday at nyght the xvth." (PRO, SP 78/6, f. 108).

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., XV, 343.

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., XV, 402-03 (PRO, SP 78/6, ff. 168-68v).

The music which accompanied the King’s entrance was almost certainly composed by Claude le Jeune and published much later in his *Airs* of 1608.\(^{31}\)

While Dowland may have been present at none of these spectacles, public or private, which seems unlikely if he was in Paris at the time, he cannot have remained unaware of them; they were, as the diarist L’Estoile tells us, the talk of the town—for their extravagance, if nothing else, in a time of high taxes and civil distress. And though Dowland’s knowledge of them may have come secondhand,\(^{32}\) these events are of interest to his biographer as they formed a conspicuous part of the artistic life to which the young Englishman was exposed during the four or five years he spent in France, “a nation furnisht with great variety of Musicke,” as he declares in his address “to the courteous Reader” of *The First Booke*.

The one passage in Cobham’s dispatches that at first sight appears to concern Dowland was written shortly after the ambassador arrived in France. On 20 February 1580 he wrote to Walsingham:

> I muste nedes advertise your honours that ther cometh hither wekelie dyvers gentlemen, heires, and of other quallitye which do alther their religione. and at their comynges are accompanied by suche as are papistes, and malitiouslie bent towards the estate, which by a little and little in tyme maye doe great harme.\(^{33}\)

The description certainly fits the young Dowland, who confessed to Robert Cecil, in the famous letter of 1595, that while in Paris he fell in with a group of English papists, including one “that was our porter” (presumably of Cobham’s residence in Paris\(^{34}\)), and was

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\(^{32}\)Music and text of Baltasar de Beaujoyeux’s *Balet comique de la roynœ* was published by Le Roy, Ballard, & Patisson early in 1582; see the facs., ed. G.A. Caule (Turin: Bottega d’Erasmo, 1965), and the translation into English with the music in score by C. & L. MacClintock (n.p.: A.I.M., 1971).

\(^{33}\)CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XIV, 158.

\(^{34}\)In one of his dispatches (HMC 9, *Salisbury Papers*, III, 32), Cobham describes the Bastille as “here beside my lodging.”
“overeocht” by their arguments and “beleaved with them.” However, the conversion probably occurred after the date of Cobham’s dispatch since Nicholas Morgan, one of those whom Dowland claimed persuaded him, seems not to have arrived in Paris before the summer of 1583.\(^\text{35}\) The ambassador’s report to Walsingham makes clear that such conversions were not uncommon.\(^\text{36}\)

There are additional reasons for believing that Dowland’s conversion may have occurred in 1583, for, as Cobham’s dispatches and other sources reveal, this was a year of religious hysteria in France and some of it took the form of a kind of street theater, the sort the young musician might easily have observed and have been moved by: for example, the processions of the Confrérie des Pénitents de l’Annunciation de Notre-Dame (or Pénitents Blancs, the brotherhood established by Henri III in 1583), the first of which took place on March 25th, the Feast of the Annunciation. Costumed in long white robes, their heads covered with hoods of white with slits for the eyes, the King and his courtiers went in procession from the church of the Grands Augustins to Notre Dame, their music provided by les Chantres du Roy et autres marchoient en rang, vestus de mesme habit, en trois distinctes compagnies, chantans mélodieusement la litanie en faux-bourdon. Arrivés en l’église Nostre-Dame, chantèrent tous à genoux le Salve Regina en très-harmonieuse musique...\(^\text{37}\)

Perhaps more affecting were the processions, apparently spontaneous, not carefully staged like those of the King and his minions, of the hordes of people who streamed into Paris from the

\(^\text{35}\) Of the four men Dowland names as having brought about his conversion, one, Richard Verstegan, fled England sometime shortly after February 1582 (see The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan, ed. A.G. Petti, Publ. of the Catholic Record Society, LI [1959], xxxviii-xxxix). Another, Nicholas Morgan, is first mentioned in French documents on 23 July 1583 (see M. Brenet, Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais [Paris, 1910], p. 139). A third, “moris a welchman,” has sometimes been identified as a musician, either the Richard Morris of the Chapel Royal “who fled beyond the seaes A\(^0\) 25\(^\circ\)” (i.e., sometime between 17 November 1582 and the same date 1583; see E.F. Rimbault, The Old Cheque-Book [London, 1872], p. 4), or the Thomas Morris, “one of the highly skilled musicians who are wont to sing in the chapel of our Queen,” who was in Rheims on 17 July 1582 and in Rome later the same year (see The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen, Records of the English Catholics Under the Penal Laws, II [London, 1882], 189; also W.B. Squire, “John Dowland,” Musical Times, XXXVIII [1897], 92). Since Dowland refers to him as “our porter,” it is possible that this “Moris” was not a musician, and was neither Richard nor Thomas.

\(^\text{36}\) Concerning musical papists, see App. D.

surrounding countryside, “dressed in white with veils over their heads, bare feet, and carrying either a large burning candle or a wooden cross,” and who sang like penitents or pilgrims. Such processions occurred frequently during the years 1583-84; and, we are told, many of the “religion prétendue réformée,” moved by what they saw and heard, returned to the Catholic Church at this time.  

Whether Dowland witnessed any of these religious displays is not known; that he could have lived in France and been unaware of the tensions that inspired them seems unlikely. It is against a background of these dramatic expressions of intense religious feeling that one must place the young musician listening to those who, he informs us, “thrust many Idle toies into my hed of Religion, sainge that the papists was the truthe & ours in England all faile. . . .”

Little is known about Dowland’s activities from the time he returned to England from France sometime in his early twenties until he left for the Continent about ten years later as an accomplished lutenist travelling from one court to another, presumably in search of employment, having failed to obtain it at Elizabeth’s court. In “playing before the crowned heads of Europe,” to use the old vaudevillian phrase, Dowland followed the familiar pattern of the touring virtuoso, even to the point of spending a number of years at foreign courts: first at the Landgrave’s, later at Christian IV’s. For a variety of reasons many of the great lutenists of the 16th century found employment abroad: for example, “Diomedes of Venice: Lutenist to the high and mightie Sigismundus, 2d King of Poland;” “Iacobus Reis of Augusta [i.e., Augsburg]: Lutenist to the most mightie and victorius Henricus 4. French King;” and “Gregorio Huwet of Antwerpe: Lutenist to the most high and mightie Henericus Iulius, Duke of Brunswicke;” to name only those some of whose music appears in the Dowlands’ Varietie of Lute-lessons.

Virtuoso players were few in number, richly rewarded when on tour, and much sought after as servants by music-loving rulers, as Dowland discovered at Wolfenbüttel, Cassel, and Florence. Most courts had room for only one or two such virtuosi; for the consort other lutenists were hired, paid less, and less was expected of them. The treatment of Gregory Howet at the court of Brunswick is typical for a “star” performer: his salary was the highest after that of

38Le 10 septembre [1683] vinent à Paris, en forme de procession, huit ou neuf cents qu’hommes, que femmes, que garçons, que filles, vêtus en toile blanche, avec mantelets aussi de toile sur leur épaules, portant chapeaux ou le feutre gris chamarrés de bandes de toile, ou tout couverts de toile sur leur têtes, et en leurs mains les uns des cierges et chandelles de cire ardant, les autres des croix de bois, et marchaient deux à deux, chantant en la forme des pénitens ou pèlerins allant en pèlerinage.” L’Estoile, II, 134-35. Similar processions took place on Sept. 19, 20, Oct. 18, 22, and Nov. 9.

39Dowland in the letter to Cecil; JD, p. 37.
Praetorius, the chapelmaster, and of Mancinus, the former chapelmaster, and he was not required, as the other lutenist was, “die Concerten mit Tribbens und Coloraturen zu exorniren.”

Because virtuoso lutenists were few in number, rulers vied with each other to obtain their services. For example, in 1529 Henry VIII apparently tried to induce “Albert de Ripa, luter mynstrell, and servaunt to [Ercole Gonzaga,] the Cardinal of Mantua,” to enter his service; though he presented him with the enormous sum of 33l. 6s. 8d., three months later Albert entered the service of Henry’s rival, Francis I. At about the same time, it is reported, Henry offered the Neapolitan lutenist Luys Dentice a yearly pension of 1000 crowns (= 240l.) if he would serve him, but the offer was not accepted.

Eventually Henry succeeded in attracting the Flemish lutenist-composer Philip van Wilder to his service, paid him more than any other musician in his employ, made him a member of the privy chamber, and frequently presented him with gifts, the greatest of which was all rights in the former monastery of Cerne, Dorset, and its lands and appurtenances for a term of 50 years, for which Philip paid the Crown a yearly rent more than three times the annual salary he received as a member of the King’s Musick. (The size of the gift is commensurate with that of the Cerne Giant whose chalked outline looks down on the former abbey.) The extremes to which a master might go in order to retain the services of a favorite musician is

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40 Concerning Howet, see App. E.

41 PRO, E.1-1/240/11, p. 147. Much earlier Henry had in his service an unidentified Brescian virtuoso “al qual questo Re li da provisione de ducati 300 a l’anno per sonar de lauto” (see the letter, dated 3 May 1515, of Sagudino, a member of the Venetian embassy in England, publ. M. Sanuto, I Diziit. XX [Venice, 1887], col. 267). This lutenist may have been the “Zuan Piero,” mentioned in another of Sagudino’s letters (dated 19 May 1517; publ. ibid., XXIV [1889], col. 392), who was so piqued by the King’s delight in the playing of “uno putino che sonò di lauto meglio che mai sentisse sonar” that he determined to return to Italy. (Zuan Piero has been identified as Peter Carmelianus, Henry VII’s Latin secretary, first by W. Grattan Flood, Early Tudor Composers [London, 1925], p. 22, later by J. Stevens, Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court [London: Methuen, 1961], pp. 289, 306, and Mrs. Poulton, JD, p. 184, though there is no evidence to support the identification.) In the same letter Sagudino asked his friend, Alvise Foscarì, to send him some pieces by Zuan Maria, “as I vaunt him to every one for what he is, and thus they have requested me to send for some of his music, promising me some of theirs in return” (S. Giustinian, Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII, trans. R. Brown [London, 1854], I, 81). This Zuan Maria was probably the celebrated German lutenist Giovan Maria whose Intabulatura di Lauto was published by Petrucci in 1508, no copy of which seems to survive.

42 According to Sir Thomas Chaloner in a letter, dated 27 September 1564, written to Lord Robert Dudley; see App. F for the original passage.

43 The fullest account of Van Wilder is in C. Van den Borren, Les Musiciens belge en Angleterre à l’époque de la Renaissance (Brussels, 1913), pp. 40-54.
further illustrated by Elizabeth’s holding the elder Alfonso Ferrabosco’s two children hostage for eleven years in what proved to be a vain effort to induce the return of her lutenist-composer to England from Italy.\textsuperscript{44}\textsuperscript{4}

Dowland was courted by at least three rulers. Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg invited him to Wolfenbüttel sometime in 1594, and, as he later boasted to Sir Robert Cecil, rewarded him with “a Ritch Chaine of golde, xxiiiij\textsuperscript{7} in mony with velvet & saten & golde lace to make me apparell [= livery?], with promyse that if I wolde serv him he wolde gev me as mutch as any prince in the worlde.”\textsuperscript{45}\textsuperscript{5} The attractions of the Duke’s court were not sufficient to keep the English lutenist, for within a few months he was at the court of the Landgrave Maurice, together with Duke Julius’s lutenist Howet, and received rich gifts and “many great offers.”\textsuperscript{46}\textsuperscript{6} Because the two musicians stayed so long in Cassel—perhaps as long as six months, if Dowland and Howet are the “zweij Lautenisten” about whom a landlord complained to the Landgrave in December 1594, claiming that they owed him for 15 weeks’ lodging\textsuperscript{47}—, the Duke began to suspect Maurice of hiring Dowland away from him and wrote as much, to which the Landgrave replied: “DulanD in unser bestallung nicht ist, sondernn sich bis daher allein alhier zu vorfallender gelegenheit uffgehaltenn.”\textsuperscript{48}\textsuperscript{8}

Clearly Dowland was not ready to settle down. He left Cassel sometime after 21 March 1595, toured Italy as far south as Florence, was again in Germany by November 10th, and only after that accepted the Landgrave’s offer of a place in his Music. Within a year Dowland was back in England, Henry Noel having assured him the Queen wished his return. With Noel’s death in February 1597 the composer probably lost his chief friend at court and therewith any chance to obtain a place in Elizabeth’s Musick, a position he desired

\textsuperscript{44}\textsuperscript{Concerning this bizarre episode, see Arkwright, “Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger,” \textit{Studies in Music by Various Authors}, ed. R. Grey (London, 1901), pp. 200-02.}

\textsuperscript{45}\textsuperscript{Dowland’s letter to Cecil; \textit{JD}, p. 38.}

\textsuperscript{46}\textsuperscript{Loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{47}\textsuperscript{R.P. Wülcker, “Englische Schauspieler in Kassel,” \textit{Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft}, XIV (1879), 361.}

above all others. For about a year he appears to have been in the service of the Queen’s cousin, Lord Hunsdon, who had just succeeded to the barony and had recently been made Lord Chamberlain. Then foreign offers came again: one from the Landgrave, who was prepared to welcome Dowland back into his service, another from the King of Denmark. Though the musician was addressed as “my loving Frend” by the Landgrave and assured of “that entertainment, that every way you shall hold yourself content,” he chose instead to serve the Danish King, perhaps because a King was able to outbid a Landgrave. Competition for his service may, in fact, explain why the King came to pay Dowland so large a salary.

Christian IV was young, fourteen years the composer’s junior, had been King for little more than two years, and was indulging a taste for music by assembling one of the largest musical establishments in Northern Europe, with members drawn from many countries.

Though Christian paid his English lutenist more than Elizabeth paid any of her musicians and gave him rich gifts besides, Dowland’s

49. “As to how men entered the King’s service, the answer quite simply is: by knowing someone influential and by using their name when asking for an office, or by getting them to ask.” G.E. Aylmer, The King’s Servants (New York: Columbia University, 1961), 74. Noel was aided in his efforts to place Dowland in the Queen’s Musick by “Ferdinando,” almost certainly Sir Ferdinando Heyborne alias Richardson, as Mrs. Poulton conjectures, a “virginal-player” and Groom of the Privy Chamber, whose position assured him access to the Queen and explains how he could twice have heard Elizabeth express “her pleasure” to have Dowland back in England. Further concerning Heyborne, see R. Marlow, Musical Times, CXV (1974), 736-39, and G.A. Philips, ibid., CXVI (1975), 141, who characterizes the man as “a professional member of the royal household...a functionary in daily contact with the great men at court”; see also the references to Heyborne as “justice of the peace & coram” in the Middlesex County Records, 2nd ser., ed. J.C. Jeaffreson, 3 vols. (London, 1935-37), passim. Heyborne’s letter to Hicks, from which Philips quotes bits, is reproduced complete in App. G. Concerning Christopher Heyborne, “Mr. Fernando’s brother,” see App. H.

50. In a letter a copy of which is in Folger Ms. V.a.321, f. 53; publ. Dobell, Athenæum, No. 3833 (1901), p. 467, and JD, p. 50, both times with slight inaccuracies.

51. Concerning Dowland’s Danish salary, see App. 1.

52. In the Ms. of his “Itinerary,” Fynes Moryson, a contemporary of Dowland’s, describes Christian IV as “of a faire Complexion and bigg sett, and about some fifteene yeares of age [in 1592, six years before he hired Dowland], and they said he could speak the Dutch, French, and Italian tongues, and was delighted with shooting in a muskett, with musick and with reading of histories, and spent two howers in the morning and as many after dinner at his booke, and passed the rest of the day in diuerse exercises.” This monarch, whom Dowland was to serve for six years, “when he vouchsafed to salute any man...gave them his hand, not to kisse but to take in his hand, neither doe any vse to kneele to him...but the Courtiers stood burheheaded to him in great distance.” And when “the king did eat [it was] alone, with the dores open for any man to enter.” C. Hughes, Shakespeare’s Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary (London, 1903), pp. 175-76.
heart remained set on a place at the English court. After the old Queen died, on 24 March 1603, he obtained a leave of absence, was in England by September, "had accesse" to the new Queen at Winchester, spent the following months finishing the *Lachrimae*, which he dedicated to Anne, was back in Denmark by the 10th of July the following year, having failed once again to obtain a place, this time in either the Queen’s or the King’s Musick, perhaps because Anne did not wish to see her brother deprived of a servant, as Peter Warlock once suggested. Dowland had to wait nine years, until 28 October 1612, for an appointment to James I’s Musick.

Why did it take so long? Dowland was of the opinion that his religion hindered, and it may have. Also Elizabeth’s musical establishment probably had no need for another lutenist, however accomplished, as there were four (possibly five) in 1594, when Dowland “became an humble suitor” for John Johnson’s place: Augustine Bassano, Mathias Mason, Robert Hales, Walter Piers, and Robert Woodward (if the last-named was, in fact, a lutenist). No doubt others in the Queen’s Musick, whatever their primary instrument, were also capable of playing a part on the lute, and some at court who, though not members of the Musick, were finished lutenists, men like Anthony Holborne, “servant to her most excellent Majestie” in 1597, and Daniel Batchelor, one of Elizabeth’s servants in 1599, both of whom may have been serving the Queen as early as 1594.

When Dowland, “whose heavenly touch/Upon the lute doth ravish human sense,” finally obtained a court appointment, it seems

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53 In 1612 Dowland would write: “True it is, I haue lien long obscured from your [his readers’] sight, because I received a Kingly entertainment in a fairenaine climate, which could not attaine to any (though never so meane) place at home, yet haue I held vp my head within this Horizon, and not altogether beene unaffected elsewhere.” *A Pilgrimes Solace*, sig. [A2v].

54 Mrs. Poulton, *JD*, p. 58, is in error when she places Dowland in England as early as February 1603. He was in Denmark on May 21st, when he received three months salary, “reckoned from February 18th,” was still there on July 15th, when he was paid for the three months “reckoned from May 18th,” and probably did not leave for England until after August 18th. (The May and July payments are recorded in the draft account of the royal expenditures for 1603-04; the fair copy is missing.) The records of Dowland’s court service in Denmark are reproduced in App. J.

55 Concerning the lutenists in the King’s Musick, 1593-1612, see App. K.

56 In the same way many members of a symphony orchestra are able to play the piano. For notes on the popularity of lute playing with the English aristocracy, see App. L.

57 According to the title page of Holborne’s *Citharm Schoole,* the statement is repeated on the title page of his *Pavans, Galliards,* etc., of 1599. For a hitherto unpublished letter of Holborne’s, see App. M.

58 PRO, E. 351/543, a fact first pointed out by M. Long in the preface to his edition of *Selected Works* by Bacheler (London: Oxford University, 1972).
to have been as a supporting player, not as the principal lutenist. No source describes his position exactly, but circumstantial evidence gives hints. There is, for instance, the matter of his salary. Two of the lutenists, Hales and Merson, were paid 40l. per annum, the rest either 30l. 8s. 4d., which is what Dowland and Robert Johnson received, or 20l., which is what Rosseter received. Conclusions based on court records of salary payments, it is generally agreed, are notoriously fallible; a lutenist's annual salary was but part of the reward for his service. He received in addition 16l. 2s. 6d. for livery, and occasional amounts for the purchase of instruments, their repair, and for strings.\textsuperscript{59} He was probably entitled to diet or board allowance. A few of the lutenists also received New Year's gifts from the monarch (with reciprocation expected),\textsuperscript{60} and sometimes more substantial gifts, like the life-time annuity to the elder Ferrabosco.\textsuperscript{61} Some even held more than one place at a time, like Robert Johnson, who, in 1612, was a member of both James I's and Prince Henry's Musick.\textsuperscript{62} Hence the danger of conjecturing on the basis of his salary alone that Dowland was appointed as a supporting player. However, he is not known to have enjoyed any special sign of the King's favor, aside from his initial appointment to the Musick, though James could be spendthrift, as his largess to the younger Ferrabosco, Dowland's colleague in the King's service, shows.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{59}See, e.g., the warrant for Rosseter's appointment, CSP, Dom., Jas. I, X, No. 3; also \textit{KM}, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{60}For example, Piers (Peerce) and Hales each received "in guilte plate, K. 5 ox.,” from the Queen at New Year’s 1599-1600, and each presented the Queen with “one paire of perfumed gloves.” J. Nichols, \textit{The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth} (London, 1823), III, 465, 458.

\textsuperscript{61}Ferrabosco's difficulties in having his "Annuytie of C marks per ann." received "during the Queen's pleasure" changed to a pension "for his life" are traced by Arkwright, "Master Alfonso and Queen Elizabeth," pp. 272-73. To "Dr. Bull of the Chapel" was granted the wardship of one Grey of Camb., according to "A Note of Wardships granted by the late Lord Treasurer and Master of the Wards [Lord Burghley] unto divers noble personages and others Her Majesty's servants within these 4 years past [= 1595-8]" (S.P.D., Eliz., ccxlxi, no. 42; see J. Hurstfield, \textit{The Queen's Wards} [London: Longmans, Green, 1958], p. 125), a fact to be added to the "Calendar of the Life of John Bull" in \textit{MB}, XIV, xxii.

\textsuperscript{62}W.L. Woodfill, \textit{Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I} (Princeton: Princeton University, 1953), pp. 301-02.

\textsuperscript{63}See also \textit{Issues of the Exchequer}, ed. F. Devon (London, 1836), p. 213, where it is recorded that on 3 April 1616 Adam Vallet, one of James I's musicians for the lute, and John Tetart received "the sum of 80l. of his Majesty's free gift and reward, for their attendance on his Majesty at his last being at Newmarket, for his Highness's disport and recreation in the exercise of their several arts of fencing and dancing." Vallet was not the only royal musician to excel in dancing; Thomas Warren, one of James's musicians for the violin, was also noted for his skill in "these artes of dancing and vaulting"; see G. Buc, "The Third University of England," appended to J. Stow's \textit{Annales} (London, 1631), p. 1085.
Further evidence of the existence of a hierarchy among court lutenists is provided by what is known about those who were paid 40l. per annum. From 1593-1612, i.e., during the years Dowland actively sought a place at court, only three musicians received this amount: Robert Hales, highly regarded as a singer and one of the very few musicians in royal service whose performing is actually referred to in contemporary sources; Mathias Mason, who was appointed "one of the musicians for the three lutes" at a salary of 20l. a year in 1579, given an increase to 40l. in 1589, and served as "lute of the privie chamber," a prestigious appointment, from the end of Elizabeth's reign until the time of his death; and Simon Merson, who succeeded Mason in 1609, obtaining the position with the help of his patron, Sir Thomas Mounson, an influential man at court until he was suspected of complicity in the Overbury poisoning.

Finally there is the evidence of a fee-list of the Queen's "Musytions," part of a summary account of the royal household as it was constituted before 1570, in which the expressions, "Chief luter" and "Rest of the luters," occur coupled with the information that the former was paid 40l. per annum, the latter 19l. Though the two "luter" categories do not occur in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, the phrase "musicians of the three lutes" does, three times, in connection with the appointments of John Johnson, Mathias Mason, and Walter Piers. The phrase cannot mean that there were only three lutenists in the Musick, for at the time Piers was appointed one of three there were already at least four in royal service. Therefore the phrase must refer to a distinct group within the body of lutenists in the Musick. This interpretation is supported by the fact that when Mason's salary was

64 Concerning Hales, see JD, pp. 407-08.
65 MA, I, 249; II, 53; KM, p. 46.
66 See n. 7, above.
67 BL Sloane Ms. 1520; pr. Burney, A General History of Music, III (London, 1789), 16. No individuals are named and the list is not dated; the inclusion of the seven "Musitions straungers," whose earliest-known appearance in court records is 1552 (Nagel, p. 23), provides a terminus a quo, and the inclusion of a bagpiper, whose last appearance in court records is in 1570, provides a terminus ad quem for the dating of the original list of which the Sloane Ms. is a copy.
68 MA, I, 248; II, 53. For example: "To John Johnson in the roome and place of Anthony de Counte, deceased, late one of her majestes Musitians for the three lutes, for his wages and Fee at xx l. per annum, by vertue of her highnes Warrant dormant dated at Westminster xx mo die Decembris anno xxij Regine antedictue, due to him for two whole yeres endinge at Michaelmas anno xxij Regine predicte, amountinge to the som of ---xld." (PRO, A.O.1/386/19, m. 3, Mich. 22 Eliz. 1 to Mich. 23 Eliz. 1.)
increased from 20l. to 40l. (i.e., from that of one "of the three lutes" to that of "Chief luter"), Piers was appointed a "musician for the three lutes" at a salary of 20l. per annum, presumably to take Mason's place.

If, as I am suggesting, Dowland was among the "rest of the luters" during the time he was a member of James's Musick, the distinction may have entailed more than just a difference in wages received. The rank of a musician may have determined the kind of music he performed (soloist vs. consort), the place in which it was performed (privy chamber vs. other parts of the royal residences), and the occasion (private entertaining of the King vs. public entertaining of the Court). Dowland, "being now gray, and like the Swan, but singing towards his end,"69 seems not to have been a "star" performer in the royal musical establishment, but a supporting player. That he is referred to as "Doctor Dowland" in the Declared Accounts from 1622-26 was probably not recognition of his rank at court, but a bureaucratic nicety, one the composer may have insisted on.

2. The Music.70

a. Dowland and His Contemporaries.

From his years in France, travels in Italy and Germany, and six years' service at the Danish court, where his colleagues included Germans and Netherlanders as well as Danes, Dowland must have been more widely acquainted with the musicians of his time than most of his contemporaries. However, only a few—Allison, Farnaby, Holborne71 and perhaps Mathias Mason,72 Orologio, Croce, Howet, and the Landgrave Maurice—can be positively identified from

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70 The abbreviations used in this section are those established by Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 477-79.
71 The only professional musician to whom Dowland dedicated a piece of music.
72 Dowland says of him, in the Var, sig. D2: ". . . our most famous countriman M. Mathias Mason Lutenist, and one of the Groomes of his Maiesties most honourable Priuie Chamber, (at it hath ben told me,) [my italics] inuented three frets more, the which were made of wood, and glued vpon the belly. . . . "

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evidence provided by Dowland.\textsuperscript{73} Circumstances, but little more, suggest that he may also have known the composers Borchgrevinck, Pedersön, Grep, Marcher, Trehou, Gistow, and his compatriot Brade, all of whom were in Christian IV's service at some point during the time Dowland was.\textsuperscript{74} He was also, one may conjecture, to some degree familiar with Robert Johnson, the younger Ferrabosco, Philip Rosseter, and other composer-performers in James I's Musick during the years he was a member of that body of musicians.

Brief encounters with other composers have been proposed: one writer speculates that Dowland met Gesualdo while in Ferrara (the madrigalist was living there in 1595); another, that he met Caccini at the time he played before the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and a third, that he met Guillaume Tessier while in Paris.\textsuperscript{75} As supporting evidence each writer cites some aspect of Dowland's music—chromaticism, resemblances to the 'nuove musiche' and the \textit{air de cour}, etc. Such speculation bespeaks a simplistic view of history, one that allows writers to assume that great men always encounter each other when geographically adjacent. Meeting the composers was not the only way to become acquainted with their works, nor were works by the great men of the day the only ones to be heard in the places Dowland visited. Ferrara and the other towns in his itinerary were full of music-making—in the churches, academies, taverns, streets, at court, in private homes—and a great deal of music was available in print. Speculating about whom Dowland may have met and what he may have heard has its attractions, but little substance.

More rewarding is the study of those composers with whom Dowland is known to have had contact, for here there are facts to

\textsuperscript{73}Dowland was personally acquainted with probably only two of the authors—Allison and Farnaby—to whose works he contributed commendatory verses. The poem in Farnaby's \textit{Canzonets} of 1598 is headed "M. Io. Dowland to the Author" and is personal in tone; the one in the 1599 \textit{Psalms of David} is headed "John Dowland... in commendation of Richard Allison, and this most excellent work" and includes a reference to "this dear friend." In contrast, the poems in Sir William Leighton's \textit{Teares or Lamentations}, that "astute public relations exercise," as Cecil Hill has characterized the 1614 publication, and the twenty-three-year-old Thomas Ravenscroft's \textit{Briefe Discourse} published the same year are quite impersonal in tone: the one in \textit{Teares} is headed "Vpon this Excellent and Diuine Worke" and makes no mention of the poet-musician who commissioned it; and the poem in the \textit{Briefe Discourse} is "in commendation of this worke" and refers to the young author as "worthy RAVENSCROFT"; both poems have the character of testimonials solicited, perhaps even paid for, by Leighton and Ravenscroft.

\textsuperscript{74}A. Hammerich, \textit{Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof} (Copenhagen, 1892), pp. 201-23, lists all the musicians employed by Christian IV.

\textsuperscript{75}P. Warlock, \textit{The English Ayre} (London, 1926), p. 31; \textit{JD}, p. 36; and T. Dart, "Rôle de la danse dans l' 'ayre' anglais," \textit{Musique et poésie au XVI\textsuperscript{e} siècle}, p. 205.
deal with, not that they always combine to form a completely satisfactory picture. Gregory Howet provides an example. In 1595 Dowland is known to have spent some time in his company, first at the Duke of Brunswick's court, later at Landgrave Maurice's, where the two men may have remained for as long as six months. The experience must have been a memorable one since Howet is one of the few musicians Dowland got to know during his Wanderjahre who is mentioned by name in the address "to the courteous Reader" of The First Booke. And in 1610 the Dowlands included a fantasie "composed by the most famous Gregorio Huwet" in the Varietie of Lute-lessons.

Clearly the acquaintanceship was of some significance to the elder Dowland, and it appears to have been so for Howet as well. All but one of the prints and manuscripts transmitting copies of the latter's twelve surviving pieces for lute contain music by Dowland; and of the twelve pieces, half share some or all of their musical substance with compositions by Dowland. There is nothing extraordinary in Howet's having parodied the "Lacrimae," made an arrangement of "Essex's Galliard," and composed his own "Battle" galliards; but it is puzzling to find another galliard ascribed to Howet in a continental source and a very similar piece (CLM. No. 22) in English sources associated with Dowland's name. As evidence of the influence of either composer on the other, however, it is of little value. Neither version of the piece can be precisely dated; nor is the date of composition of importance, since this galliard is little more than a medley of instrumental commonplaces every English composer of the period was acquainted with: the opening strain is strikingly reminiscent of the well-known ballad tune, "All a green willow"; the second strain is based on a common echo-effect, exploited, e.g., in "Squires Galliard," John Johnson's second "Dump," etc.; and the third provides yet another imitation, a not very successful one, of the final strain of Peter Philips' celebrated "1580" or "first" pavan.

How tangled questions of attribution can be is illustrated by Howet's most frequently copied galliard, which begins like
Dowland’s “Melancholy Galliard” (CLM, No. 25) and like three anonymous pieces in the de Bellis LB, viz.: the “Galiarda del Sig. conte Fabio Visconti,” the “Baletto in soprano di gcc.,” and the “Galiarda del re de franza” (see Music Example 1). The second and third strains of Howet’s piece are musically identical with those of an anonymous dance, versions of which are found only in English sources and usually entitled the “Walsingham Galliard” because the

MUSIC EXAMPLE 1.

a. Dowland, “Melancholy Galliard”

b. “Galiarda del Sig. Conte Fabio Visconti”

c. “Baletto in soprano di gcc.”

d. “Galiarda del re de franza”

e. “Galiarda G[regorij] H[uberti]”

first strain incorporates the old ballad tune, "As I went to Walsingham." And while the first strain of Howet's piece does not include an exact quotation of the ballad tune, its first few notes do resemble those of "Walsingham."

Of these several related pieces, the galliard by Howet was composed first, I believe; it is one of the most frequently anthologized pieces of the decades around 1600 and is always ascribed to him when a composer is named. Someone, probably an English musician, having noticed the resemblance between the beginning of the ballad tune and that of the galliard, altered the notes of Howet's discant to those of "Walsingham," made the few changes in the harmony demanded by the alterations, and left the second and third strains unchanged (see Music Example 2). Whether Dowland based the opening bars of his "Melancholy Galliard" on those of Howet's piece or Howet took the idea from Dowland, or whether both men were indebted to a third source is not known. Whoever used it first, the pattern with which the two composers began their respective galliards enjoyed an international vogue, as the pieces in the de Bellis LB attest.

Arranging another composer's music and working with some of the same musical materials are not sufficient grounds for establishing that one composer influenced in any significant way the other. We know Howet and Dowland were acquainted, that their music shows it, and that the Landgrave Maurice thought Howet an accomplished player of motets and madrigals and Dowland a good composer; there our knowledge ends. All Dowland wrote of his friend Howet is (paraphrased): "I name him as well for his love of me, as also for his excellency in his faculty," in other words, "we have a high regard for

81 The sources for this galliard are given in App. E. Dowland quotes the "Walsingham" tune in the first strain of one of his galliards (CLM, No. 31), and Robert Johnson alludes to the tune in the first bars of a delightful galliard for lyra-viol (originally for lute?) in CCB d, f. 36; otherwise the two pieces resemble neither each other nor the "Walsingham" galliard discussed in the text above.

82 "The great composers were men of such strong personality that any resemblance between their work and the work of their contemporaries is of very small importance. A study of the work of the contemporaries provides no evidence that the great men were indebted to them for anything more than a stimulus to invention." J. Westrup, "Editorial," Music & Letters, I (1969), 331.

83 In his letter to Duke Julius (JD, p. 34), the Landgrave compared the two men thus: "Was ihr Kunst anlangt, so henn wir auch beyde Lautenistenn gegeneinander gehört, undt wiewoll wir Uns uff dass Lautenschlagen sonderlich nichts verstehenn [which is nonsense coming from the composer of the pavan 'fecit in honorem Ioanni Doulandi' printed in the Varietie of Lute-lessons] beducken sie uns doch beydt gut sein, gebenn E.L. nach, das dereselben Lautenist Georgius Hawitten ein erfarnerner geübter Lautenist, undt was muteten madrialn zu schlagen anlangt, gar perfect undt wohl Passiert. Hergegen befindenn wir, dass der ander Johannes Dulandt ein guter Componist ist...." Klessmann, "Die Deutschlandreisen John Dowlands," pp. 13-14.
MUSIC EXAMPLE 2.

_B, f. 61, “Galiarda Gregorij” (first strain)_

\[ ... \]

_W, f. 17, “As I wente to Walsinghame” (first strain)_

\[ ... \]

each other." As for their music, too little of Howet’s survives—much of it second-hand, the texts corrupt and the ascriptions open to question—to make any meaningful comparison with Dowland’s possible.

Like his contemporaries, Dowland was not above borrowing other men’s music without acknowledgement. An example is “M. Buctons Galliard” (*Lachrimae*, No. 19) alias “Syr Robert Sidney his Galliard” (*A Musical Banquet*, sig. B). The composer has done little more than to select several (not one, as is usually stated) sections (not just cantus notes) of Lasso’s popular chanson, “Susanne un jour,” and arrange them for instrumental performance. The relationship between the two pieces can be summarized thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Buxton/Sidney Galliard</th>
<th>The Lasso Chanson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar 1-8</td>
<td>bar 1-6, 13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-16</td>
<td>28-29, 32-34, 49-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-24</td>
<td>53-58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Departures from Lasso’s original amount to isolated chord changes, the juggling of inner voice-parts, an occasional octave displacement of the bass. The piece is, in short, an arrangement, similar to the many chanson arrangements in the *danceries* of Attaingnant, Susato, and others, more a product of scissors and paste than of composition.”^85 Dowland may not even have assembled the piece

^84_The First Booke, “To the courteous Reader.”

but only touched up the hackwork of a fellow lutenist, added varied
reprises, then published it twice, each time dedicated to a different
person; two anonymous versions of the same galliard are found, one
in an English source, the other in a German one.\(^8\)\(^6\)

That Dowland was ignorant of the connection between Lasso's
chanson and the Bucton/Sidney galliard is most unlikely\(^8\)\(^7\); the same
must be true of Füllsack and Hildebrand who published another
version of Dowland's dance (paired with a paduana by Joh. Sommer)
yet made no reference to either Lasso or "Susanna" in the titles to
the two pieces.\(^8\)\(^6\) Presumably no identification was needed for a
song that had been popular for more than a quarter of a century.

Another instance of possible unacknowledged borrowing is
Dowland's almaine, "My Lady Hunsdons Allmande" (CLM, No. 54),
which makes use of thematic material found in at least five
continental arrangements, one without title, and four variously
entitled "Gagliarda detta la mezza pace," "Gagliarda," "Aria
franzese," and "Balletto," all dating from around 1600.\(^8\)\(^9\) The
"Balletto" was copied into the Dusiacki LB (which was destroyed in
WW II) by Donino Garsi who described the piece as "di me, fatta per
il S. Duca di Mantua," a phrase that can be interpreted to mean
either "composed" or "arranged by me, for the Duke of Mantua."

\(^8\)\(^6\) D2, f. 52, "Susanna Galliard" (pr. CLM, No. 91, and described by Mrs. Poulton as
"almost certainly by Dowland"); Nür. f. 14, "Galla: Susanne." It is tempting to associate
this galliard with the music called for in the revised version of the Duke of Brunswick's play,
Susanna (pr. Wolfenbüttel, 1593). IV.iv: "Inmittelst kommen die Instrumentisten, vnd
Spielen der Susannen zu Ehren vnd Glückwünschung Susanna unjour etc."; see Die
Schauspiele des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig, ed. W.L. Holland (Stuttgart,

\(^8\) Lasso's chanson was twice published in London (in 1570 and 1588); arr. for lute:
EUL Ms.Dc.5.125, ff. 37v-39, n.t., anon.; a different arrangement is in \(1^w\), ff. 13v-14 (publ.
The Wickhambrook Lute Manuscript [New Haven: Dept. of Music, Yale University, 1963],
pp. 51-60), and D2, ff. 23v-24; an arr. of the chanson for keyboard is in BL
Add. Ms. 29485, ff. 7v-9v (publ. A. Curtis, MAN, III, 13-18); and BL Add. Ms. 30485, ff. 51v-53; a
different arr. is in Panmure Ms. 10, ff. 67-72v (publ. K. Elliott, Early Scottish Keyboard
Music [London: Stainer & Bell, 1958], pp. 14-16); and a third arr. in Fitzwilliam Museum
Ms. 52.D.25, ff. 86v-87 (publ. A. Brown, Tisdale's Virginal Book [London: Stainer & Bell,
1966], pp. 25-28). A parody of the chanson in the form of a pavan by Joseph Lupo is in BL
Egerton Ms. 3665, pp. 1030-31.

\(^8\)\(^8\) Publ. B. Engelke, Musik und Musiker am Gottorfer Hofe. I (Breslau, 1930), pp.
110-12.

\(^8\)\(^9\) Sources: (a) Donino's "Balletto," transcribed from the now lost Dusiacki LB, is in
H. Osthoff, Der Lautenist Santino Garsi da Parma (Leipzig, 1926), p. 162; (b) the untitled
"Pezzo italiano" in the Ms. (present whereabouts unknown) publ. by O. Chilesotti under the
title Da un codice Lautenbuch (Leipzig, 1890), p. 78; (c) "Galliarda detta la mezza pace"
and (d) "Gagliarda" are in the de Bellis LB, pp. 26-27, 79, incipits in Reese, "An Early
Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Manuscript," pp. 259, 268; (e) the "Aria franzese" is in
Florence, Bibl. Naz. Ms. Magl. XIX.115, ff. 5-1v. B. Richardson, "New Light on Dowland's
Continental Movements," Monthly Musical Record, XC (1960), 3-9, first called attention to
(a) and (b); Joel Cohen, in the Reese article, p. 277, to (c) and (d); and Mrs. Poulton, thanks
to M. Morrow, in JD, p. 161, to (e).
Brian Richardson, who first noted the close similarity between the "Balletto" and the "Allmande," argued that Donino probably learned the piece from his father, Santino Garsi, who probably heard Dowland play it when the latter probably visited Parma: a far-fetched way of accounting for the two words, "di me." They may indicate no more than does the signature, "Jo: dowlande," at the end of the setting of the ballad tune, "My Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home," in the Folger LB: the name of the arranger. Both the Italian and the Englishman were surely as ignorant of the name of the individual whose music they had borrowed as was Stravinsky when he appropriated the tune of "Happy Birthday to You."

Neither Dowland nor Donino made use of all of the piece from which the "Allmande" and "Balletto" were fashioned (this is the only fact that argues for thinking that their pieces are related). In four of the continental sources, that piece comprises five strains, respectively 8+6+4+4+4-bars long; the two composer-arrangers used the first, second, and fifth strains only. (Printed below, as Music Example 3, is one of the full versions of the music, the "Galiarda detta la mezza pace," noteworthy for being in duple time, as is the other musically-related "Gagliarda" in the de Bellis LB.)

MUSIC EXAMPLE 3.


Where the two composers got the music each arranged we can only guess. I suspect it came from France. One of the Italian versions is entitled “Aria franzese”; and the two duple-time galliards are of a type about which Praetorius declares “die dann Frantzösische Dantzmeister im gebrauch haben.”91 The users of popular music around 1600, like those of any other time, were notoriously indifferent to the identity of the composers who supplied them with song and dance tunes and uninhibited about changing the notes. Dowland might complain of lute lessons printed in imperfect copies and without his name, but he is not known to have raised his voice against the balladmongers who abused his tunes or the cittern players who turned his galliards into country dances. Besides, he was not above returning the compliment, as “Bucton’s Galliard” and “My Lady Hunsdons Allmande” prove.

Dowland is not known to have made other unacknowledged borrowings of a comparable nature, but he does seem on occasion to have taken stock themes for some of his compositions. An instance is the “point” with which his most frequently copied fantasia (CLM, No. 1) begins. Mrs. Poulton is right in claiming that this point “was not entirely Dowland’s own composition, but she is probably wrong in claiming that it comes, ultimately, from the first phrase of the lauda, “Si ch’io ti vuo’ lodare,” first printed in 1675 but, she conjectures, popular at the time Dowland was travelling in Italy and recalled by him years later when composing this piece.92 He need never have left home to have heard it: his point was a 16th-century commonplace, found in the works of many of his contemporaries. Dowland himself employed it a second time in an almaine (CLM, No. 49). Who used the point first is impossible to say: it is already present in a fantasia by Francesco da Milano printed in 1548 (see Music Example 4).93

The first phrase of Dowland’s song, “I saw my Lady weepe” (Second Booke, No. 1), provides another example of what at first sight has the appearance of direct borrowing, in this instance from the opening bars of Alonso Mudarra’s fantasia in the fourth mode. But instead of providing further proof that the Elizabethans knew the music of the vihuelists, introduced to it by the Spanish musicians active in England during the reign of Philip and Mary, the two

92 JD, p. 112.
MUSIC EXAMPLE 4.


b. Holborne, “Fancy” (*CW*, II, 154)

c. Anon., “Phantasie” (*M.H.M.*, No. 83)


e. Howet, “Fantazia” (Schele LB, p. 103)

g. Dowland, [Almaine] (CLM, p. 171)

h. Holborne, “Fantasia” (CW, I, 18-19)

i. Holborne, “Playfellow” (CW, I, 142)

j. Holborne, “Fantasia” (CW, I, 169)

k. Anon., “Emperes Allmayne” (Mar, p. 382)

l. Farnaby, “His Rest” (MB, XXIV, 128)
passages illustrate how the composers exploited a formula also found in many 16th-century fantasias and ricercars in the fourth mode (see Music Example 5).

**MUSIC EXAMPLE 5.**

a. Dowland, ‘I saw my lady weep’

![Musical notation for Dowland's 'I saw my lady weep']

b. Mudarra, 'Fantasía'

![Musical notation for Mudarra's 'Fantasía']

Like the music of most of his contemporaries, Dowland's sometimes resembles that of others, incorporates musical commonplaces, makes use of tunes from the public domain. Rarely can any of the shared material be traced directly to another composer as it can with “Buctons” galliard; and in this instance an intermediary probably reshaped Lasso's chanson before it reached Dowland. Only for the “Bacheler” galliard (CLM, No. 28) is there

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94 A transcription of the Mudarra fantasia is in the *Monumentos de la Música Española*, VII, 45-46, and, as arr. by Venegas de Henestrosa for keyboard, ibid., II, 86-87. See also the two fourth-mode ricercari by Julio de Segni in the *Musica Nova* of 1540, ed. H.C. Slim, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, I (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964), 49-59; and the anonymous fantasia publ. W. Gerwig, *Der Lautenist*, V (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Lienau, 1963), p. 6 (from the Herholder LB). This fantasia was also in Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibl. Mus. Ms. 40032 (destroyed in WW II), p. 203, where it was described as a “Fantasia fantastica d’Inghilterra ma piena d’ogni soavità”; fortunately W. Tappert made a copy of the tablature of this one piece and it is among his papers in the same library; another copy of the fantasia is in H, f. 13, n.t., anon., an arr. for bandora in D2, f. 37v, n.t., anon., and J. van den Hove published a parody of the anonymous English piece in his *Florida* (Utrecht, 1601), sig. A 3v, “Fantasia Tertia.”

95 For example, the opening phrase of the song, “Weep you no more sad fountaines,” is very like that of Guillaume Tessier’s *air*, “O sainte verdur.”

96 Like the ubiquitous “British Grenadiers” figure with which Mrs. Laiton’s almain and that of Mrs. Nichols as well as other pieces of the period begin.

97 For example, ballad tunes like “Go from my window” and dance tunes like the French galliard which, I believe, provided the basis for “Hunsdons Allmande.”
evidence the composer may have drawn directly on another's work, and for only a few bars of the first strain.98

b. Choosing the Text to Edit.

Dowland lived at a time when the activities of composer, performer, arranger, editor, and teacher were closely allied and little or no attempt was made to identify the contributions of different musicians to a musical source; at a time when the techniques of variation permeated both composition and performance, and the altering of a composer's music was common practice; and at a time when the ad hoc nature of the occasions on which music was performed required accommodating the notes to the number and ability of the players available. Little wonder Dowland's works, especially those for solo lute, are so difficult to catalogue and to edit.

The condition in which the texts of "Can she excuse my wrongs" alias "Essex's Galliard" reach us can serve as an example. The composer published the music in the form of a song for voice(s) and instrument(s), a dance for "Lute, Viols, or Violens," and a dance for solo lute. If Mrs. Poulton and others are right, the composer revised the song for the fourth edition of The First Booke and signed (authenticated?) the quite different version of the galliard for solo lute copied into the Folger manuscript by an unidentified hand.99

Other sources for the music lack any demonstrable connection with the composer and derive what authority they possess from their resemblance to a form of the piece for which Dowland is known, or thought, to have been in some way responsible. Thus literal copies, like those by Myriell and Hammond, have no independent value,100 nor do arrangements like those in Robinson's New Citharen Lessons, which are little more than translations from one medium to another.101 The more freely the arranger handled the original, the

98See page 64 below.
99The song is in The First Booke, No. 5 (facsimile of 1st and 5th eds. in English Lute Songs, 1597-1632, IV [Menston: Scolar, 1970]; ed. for solo voice and lute by E.H. Fellowes, English School of Lutenist Song Writers, I [London, 1924], 18-19; and as a four-part ayre with lute accompaniment, by T. Dart & N. Fortune, MB, VI [1953], 8-9); the dance for instrumental ensemble is in LoST, No. 12 (facsimile, Early Music Reprinted, I [Leeds: Bothius, 1974]; ed. P. Warlock, Lachrimae [London, 1927], p. 25); one of the versions for solo lute is in Var, "Galliard 3" (facsimile. [London: Schott, 1958]; ed. E. Hunt, Schott's Series of Early Lute Music, I [London: Schott, 1957], pp. 32-34; CLM, No. 42a); the other version is in FD, f. 16 (CLM, No. 42).
100Myriell copied the voice parts of fifteen of the ayres from Dowland's first and second books into Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Ms. II.4109 (Fétis Ms. 3095); concerning the copyist, see P.J. Willetts, "Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell," Music & Letters, XLIX (1968), 36-42, and "The Identity of Thomas Myriell," ibid., LIII (1972), 431-33. Hammond's copies of a few of the ayres are in Bodleian Ms. Mus. f. 1-28 (S.C. 16819-46); see M.C. Crum, "A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music Belonging to Thomas Hammond, a Suffolk Landowner," Bodleian Library Record, VI (1957), 373-86.
101Concerning Thomas Robinson, see App. O.
more the result is either a kind of joint effort (like the anonymous arrangement of "Can shee" in FVB, No. 188, and the Dowland-Morley elaboration of the same music in the Consort Lessons of 1597, No. 6), or a variation on a theme (like the Vallet and Valentin Strobel variations on Dowland's galliard\textsuperscript{102}), and concern the history of his music, not its editing.

Problematic are those sources that appear to transmit Dowland's music but for which no direct connection with the composer can be established. Such are the five fairly similar texts of "Essex's Galliard" arranged for solo lute and found in four different sources.\textsuperscript{103} All but one are anonymous and without title; only the Euing version includes varied reprises, and these are for the first two strains only and differ from those in the Varietie of Lute-lessons. Close comparison of the five texts with one another and with those in the Varietie and Folger manuscript reveals a multitude of small variants,\textsuperscript{104} which say something about the textual adventures of the galliard's three strains as they passed from one lutenist/copyist to another, but nothing that a 20th-century editor might wish to incorporate into an edition of the piece since none of the variants can be shown to have originated with or to have been approved of by the composer. Indeed, one of the five texts of the galliard, the only one that can be dated, comes from Barley's New Booke of Tabliture, a publication Dowland is thought to have condemned for its "falce and vnperfect" copies of his music\textsuperscript{105}; the other texts of the piece, because they are no better or worse, would probably have pleased him as little.

In summary: two versions of "Essex's Galliard" for solo lute are available in primary sources, one of them the work of an unidentified copyist whose text was apparently approved of by the composer, since he signed his name to it. The rest of the sources, including the continental ones listed by Mrs. Poulton, are all secondary and transmit either variant forms of Dowland's versions or reworkings of them by other hands.

In contrast, the sources of "Dowland's First Galliard" (CLM, No. 22) present a completely different picture: not one can be traced directly to the composer; a quite similar galliard is ascribed to

\textsuperscript{102}Vallet's "Gaillarde du comte essex" is in Le Secret des muses, I (Amsterdam, 1615), pp. 36-40 (publ. Oeuvres de Nicolas Vallet pour luth seul, ed. A. Souris [Paris: C.N.R.S., 1970], pp. 81-91); the Strobel variation is in TGG, p. 122, "V.S. Variatio secunda."

\textsuperscript{103}G, f. 24; WB, No. 12 (publ. W. Newcomb, Lute Music of Shakespeare's Time [University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1966], pp. 64-65); H, f. 11v; D2, f. 40v; D2, f. 62v.

\textsuperscript{104}Very few of them are recorded in CLM, "Textual Notes," p. 302.

\textsuperscript{105}See App. P. for a discussion of Barley's New Booke of Tabliture.
Gregory (Howet) in a German tablature (see App. N); five of the sources have Dowland’s name included in the title of the piece; one that does not is an arrangement for cittern, an instrument for which Dowland is not known to have composed or arranged. The verbal and, as will be seen, musical evidence suggest that the piece we have is not Dowland’s original, unless that original was for consort.

Two of the versions of “Dowland’s First Galliard” are for four-course cittern: one a solo piece, the other a consort part that combines nicely with the recorder and bass viol parts found in companion manuscripts. The remaining versions are for lute, one, apparently, a consort part, two others a copyist/lutenist’s reworking of that part. In summary:

1. **For consort.**
   a. Recorder: \(CCBc\), f. 5, “Dowlands first galliarde”;
   b. Cittern: \(CCBb\), f. 33v, “Dowlands 1 Galliarte”;
   d. Bass viol: \(CCBd\), f. 5, “Dowlands first galliarde.”

2. **For solo lute.**
   a. “Rough draft”: \(D2\), f. 56, n.t., anon.;
   b. “Finished solo”: \(D2\), f. 95, “Dowlands Galliard.”

3. **For solo cittern.**
   a. CUL Ms, Dd. 4.23, f. 28, “Galliarde / Jo. Dowl.’

The assumptions on which the above interpretation of the sources for Dowland’s galliard rests are as follows. First, there must have been a lute part to go with the other consort parts. Second, Mathew Holmes, who copied three of the consort parts—those for recorder, cittern, and bass viol—, must have had access to such a lute part. Third, the copy of the galliard he entered into \(D2\), f. 60, is that lute part. (The fact that this is the only one of the three versions copied by Holmes into \(D2\) that is found elsewhere—in the Euing and Board lute books—appears to support this view.) Fourth, the messy (“rough draft”) state of the version in \(D2\), f. 56, and the fact that several of its tablature letters have been crossed out suggest that this is Holmes’s first attempt to turn the consort part into a piece for solo lute. Fifth, the neatness of the version in \(D2\), f. 95, the fact that it includes the changes made in the version in \(D2\), f. 56, and that it has varied reprises must make this the “finished solo.” Sixth, the phrases found in the “rough draft” and “finished solo” but not in the “consort” version must have been allotted to one of the other instruments (the bandora?) in an ensemble performance. (See Music Example 6, in which bars 5-6 and 14-15 of the “consort” and “solo” versions are aligned one above the other.) Seventh, the varied reprises found only in the “solo lute” version in \(D2\), f. 95, must be by Holmes himself: they are far too conventional for Dowland; the second reprise is nothing more than a repetition of the strain with an
occasional ornament added; the third is utterly lacking in invention.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 6.

"Dowland’s First Galliard," bars 5-6, 14-15

Dd. 2.11, f.60

Dd. 2.11, f. 95

Dd. 4.23, f. 28

In my view, the “solo lute” version, which Mrs. Poulton has published (CLM, No. 22), is by Dowland-Holmes, and the version found in D2, f. 60, and in G and the Board LB is, like the composer’s setting of “Fortune” (CLM, No. 62), a fugitive consort part.106

Fortunately few of Dowland’s lute pieces come to us with as many textual problems as his “First Galliard.” And few come, as does “Essex’s Galliard,” in sources either published, copied, or autographed by the composer. Most of them are found in one or more manuscripts, copied from sources unknown, by copyists who, even when identified, remain little more than names. Variant forms of the texts are the rule, and for obvious reasons. In contrast with the printed ayres and ensemble pieces, most of Dowland’s music for

106 A score of the consort version is given in App. Q. The numerous cross-relations between cittern and lute parts are typical of the consort literature; there are at least 33 in the Consort Lessons of Morley, not counting repetitions in the varied reprises; see, e.g., No. 12, bars 6, 28, 29, 32, 35, 36 in S. Beck’s ed. of Morley’s work (New York: Peters, 1959), pp. 117-26.
solo lute circulated without his supervision, as its multiformity suggests. In addition, soloistic music lends itself to alteration more readily than ensemble music. A lutenist in solo performance can depart from the composer's text as much as he wishes; so can the singer who accompanies himself. A group of singers reading from separate parts and instrumentalists accompanying them are much more restricted in the degree to which they can individually depart from the written or printed notes; the changes made are likely to be made in writing and beforehand. The more accomplished the solo lutenist the greater the likelihood of his altering the music. When a lutenist was also a composer and famous in both capacities it is doubtful he played his music the same way every time. And when he published his music, which version did he choose? And after it was printed, did the music receive no further "foile and polishing" from the composer when he performed it?

c. Mistakes and Variants.
Less than a quarter of Dowland's music for solo lute survives in copies for which we can assume the composer was responsible, and only one, possibly two, of the pieces and half of another are holograph. Of the remainder, a quarter exists in single copies, the rest in from two to twenty often wildly divergent copies, none of them known to have been approved by the composer, some of them described by him as "falce and vnperfect." When there is neither the composer's original manuscript nor a printed text based upon it, the editor must choose a version (when he has a choice) on the basis of circumstantial and stylistic evidence. The task cannot be made easy by taking the "best" readings of all the sources since conflation merely adds a 20th-century version to the earlier ones, a version lacking in historical interest whatever its attractiveness to performers.

Once a text has been chosen and tidied up, the editor must account, normally in the form of Critical or Textual Notes, for the variant readings found in the other sources. That such Notes can include quite different matter is nicely illustrated by those accompanying Brian Jeffery's and Mrs. Poulton's respective editions of the "Fortune" variations.\textsuperscript{107} Though the same sources are compared, the differences noted are for the most part not the same. The only principle on which the two editors appear to agree is that of not listing obvious errors and minor variants, though what is obvious and minor for one editor is not for the other. From these and comparable notes to other editions of English lute music, it is apparent that the significance of variants has not always been clearly

understood nor the best way of recording them found.

When two versions of a piece are not in agreement, the variants are either: (1) mistakes, e.g., wrong notes, misplaced time signs, omitted bars, etc., or (2) musically acceptable differences. Mistakes are usually easy to spot: e.g., in "Lady Rich's Galliard" (Var, sig. N), the augmented fourth in bar 4, the leap of a minor seventh in bar 27, and the f-natural in bar 32. Occasionally, whether a variant is a mistake or a difference can be a matter of opinion: e.g., in two of the sources for "My Lady Hunsdons Almande" the first chord in bars 1 and 2 is the same; in the other two sources the two chords have different tenor notes. On musical grounds one might argue for retaining the distinctive open-fifth voicing of the chord in bars 1 and 2, as it is in two versions of the piece. In the composer's autograph of the "Almande," in FD, the tenor note is changed from c in bar 1 to a in bar 2. Did Dowland make a mistake? Was the change intentional? Or did he play the chords, sometimes one way, sometimes another? There are arguments to support each view.

Most editors correct the obvious errors without comment, and the scholarly ones list the most important differences, though without attempting to sort them out. Two kinds of differences are found in the sources for English lute music: (1) those that concern the notes to be played, and (2) those that concern how the notes are to be played. Both types are found, e.g., in bars 25-26 of Dowland's variations on "Fortune" as transmitted by six different scribes (see Music Example 7).

Textual variants occur in only six places; and unless "majority usage" determines right and wrong, there are no mistakes in the six sources. In WB, G, and BD the barres—lines that slant across the tablature staff and indicate tones to be sustained—presumably make explicit what is implicit in the other sources, i.e., that the four bass notes should be sustained, for a general principle of lute playing, as expressed in the treatise translated by the Dowlands, was that "the fingers must not be taken from the strings, without it be necessary." In other respects, no two of the sources agree—in pointing, ornamentation, and holding. Perhaps it was common practice to play certain notes dotted (= notes

Mrs. Poulton, JD, p. 156, considers the f natural "startling" but "intentional," despite the fact that (1) in the same source the f is sharpened in the corresponding bar of the strain and (2) of the fourteen sources for the galliard, three of those with varied reprise have f sharp, one an f natural; of those without varied reprise, eight have f sharp in the last bar of the strain, two omit the f. I am convinced the f natural is a mistake.

Dowland displays a certain fondness for the sound of open fifths on the lute (see, e.g., his use of the "battle galliard" theme in CLM, Nos. 20, 40); he also tends to keep the same voicing in repetitions of a chord (see, e.g., CLM, No. 23, bars 33-52, and Nos. 47, 61, 64 passim).

None of them is mentioned by either Jeffery or Poulton.
MUSIC EXAMPLE 7.

"Fortune," bars 25-26

D4:

WB:

G:

W:

BD:

Myn:
inégales) whether the dotting was notated, as in W, BD, and Myn, or not notated, as in D4, WB, and G.

In the critical notes to their respective editions of "Fortune" neither Jeffery nor Mrs. Poulton includes most of the variant playing directions, probably because both editors considered them "minor." They may be unimportant for the editing of Dowland's text; for its performance they are of the greatest interest. The six versions of bars 25-26 of Dowland's variations transmit in more or less detail what I believe are six ways in which the notes were played by contemporaries of the composer. Similar information is available in many of the sources for Dowland's lute music. Such evidence of performance practice is deserving of the closest study.\textsuperscript{111}

d. Playing Directions.

"Comme il y a une grande distance de la Grammaire à la Déclamation, il y en a aussi une infinie entre la Tabulature, et la façon de bien-jouer."\textsuperscript{112}

How easily a playing direction can be mistaken for another type of textual variant is illustrated in two editions of "My Lady Hunsdons Allmande," one by David Lumsden, the other by Mrs. Poulton.\textsuperscript{113} Though the piece is found in FD, written out, it is generally agreed, by Dowland himself,\textsuperscript{114} Mrs. Poulton has chosen the version in D5 (one of the Holmes manuscripts) for the CLM, since she considers the Folger text "much less satisfactory." Among the numerous places in which the two sources differ is the following (see Music Example 8).

**MUSIC EXAMPLE 8.**

"My Lady Hunsdons Allmande," bar 12.

\begin{align*}
\text{(a) D5:} & \quad \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{b} \\
\text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{b} \\
\text{b} & \text{b} & \text{b} & \text{b} & \text{c} \\
\end{array} \\
\text{(b) FD:} & \quad \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{b} \\
\text{b} & \text{b} & \text{b} & \text{b} & \text{c} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{111} Reporting performance variants in the Revisionsbericht is a most inefficient way of dealing with this type of information, even when the number of sources is small. It is often easier to account for differences between sources by reproducing the original tablature of the passages involved than by attempting to describe them verbally, as the "Textual Notes" to CLM illustrate. When the variant readings of several sources are mixed together, as in both the Jeffery and Poulton notes to "Fortune," the individuality of the versions (i.e., performances) is obscured.

\textsuperscript{112} Fr, Couperin, L'Art du toucher le clavecin, Préface.


\textsuperscript{114} For a fac. of the FD autograph and a study of the whole of the so-called "Dowland Lute Book," see this Journal IX (1976), pp. 5-29.
Normally Mrs. Poulton does not conflate sources; however, in this instance she has incorporated the \textit{FD} reading of bar 12 into her edition of the \textit{DS} text (see \textit{CLM}, No. 54, bar 12); the reason is not given. Lumsden's edition of the piece is also a conflation; his editorial policy for the \textit{Anthology} is to provide "a composite version of all the available sources."

The tablature of "My Lady Hunsdons Allmande" in \textit{FD}, f. 22v, is unusual for its untidy appearance and for the number of barres—twenty-two!—inserted; the two Cambridge versions of the "Allmande" have only two barres each, the British Library version five. At one point in the \textit{FD} text two barres occur together, one above the other; at another the barres descend, presumably to indicate high tones to be sustained\textsuperscript{115}; and in bar 14 five appear, one after the other, thus (see Music Example 9b).

\textbf{MUSIC EXAMPLE 9.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example9}
\end{figure}

Clearly the person who copied the piece into the Folger manuscript was at pains to indicate which notes were to be held, as though illustrating the rule, quoted earlier, "the fingers must not be taken from the strings, without it be necessary."\textsuperscript{116} The technique of "holding" was considered important "because," in the words of the Dowland translation of Besard's treatise, "nothing is more sweete, then when those parts (the mothers of \textit{Harmonie}) are rightly combined, which cannot be if the fingers be sodainely taken from the strings: for that voyce perisheth sodainely, when the stopping is

\textsuperscript{115}Descending barres are uncommon in English sources; however, a great many occur in \textit{G} and \textit{38}.

\textsuperscript{116}\textit{Var}, sig. Cv. The same point of view is expressed in Le Roy's \textit{A Briefe and easye instru[c]tion to learne the tableture, to conducte and dispose thy hande unto the Lute}, trans. J. Alford (London, 1568), f. 10v: "the knowledge of the saied barre is so necessarie, that hauyng founde out, and exercised the same, thou shalte not neede to remoue, but those
A comparison of bar 12 (Music Example 8b) with its varied reprise in bar 14 (Music Example 9b) makes it immediately apparent that the intabulator was indicating, first detached play, then "close or covert play," a variation in execution to accompany the variation in the notes. In other words, the FD text appears to record something about the way someone wished the notes to be sounded. If, as seems likely, that someone was the composer himself, the information is of particular interest for the lutenist who wishes to play "My Lady Husdons Allmande."

To incorporate only one of the FD playing directions into the D5 text, as Mrs. Poulton has done in her edition of the "Allmande" (Lumsden does not reproduce the tablature), is to take the antecedent without the consequent: where are the barres in bar 14? The arguments against making a conflation of the notes of the four versions of the piece apply equally against making a conflation of their respective playing directions. Moreover, Dowland himself would probably have disapproved of what his editor has done, but for a different reason. He seems to have been of two minds concerning the way his music should be notated: in his teaching, to judge from the evidence of FD, he could be quite explicit in indicating how the notes should be played; in his published music, however, he seems to have preferred leaving the interpretation to others: with the exception of the seven barres in the "Lenvoy" of one song—barres not put there by the composer, I am convinced 118—no pointings, barres, or ornamentation signs occur in any of the tablatures published by Dowland or his son.

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117 Var, sig. Cv.

118 The presence of barres in the printed tablature of "Tosse not my soule" (Second Booke, No. 20), and the fact that this song was a last-minute substitute for "Finding in fields my Silvia all alone" suggests that the manuscript the typesetter followed was either one the composer had not prepared as press copy or one prepared by someone else, perhaps Wilbye or Edward Johnson.
Arguments against the view that *FD* ever belonged to Dowland, and for the view that, instead, it was a student's notebook are offered in a study printed in the last issue of this *Journal*; here I wish to discuss reasons for thinking Dowland's contributions, verbal and musical, to the manuscript were made in connection with giving lute lessons to one of the former owners of the volume.

A peculiarity of *FD* is that those responsible for the entablatured music omitted titles and composers' names for some of the pieces, and other hands supplied this information. During the time Dowland was associated with the manuscript he must have discovered that it contained, unascribed, several of his works and therefore he laid claim by signing his name to six of them. He did not sign the three pieces already ascribed to him, nor did he add his name to the unascribed copy of "winter gomps" (i.e., "Mrs. Winter's Jump") on f. 5v, possibly because his pupil did not study the piece with him; it comes near the beginning of the volume, in the midst of easy pieces, and by the time the lessons began the owner of *FD* may have been ready for more demanding music. Dowland also

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119 The term lesson had at least four different meanings for Elizabethan musicians: (1) systematic instruction (Morley, *A Plaine & Easie Intro.*., p. 2, "I am determined not to depart till I have one lesson in Musick"); (2) an exercise or teaching piece (Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons*, 1609, sig. B2, "I will God willing set you downe some lessons fit for you to learne"); (3) any piece used for purposes of study (Var, sig. Bv, "Chuse one Lesson thy selfe according to thy capacitie, which giue not ouer by looking over others, or stragling from one to another, till thou haue got it reasonably perfect"); Robinson, *Schoole of Musick*, sig. C2v, "First see what manner of lesson it is, whether it bee a set Song, Innomine, Pauen, Gallard, Almaine, Igue, Lauolta, Coranta, Country dance, or Toy"); and (4) any piece of music (Rosseter, *Lessons for Consort*, 1609). The Dowlands probably meant (3) when they entitled their anthology *Varietie of Lute-lessons*, and John Dowland (4) when he referred to his own works as lute-lessons (in *The First Booke*, sig. A1; *The Second Booke*, t.p.; and the *Lachrimae*, sig. A2v).

120 Cyril Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy* (1609), IV.i.

121 IX (1976), pp. 5-29. To the information assembled there can be added the following: (1) a different arr. of No. 23, ["The Friar and the Nun"], is in *JP*, f. 34, "A Toye," anon.; (2) No. 73, a titleless, anonymous strain, appears to be the earliest version yet found of the tune to which Burns wrote the words of "My love, she's but a lassie yet"; see J. Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, III (1790; facs. Hatboro, Penn.: Folklore Associates, 1962), No. 225; see also J. Glen, *Early Scottish Melodies* (Edinburgh, 1900), pp. 133-34.

122 *FD*, ff. 9v, 11v, 12v, 13v, 16.

123 *FD*, ff. 6, 10v, 18v.
neglected to sign his own copy of “What if a day” (which leaves in doubt whether he composed this rather undistinguished setting of the ballad tune) and the incomplete version of “Mrs. Clifton’s Almaine” (presumably his name would have been written at the end of the piece—as are the names of composers elsewhere in the manuscript—he had he finished copying it).

In addition to writing his name six times in the manuscript, Dowland contributed the following music to FD:

1. f. 22v, the first half of “My Lady Hunsdons Allmande,” seventh course tuned to “D”;
2. loc. cit., the second half of the “Allmande,” seventh course tuned to “F”;
3. f. 23, the first two strains of “What if a day”;
4. loc. cit., the third strain of “What if a day,” the note-values halved;
5. ff. 84v, 86, four variations on a five-bar bass taken from the first strain of “What if a day,” f. 23;
6. f. 23v, the first half of “Mrs. Clifton’s Almaine”;
7. f. 14, eight tablature letters to replace those obliterated on the opposite page in Hand D’s copy of “Mr. Smith’s Almaine.”

Reasons for thinking that the FD text of “My Lady Hunsdons Allmande” was written out during a lute lesson are: (1) evidence of haste in the copying; (2) omission of notes found in other texts of the piece, perhaps omitted because they were not essential to the point of the lesson; (3) profusion of playing directions; (4) repetition, found only in FD, of the final section (bars 12-15), possibly because this passage contains a technical problem the teacher wished to emphasize; and (5) the tuning of the seventh course to “D” for bars 1-11 and to “F” for bars 12-25, an unusual procedure, due, Mrs. Poulton believes, to Dowland’s having “forgotten which tuning he was writing for,”

but which I interpret otherwise. Lapse of memory appears unlikely, for only one bar separates the use of VIIid and VIIa for the pitch “F.” I believe the piece was written out in two installments (during different lessons?), the first half for a lute with the seventh course tuned to “D,” the second half for a lute with the seventh course tuned to “F,” and find support for this conjecture in the marked change to be observed (in the middle of the fourth tablature staff) in Dowland’s handwriting, precisely where the switch from the “D” to “F” tuning takes place. The change in tuning may even have been intentional, to give the student practice in producing the pitch “F,” first on a stopped, then on an open string.

The next piece in *FD* is Dowland's copy of "What if a day or a month or a year." In several ways the writing of it resembles that of "My Lady Hunsdons Allmande": it too appears to have been copied in two installments, hastily, in part messily, and contains, two-thirds of the way through, a change in notation comparable to the change in the tuning of the seventh course midway through the "Allmande." At the beginning of the fifth tablature staff, at a point where a marked variation in handwriting occurs, the time values are halved, so that a semibreve of the first eighteen bars of the piece equals a minim in the last eight bars, a minim equals a crotchet, etc. The change probably has nothing to do with written-out tempo variation (taking the third of three strains twice as fast as the first two makes no sense), nor need the halving of values from one bar to the next be due to an oversight on Dowland's part; more likely it was pedagogically motivated, to give the student practice in changing the counting unit (\(\frac{1}{2}\) minim) without changing the speed (\(\frac{1}{2}\) minim).

Later in the manuscript, on ff. 84v and 86, there seems to be additional evidence that Dowland was supplying exercises for someone who required practice in reading the symbols used to indicate duration, the most recondite aspect of lute notation for anyone without previous acquaintance with staff notation. This evidence comprises four variations on the bass of the first strain of "What if a day": No. 1 in staff notation, Nos. 2-4 in lute tablature. The time signs for Nos. 2 and 3 are the standard stems found in the rest of the manuscript (a table of them is inserted between Nos. 2 and 3 on f. 84v); those used in No. 4 are the time signs of staff notation, combined with tablature only this once in *FD*. Sequentially read, the original bass and its variations provide a systematic survey of time signs, viz.:

- The original bass: mostly minims;
- Variation 1: mostly minims and crotchets;
- Variation 2: mostly crotchets and quavers;
- Variation 3: mostly quavers and semiquavers;
- Variation 4: minims, crotchets, and quavers.

On the verso of the folio containing "What if a day" Dowland wrote out the first strain and reprise (bars 1-8) of "Mrs. Clifton's...

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125 Dowland's pupil may be among the amateurs who inscribed bits of tablature here and there in *FD* and either left the time signs out altogether (ff. 3, 57v, 85v, 86v, 87, 87v), included a few badly drawn ones (f. 6), or managed the time signs but not barlines (ff. 35v, 83v), and sometimes wrote the time signs in the margin of a page (ff. 4v, 5v).

126 Facs. of ff. 84v, 86 in this *Journal*, IX, pls. 5 & 6. For an account of the ballad tune, see D. Greer, "What if a day"—An Examination of the Words and Music," *Music & Letters*, XLIII (1962), 304-19. In *FD* the tune appears in two forms: in a plain setting by one of the amateurs (Hand C) on f. 87; and elaborated in the setting written out by Dowland on f. 23.
"Almaine" and no more. Perhaps this was the beginning of a new lesson which for some reason was left unfinished, possibly because the lessons terminated at this point. One reason for thinking it a lesson is the marked contrast between the note values prevailing in the strain and those prevailing in its reprise. A similar contrast was achieved in "What if a day" by changing the counting unit from crotchet to quaver, that in "Mrs. Clifton's Almaine" is achieved by retaining the crotchet as counting unit and changing the time values, from mostly crotchets in the strain to mostly semiquavers in the varied reprise.

The only other example of Dowland's handwriting in FD (signatures apart) suggests that, in addition to providing exercises for a student, he sometimes taught pieces copied into the manuscript by others: on f. 14, foot of the page, he has supplied the eight tablature letters rendered illegible on the opposite page by an ink blot in bar 43 of Hand D's copy of "Mr. Smith's Almaine."

If, as I believe, Dowland was providing lesson material for a pupil, does anything he wrote in FD provide good copy for the editor of his music? For the unicum "What if a day" the question is academic (we are not even certain the piece is Dowland's; I suspect it is something he dashed off in the course of a lesson); for the other pieces it is not. "My Lady Hunsdons Allmande" comes to us in four versions, no two of them identical, yet none completely independent, the variants mostly of the sort typical of Elizabethan lute music transmitted in more than one manuscript. Where differences occur, the texts in D5, D9, and 64 more often agree with each other than with the text in FD. A striking instance of this three-to-one relationship is the point at which three of the versions end and the FD version continues (see Music Example 10).

**MUSIC EXAMPLE 10.**
As noted earlier, for the CLM text of the “Allmande” Mrs. Poulton has taken, not the one written out by the composer, but the one in D5, copied by Mathew Holmes; to it she has added two notes and a playing direction from FD and has altered the title to conform with that of the anonymous copy of the piece in 64, which has “puffe” rather than “allmande.” Beyond declaring the FD copy “less satisfactory,” Mrs. Poulton gives no reasons for preferring the singing-man Holmes’s text and an anonymous copyist’s title to the composer’s text and title. Nor does she mention the brief passage which Dowland crossed out in the FD copy of the piece, though it is musically more interesting than the one substituted for it (see Music Example 11). One may read the cancelled notes as evidence that the “Allmande” was being composed as it was written down, and that the more difficult form of the cadence in bar 4 was rejected in favor of one easier to play; one may also conjecture that Dowland was writing out previously composed music, made a mistake, and corrected it, or that in the act of copying the piece he altered the passage causa pulchritudinis; etc. Whatever the reason, the rejected form of the cadence is closer to the one in the other copies of the work than to the one the composer substituted for it in FD.

**MUSIC EXAMPLE 11.**

“My Lady Hunsdons Allmande,” bar 4.

(a) FD, first version:

(b) FD, revised version:

(c) D5, D9, 64 version:

\[127\text{CLM, No. 54, differs from the D5 text of the “Allmande" as follows: bar 2, the first chord, not IIIa but IIId; bar 9, [IVd] from FD; barre omitted; bar 12, time signs from FD; bar 14, D5 has Vc, not Va; bar 16, [IIIa] from FD, D9, 64.}\]
The first strain of "Mrs. Clifton's Almaine" is found in three sources: *FD*, *G*, and *D9*. The *G* and *D9* texts are almost identical; between them they differ from the *FD* text in fifteen places. Only *FD* and *G* provide varied reprises of the first strain, the one quite different from the other. For the *CLM* version Mrs. Poulton has combined bars 1-8 (= A A') of *FD* with bars 9-16 (= B B') of *D9*. Despite the qualitative difference between *FD*'s A' and *D9*'s B', the editor does not discuss the possibility of the two halves not belonging together.

As noted earlier, Dowland not only signed Hand D's copy of "Mr. Smith's Almaine" but appears to have supplied eight tablature letters to take the place of eight illegible ones. Since he added nothing else and made no corrections, we must assume he approved of Hand D's copy, which differs from the one in the *Varietie of Lute-lessons* (a version Dowland must also have approved of) in forty-seven details, most of them involving bass notes and chord tones present in one source and not in the other, nothing substantive, but the sort of textual disagreement over which editors fret. In other words, the composer appears to have given his imprimatur to two slightly different versions of the Almaine. For the *CLM* text Mrs. Poulton has chosen the one in *Var*, presumably because she believes that Dowland provided "a final and revised version" of those of his works included in that anthology; nevertheless, in seven places she has proposed small changes (clearly distinguished by being placed in square brackets) in the *Var* version, each time bringing it into agreement with the *FD* reading. What led her to incorporate the readings of one version into another is not stated.

The ways in which Mrs. Poulton has made—and not made—use of the *FD* texts of Dowland's pieces suggests that she finds them sometimes good and at other times, if not bad, then exceptional; and though the *FD* texts were written out or signed by the composer, she has at times preferred variant texts, in other sources, copied by (usually) unidentified hands. If, as I believe, *FD* was a student's notebook, many of its exceptional features are easily explained; but the question asked above is made more difficult to answer. For it now requires us to distinguish between the work of Dowland the composer and that of Dowland the lute teacher.

f. The Revising of the First Booke.

Some scholars believe that Dowland revised *The First Booke* when it was printed for the fourth time (in 1606). Among them are Dart and Fortune, who incorporated the revisions into their edition of the four-voice ayres,\(^{128}\) and Mrs. Poulton, who has made one of

the revisions—the rewriting of the accompaniment to the song, "Can shee excuse my wrongs," bar 2, to avoid a clash of b-natural in the voice part with b-flat in the lute part—the subject of special study and concluded that an error probably exists in the tablature of the earlier editions of the song.\footnote{129}{See "John Dowland's 'Can She Excuse My Wrongs'—B Flat or Natural?," \textit{Lute Society Journal}, IX (1967), 41-44; also \textit{JD}, pp. 223-25.}

There are several reasons to question whether the composer was responsible for the revisions. He does not receive credit for them from Humfrey Lownes, the publisher. (Once the manuscript of \textit{The First Booke} had been sold to Peter Short in 1597 and the first edition seen through the press, Dowland's responsibility for the work probably ceased.) Had Dowland made the revisions, one might expect that fact to be advertised on the title page. Second, the fourth edition was printed in 1606 and until March 10th of that year the composer was in Denmark; the date of his return to England is not known; whatever it was, he probably had more important things to do than revise his \textit{First Booke}—if, in fact, the fourth edition had not already appeared. Third, the rewriting of the lute part, bar 2, of the song, "Can shee excuse my wrongs," is inconsistent with Dowland's handling of the same passage elsewhere: in two arrangements, one published by the composer two years before the fourth edition appeared, the other published by his son four years after, the simultaneous cross-relation is removed by flattening the b, as it is in Hand D's copy of the Galliard in \textit{FD} which Dowland signed and in most of the English sources notated in tablature. That most of the continental sources notated in tablature retain the clash of $b^\flat/b^\natural$, as do the English exceptions, merely reminds that in questions of \textit{musica ficta} one should not be dogmatic.

We can only guess who revised the musical texts for Lownes. That the editing of music was not always left to press drudges is clear from the printing history of the \textit{Second Booke}, whose publisher left the manuscript with Edward Johnson and John Wilbye "to peruse and correct" and, later, deliver to the printer.\footnote{130}{PRO, Req. 2-202-63 (2).} Whether the editor of the fourth edition was as well-informed musically as Johnson and Wilbye depends, in part, on how one evaluates the changes made. Those in the voice parts are mostly trifling, as the critical notes to the Dart and Fortune edition show. Those in the lute accompaniments are more numerous but also small—a note added or suppressed here and there, an occasional slight enlivening of the texture, at most a fleshing out of brief passages (see Music Example 12, in which the 1597 and 1606 versions of bar 9-10 of the song, "Unquiet thoughts," are aligned one above the other). Any
professional musician could have made them.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 12.

One might conclude that Lownes’s reason for issuing a revised version of The First Booke is to be found in the declaration, “Newly Corrected and amended,” which appears on the title page: in publishing a well-known and popular work for the fourth time in nine years he wished to advertise the contents as refurbished; however, the same words appear, with less justification, on the title pages of the second and third printings as well. The fact that Lownes’s reason is not known is the only argument I find for thinking Dowland may have made the changes.

g. Apt for Voice(s) and/or Instrument(s).

Dowland is usually described as a “lutenist song writer,” despite the fact that the description is misleading. Strictly speaking, none of his songs was published in a form for solo voice and lute. For what combinations of voice(s) and/or instrument(s) they were intended is far from clear, though a number of scholars have tried to find out. The problem arises when one attempts to reconcile the

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131 Most notably U. Olshausen, Das lautenbegleitete Sololied in England um 1600 (Frankfurt am Main, 1963), Chapter XI, “Aufführungspraxis.”
title-page descriptions of the songs with the different ways they appear in printed books and manuscripts.

For example, the songs in Dowland’s First Booke are described on the title pages of the five editions as “so made that all the partes together, or either of them severally may be song to the Lute, Orpherian or Viol de gambo.” The descriptions found on the title pages of Dowland’s other song books are fully as ambiguous. In whatever way the words are interpreted, however, the principle expressed seems clear: the combination of voice(s) and/or instrument(s) is to be determined by the performers themselves, not by the printed music.1 32

This freedom of choice is reflected in the ways in which the songs have been transmitted, which can be epitomized thus:

I. with the parts joined
   a. in a short score,
   b. in a vocal score;
II. with the parts separated
   a. on the same page or on adjacent pages,
   b. in part books.

I.a. Assembling all or the most important voice parts of a song in tablature (= the intabulation so characteristic of 16th-century lute music) or on the two staves of a keyboard score is not among the possibilities mentioned on the title page of The First Booke: yet in a manuscript of the 1630’s twenty-two songs taken from Dowland’s first and second books are found in keyboard score, without text except for one, “My thoughts are wingde with hops,” for which the words are written between the two staves.1 33

I.b. Though performance by one voice and an accompanying instrument is among the options offered by the title-page wording of The First Booke, only three sources transmit any of Dowland’s songs in vocal score: two (the Turpyn LB and BL Add. Ms. 15117) provide

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132 “Nigel Fortune is of the opinion that “the phrase ‘or either of them severally’ is clearly absurd—nobody was expected to sing an alto part, for instance, as a solo” (New Oxford History of Music, IV, 203). Perhaps no one sang an alto part as a solo, but musicians on the continent sang bass parts, sometimes even tenor parts, to instrumental accompaniment, and there is no reason Englishmen may not have done the same; see, e.g., Fuenllana’s Orphénica Lyra (Seville, 1554), which includes many intabulations of motets, madrigals, etc., with either the bass or, less often, tenor part so notated that it can be sung by the vihuelist; also Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Landau-Finaly Ms. Mus. 2, one of Galilei’s Ms., which contains madrigals arr. for solo bass and lute (see C. Palisca, “Vincenzo Galilei’s Arrangements for Voice and Lute,” Essays in Musicology, ed. Reese & Snow, pp. 207-32). Safford Cape and the Pro Musica Antiqua recorded The First Booke for Period Records, SPL 727, “in accordance with Dowland’s indications and suggestions, in divers settings, by a vocal ensemble, a broken consort of instruments, solo voices, and the Lute.”

133 Paris, Bibl. du Conservatoire Ms. Rés. 1186, ff. 6-11v, 13-13v, 58v-59v, 77-78, copied sometime during the second quarter of the 17th century, probably by R. Creighton. A short score of “Sleepe wayward thoughts,” without text, is in BL Add. 15117, f. 22v.
a singing part in staff notation, a lute accompaniment in tablature; one (Christ Church Ms. 439) provides a cantus with text and a bass without text, both in staff notation.¹³⁴

II.a. All of Dowland's published songs were printed in a way that combines I.b (a vocal score made up of a singing part and a lute accompaniment) with one or more additional parts, the vocal score placed on the left-hand page of an opening, the additional part(s) on the right-hand page.¹³⁵ The manuscript sources do not have this format. For example, in Thomas Myriell's manuscript anthology, which contains seventeen of Dowland's songs, the four voice parts of each song are scattered over the two pages of an opening and the lute part omitted, so the distinctive combination of vocal score and separate parts is lacking.¹³⁶ And in Christ Church Ms. 439, p. 46, the copy of "Sleepe wayward thoughts" consists of a cantus part with text and a bass part without text written in score (= a form of I.b.), followed by a translation of the original lute accompaniment into lyra-viol idiom (= a form of II.a); whether the bass and lyra-viol parts are alternate forms of accompaniment or meant to be combined is not indicated.

II.b. The "Lamentatio Henrici Noel" is the only work of Dowland's that survives solely in part-book form. Isolated voice parts of a few of the secular songs, copied from the printed books, are occasionally encountered: e.g., a few bass parts from The First Booke in a manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum, cantus and tenor parts in one of the Panmure manuscripts, etc.¹³⁷

In summary: the song books of Dowland provide the raw materials, their title pages invite the performer(s) to make use of them in a variety of ways, and the manuscript sources prove that the

¹³⁴The Turpyn Book of Lute Songs, facs. (Leeds: Boethius, 1973), ff. 1v-4; Add. 15117, ff. 7, 15v. None of Dowland's songs has been found in a format like that of BL Add. 4900, with the mensurally notated voice part placed on the left-hand page of an opening, the entablatured lute part on the right-hand page.

¹³⁵D.W. Krummel, English Music Printing, 1553-1700 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975), p. 106, states that "table-book layout," i.e., the arrangement of voice parts on a page or opening so that several performers can read their respective parts from different sides of the page, "is seen for the first time in the Alison psalm book" of 1599. It is, in fact, found two years earlier, in Dowland's First Booke, and still earlier in English manuscripts, e.g., BL Add. Ms. 31390, "A booke of In Nomines & Other solfainge Songs ... for voyces or Instrumentes," and Add. Ms. 4900, the earliest-known collection of English lute songs. Whether "table-book layout" originated on the continent is an open question.


¹³⁷Fitzwilliam Ms. 52.D.25, ff. 61v-65; Panmure Ms. 11, ff. 6v, 7v, 9, 23v-24, 30v-31, 33, 34. None of Dowland's songs has been found with the singing part in one Ms., the lute part in another, the arrangement used for the Paston lute-song Ms.
invitation was accepted; but the evidence offers no comprehensive view of this aspect of performance practice, only tantalizing glimpses of it.

In addition to musical sources, verbal sources contain occasional hints of how Dowland’s songs were performed. John Ramsay’s recommendation for the musical education of his son—“from .7. to .10. to learne to playe on ye Lute [shoulder note: see Doulands booke], & singe to it with ye Dyttye”—confirms what is always assumed: that the songs were sometimes performed as vocal solos with lute accompaniment. 138 So does a passage in the description of the Sudeley Castle entertainment of 1592, during which the song, “My heart and tongue were twinnes,” presumably in Dowland’s setting, was performed by “one that sung” and “one that plaid.”139 But when Hales sang “My golden locks time hath to siluer turnde” during the tilt-yard entertainment of 1590 it was, according to the chronicler, to a “musicke so sweete and secret, as every one thereat greatly marveiled,” produced, most likely, by an instrumental ensemble rather than by a solo lutenist.140 Other sources reveal that certain of Dowland’s songs—or, rather, their tunes—were taken over by popular musicians: e.g., “Frog Galliard” for the (unaccompanied?) singing of broadside poetry,141 and “Lachrymae” by the fiddlers who played during the interval in Beaumont’s play, The Knight of the Burning Pestle. These are all the scraps of verbal evidence available and none of it tells us how Susan Risley, John Marsham and the rest of Dowland’s contemporaries who owned copies of The First Booke performed the songs it contains.

138 Bodleian Ms. Douce 280, f. 137v. Many, like Ramsay, must have considered “singing to the Lute with the d’tie . . . more pleasant than the rest,” as Hoby expressed the idea in his translation of Castiglione’s Book of the Courtyer (Everyman Ed., p. 101), but evidence to prove it, like the following passage from Edward Paston’s will, is hard to find: “Item wheras I have many lute bookes prickt in Ciphers after the Spanish and Italian fashion and some in letters of A.B.C. accordinge to the English fashion whereof divers are to bee plaid vp the lute alone and have noe singinge partes and divers other lute bookes which have singing parts set to them which must be sung to the lute and are bound in very good bookes and tied vp with the lute parts whereof some have two singinge bookes some three and some fower . . . .” (P. Brett, “Edward Paston [1550-1630] : A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection,” Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, IV [1964], 66-67). Though numerous Elizabethans are known to have studied both singing and lute playing—e.g., the young Arthur Throckmorton, who paid 8l. a month for lute lessons in Padua during the summer of 1581, first to one “Bergamasco,” then to a “Romano,” and later paid 10½ juliols a month to study singing with Vincenzo Galilei in Florence (A.L. Rowe, Ralegh and the Throckmortons [London: Macmillan, 1962], pp. 90, 92)—, rarely is an individual said to have combined the two arts, however much we may suspect he or she did.


140 Ibid., III, 49.

141 Concerning the use of “Frog’s Galliard” for the singing of ballads, see App. R.
What the composer's preferred combination of voice(s) and/or instrument(s) was, assuming he had one, is not likely to be discovered. As seen above, the wording of the title pages is ambiguous and permissive; the musical contents of The First Booke are without a single playing direction; none of the manuscripts in which versions of the songs appear can be connected with the composer, nor can the way in which "My golden locks" was performed. The one occasion on which Dowland appears to have taken a part in a performance of one of his songs may have been in some ways exceptional, since it took place during an outdoor entertainment for the Queen and an actor impersonating Apollo and a tree separated singer and lutenist.

Except for A Pilgrimes Solace, whose "Musical Harmonie of 3, 4. and 5. parts" is "to be sung and plaid with the Lute and Viols," we do not even know which instrument(s) the composer preferred for the accompaniment of most of his songs. The contents of The First Booke, as noted above, "may be song to the Lute, Orpharian or [my italics] Viol de gambo," those of the Second Booke are provided "with Tableture for the Lute or Orpharian, with the [obligatory?] Violl de Gamba," and those of The Third and Last Booke were "composed to sing to the Lute, Orpharian, or Viols [my italics]." Clearly there is no justification for describing the contents of the four books as lutenist songs. If one generalization about the performance of these songs may be hazarded, it is that frequently the bass was reinforced by the viol.

Perhaps, as some scholars have conjectured, the vagueness of the title-page wordings was born of a desire on the part of those responsible for the publication of the song books "to cater for all contingencies." It may also have been the composer's way of acknowledging that there was more than one acceptable way to perform his songs.

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142 Did Dowland really wish the first eight songs of the Second Booke to be performed as printed, i.e., as cantus-bass duets to lute/orpharian and viol de gamba accompaniment? Though there are continental precedents for it, in Adriansen's Pratum Musicum of 1584 and Novum Pratum of 1592, and though Valerius reproduced two of Dowland's songs as cantus-bass duets in the NGK of 1626, pp. 166-67, 216-17, the character of the texts seems to argue against it; so do many of the word repetitions required if the bass parts are sung (see, e.g., the first phrase of "I saw my Lady weep"). Perhaps it was Eastland or one of his music editors, not Dowland, who turned instrumental basses into singing parts. In the Third and Last Booke, also printed while the composer was abroad, four songs are similarly printed, but this time without words under the bass parts.

3. The Index of Works.

Mrs. Poulton’s book ends with an “Index of Works,” not a full-dress catalogue, but the next best thing. The groundwork for the Index was laid by Rimbault, Eitner, Newton, Boetticher, Lumsden, Doughtie and others. To what they had catalogued, Mrs. Poulton has added substantially. Dowland was not a prolific composer—there are 214 pieces listed in the Index (17 of them doubtful attributions), to which 5 lute pieces found in the recently discovered Board LB have been added (see CLM, p. 316)—, but the dishevelled state in which most of his lute music comes to us makes up in textual problems for what it lacks in quantity; it is in sorting out this part of Dowland’s oeuvre that Mrs. Poulton has made her most welcome contribution and the one that probably took the most time.

No first attempt at an “Index of Works” is likely to be complete however many hands work at it; with a composer as peripatetic as Dowland, the chances of new sources turning up are excellent. There follow comments on a few pieces, and some additions to the Index, most of them apparently arrangements of Dowland’s music by other hands. Included are items mentioned in the text of Mrs. Poulton’s book but for some reason omitted from the Index.

LUTE MUSIC.144

LM 1. A Fantasia.

Brahe, ff. 27v-31, “Fuga.”

Concerning the opening theme, see p. 32, above.

144 To the abbreviations listed in JD, pp. 477-79, the following are added:

Brahe


CCB e

CUL Ms. Dd. 4.23, for cittern.

ChCh 437

Oxford, Christ Church Ms. 437, for keyboard.

Dre9

New York Public Library, Drexel 5609, for keyboard, late 18th-century, copied by John Hawkins, mostly from Paris 86 and BL Add. Ms. 10337.

Eys


Fitz52


Hain

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 18.7 Aug. 2° (the Hainhofer LB); see J. Sutton, this Journal, I (1968), 5-7.
2. **Forlorn Hope Fancy.**\(^{145}\)

Possibly a descriptive piece, like Munday’s “Faire Wether” (FVB, No. 3). See T. Blount, *Glossographia* (London, 1656), s.v. “Forelorn Hope,” where the expression is defined as “a party of Souldiers sent before the whole body of the Army to skirmish with the Enemy,” what “the French call... Enfans perdues.” Such a “program” accounts for the slow (stealthy) opening of the fancy and its fast (precipitate) ending.

LM 4. **Farewell.**

Christopher Tye used similar titles for his numerous settings of the “In Nomine” cantus firmus in BL Add. Ms. 31390, e.g., “Trust,” “My death,” “Follow me,” “Howld fast,” etc.

LM 5. **[A Fancy]**

30, f. 33, first four bars, followed by the words “This before,” clearly a reference to ff. 17v-18, where the entire piece is found.

A large № heads the fragment and another the preceding piece on the page, a “Galliard” by J.D. (= CLM, No. 24). Perhaps the scribe was indicating that the piece on ff. 17v-18, whose first strain is pavan-like, can be played before the galliard on f. 33. The first bars of CLM, No. 5 and No. 24 are very similar, probably derive from the ayre, “Awake sweet loue”; see also the first strain of CLM, No. 17, “Lady Russell’s Pavan.”

LM 8. **Piper’s Pavan.**

*Linz*, f. 21, “Pauana”; *CCB e*, f. 27v, “Dowlands paun” (cittern); *Eys*, f. 57, “Quis vis ingenius” (keyboard); *EUL La.III.488*, pp. 46-47, “Doulandis pauane” (cantus); *Panil, f. 7*, “Duland his paun callit gaudean” (cantus); *Mel*, f. 22v, “Dawlan pauen” (bass)—Mrs. Poulton lists the last two sources, but does not indicate that each contains a

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145 Curtis, *Sweetinck’s Keyboard Music*, pp. 140-43, discusses this and other of Dowland’s fantasias and the possibility of the Englishman’s music having influenced the Dutch master’s.
single voice part.

Though Digory Piper, privateer turned pirate (see *Lute Society Journal*, IV [1962], 17-22), was in difficulty with the authorities in 1586, he appears to have weathered the storm and to have been among “such Captains as are chosen by Sir Thomas Laiton to accompany him in his Journey to Essex, Suffolk [and] Norfolk” in April, 1588, to have been named one of the “Marshallmen” (i.e., Martial men) the same year, and “appointed to attend on the Lord Steward,” i.e., the Earl of Leicester, in July of the same year (see HMC, *Fifteenth Report*, App., Part V, “Book of Musters, 1588,” pp. 34, 47, 52); all hands were needed in the year of the Armada. Piper’s ship, the Sweepstakes, may be the one referred to in the ballad of “The George Aloe and the Sweepstake,” the second part of which was registered on 19 March 1611 (see F. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, IX [1894], 133-35).


LM 10. *Solus cum sola.*
*L*, pp. 104-05, “Pauana 17.”

For an earlier use of the Latin phrase, see *Motetti novi e chanzoni franciose a quatro sopra doi* (Venice, 1520), ff. 26v-27, “Tout a par moy. Canon ien ay mon sol. Canon solus cum sola.”


146 Concerning the editing of this piece, see App. P.
arrangements two sets of variations in *FLH* and describes them as anonymous; both are by J. J. van Eyck.

Mrs. Poulton, *JD*, 124-25, speculates on the source of the motif with which this pavan/song begins and suggests it may have been a passage in Cauleray’s chanson, “En esperant”; R. Henning, “A Possible Source of Lachrimae?”, *Lute Society Journal*, XVI (1974), 65-67, has proposed a passage in Cipriano’s madrigal, “Quando lieta sperai,” as the source; there have been other proposals. Why Dowland, who was quite fond of this motif (it occurs, in slightly different rhythmic guise, at the beginning of three other songs) required an outside source for it is not discussed. If one is to be proposed, then the beginning of “Smith’s Pavan” in *BL* Ms. Royal Appendix 74, f. 37, dating from ca. 1570, is recommended (see Music Example 13). Of course, the tones a g f e also form the basis of most romanescas discants; see, e.g., the “Gaillarde romanesc” in *A Briefe and easye instruction* (London, 1568), f. 31v (publ. Le Roy, *Fantasies et danses*, ed. P. Jansen [Paris, 1962], p. 19).

**MUSIC EXAMPLE 13.** See page 82.

Both A. Brown, *MB*, XXVIII, 194, and W. Edwards, in his notes to the facs. of the *Lachrimae* (Leeds: Boethius, 1974), call attention to the frequent pairing of the *Lachrimae* Pavan with James Harding’s Galliard; see, e.g., *LHC*, ff. 8v-9v; *FVB*, Nos. 121-22, arr. by Byrd; *Dre5*, pp. 186-89.

**LM 19. Piper’s Galliard.**

*CCB e*, f. 4v, “Pipers Galliard / Jo Dowland, / Tho Robinson” (cittern); different from the arr. in *NCL*; Matthew Otley’s cittern book, f. [14], “Dowland Gal:”; *ChCh* 437, f. 10v, n.t., anon. (incomplete, for keyboard).


**LM 20. Dowland’s Galliard.**

This galliard does not “incorporate material” from Jannequin’s chanson, “La Bataille,” nor from Werrecore’s “Die Schlacht vor Pavia,” as stated in *CLM*, p. 297; it does incorporate material found in other “battle pieces,” several of which are cited by Mrs. Poulton. The first four bars of LM 20 also constitute the first strain of LM 40, “The Battle (*alias* King of Denmark’s) Galliard” and appear in the middle of LM 33, “John Langton’s Galliard”; they occur at the beginning of “The Batell of pauie [not Werrecore’s]” Set by Villiam Kynloche,” Panmure Ms. 10, ff. 22-40v, and the anon., “A Battle, and no Battle” (ed. *MB*, XIX, 111); in the middle of the medley found, variously arranged, in *D2*, ff. 29v-31, n.t.,
anon.; JP, ff. 52v-54, “the battelle” (for two lutes), anon.; 38, ff. 23v-25, “the Battle,” anon.; FD, ff. 19v-21v, “the Battle,” anon.; and TCD Ms. D.3.30/I, pp. 60-67, “Batel / pauen [sic],” anon., the earliest of the five versions;¹⁴⁷ and the theme of the first four bars is treated canonically in Byrd’s “The marche of horsmen” (ed. MB, XXVIII, 176). Byrd’s march also includes a variant form of the second strain of the “Battle Galliard”; the three strains, together with varied reprises, constitute two (?) pieces in the Strobäeus L.B., BL Sloane Ms. 1021, f. 45, the first entitled “Galliarda”; also one of Howet’s galliards begins with three versions of bars 9-12 and ends with a version of bars 17-20 of the “Battle Galliard” (see LM 40, below).

Pieces that do draw on Jannequin’s chanson, “La Bataille” (bars 1-43 of the prima pars only) are found in the “Dallis” LB, TCD D.3.30/I, most if not all of them copied from printed continental tablatures: pp. 68-69, “Pauane de la bataille,” and pp. 97-98, “B Pauan bataille” (two copies of the same piece); pp. 128-29, “Battel ad secundam,” and pp. 238-39, “La Bataille superius” (two copies of the first lute part of the duet in Phalèse & Bellère, Theatrum Musicum, 1571, f. 98v); pp. 239-40, “La bataille basses” (the second lute part of the duet, ibid., f. 99); p. 152, “Ga[l]liard Batall” (from the same print, ff. 117v-18); pp. 240-42, “Pass[amezzo de bataille]” (from the same print, ff. 105v-06). See also “The Battell Pauen” in the Beverley consort part-books, No. 20.

Neither Dowland’s “Round Battle Galliard” (CLM, No. 39) nor R. Reade’s “Battell” (CCB a, f. 32) make use of themes from either the Jannequin chanson or the “Battle Galliard.”

LM 22. Dowland’s First Galliard.

CCB e, f. 28, “Galliarda / Jo. Dowl” (cittern).

See above, pp. 37-38, for a discussion of this piece and App. Q for an edition of the version for consort.

LM 23. Frog Galliard.


Dart and others have claimed that the “Frog Galliard” is not a¹⁴⁷ Concerning “The Battle,” see App. T.

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galliard but a coranto (see, e.g., MB, VI, xiii; The New Oxford History of Music, IV, 206). If the piece is not what the title says it is, then it is better described as a branle gay; see, e.g., the “4. Bransle Gay” in Praetorius’s Terpsichore of 1612 (ed. G. Oberst [Wolfenbüttel, n.d.], p. 16), whose form is very close to that of Dowland’s piece (I am assuming that a repetition of the first section concludes the dance, otherwise it ends on the dominant); see also the branle gay, “Quand j’entens le perdu temps,” in Le Roy’s Second livre de guiterre (Paris, 1555 = 1556), f. 8v, cited by Douthie, Lyrics from English Airs, p. 6, and partially reprinted by Mrs. Poulton, JD, p. 142. However, to describe the piece as a coranto or branle goes against the evidence of all the early sources (except that of FLH, a Dutch source of the mid-17th century), which agree in calling it a galliard. Perhaps the music owes its exceptional form to extra-musical factors. If, as I have conjectured elsewhere (JAMS, XX [1967], 44), the “Frog Galliard” was in some way associated with one of the occasions on which the Duke of Alençon, Elizabeth’s “grenouille,” parted from the Queen, it may have been composed for a special occasion and choreography.

**LM 24.** See note under LM 5.

**LM 25.** *Melancholy Galliard.*

See above, pp. 25-27, for a discussion of this piece.

**LM 26.** *Souch’s Galliard.*

See note under LM 29, Mrs. Poulton, JD, p. 144-45, conjectures—correctly, I believe—that “Souch’s Galliard” is the music required for the “Ditty” in A. Munday’s *Banquet of Dainty Conceits* (London, 1588), sig. [G4v]-H, that “may be sung to Dowlands Galliard”; the poem is reprinted in The Harleian Miscellany, ed. T. Park, IX (London, 1812), 248-49. The choice of music for the twenty-two poems in the Banquet is a curious one: most of the tunes are found in instrumental, not vocal music; several, in fact, are quite unvocal; and for quite a few the reader would be hard pressed to find any kind of melody. For example, the music of No. 13 is listed in the table of contents as the “Quadrant Pauin” and in the body of the work as the “Quadrant Galliard”; whichever it was Munday had in mind, if the music was like any of the known settings of the “quadrant” (or passamezzo moderno) harmonic pattern, it was far more difficult to sing than any of the then current ballad tunes. The poet probably composed his twenty-two poems to specific arrangements of the twenty-two pieces (he claims to have had “no iote of knowledge in Musique”), perhaps those of an instrumental consort associated with one of the acting companies (Munday was at various times in his life connected with the theater). The *Banquet* was registered with the Stationers’
Company on 6 July 1584, but appears not to have been published until four years later. If the work published in 1588 was identical with the one registered earlier, then we must assume that a galliard of Dowland’s was widely known when the composer was about twenty-one years old, had probably just returned to England after three or four years in France, and had yet to publish a note of music. It seems more likely that the poem sung to “Dowlands Galliard” was not part of the work registered in 1584, but was added to the work published in 1588.

Whichever year it was, the association of “Dowland’s Galliard” with a garland of ballads to be sung to the kind of music found in the Beverely and Cambridge consort part-books (see Music & Letters, LV [1974], 209-14, and this Journal, V [1972], 70-103) and published by Morley (The First Book of Consort Lessons, ed. S. Beck [New York: Peters, 1959]) and Rosseter (see Lute Society Journal, VII [1965], 15-23) is striking. Some of Dowland’s earliest compositions—e.g., “Fortune,” the “First” and “Round Battle” galliards—appear to be consort pieces; and, as Beck conjectures, the composer may have been one of the “divers exquisite Authors” who supplied Morley with the contents for his collection. Perhaps after his return from France, Dowland was for a time employed by one of the London acting companies, much as Robert Johnson was later employed by the King’s Men, to supply incidental music for plays. An association with the theater would help to explain how certain of Dowland’s dance tunes became so widely known in what appears to have been a relatively short time, many of them before they had been published; it may also explain how Munday became acquainted with “Dowlands Galliard.”

Bacheler’s galliard (Selected Works for Lute, ed. M. Long [London: Oxford University, 1972], pp. 2-3) appears to be based in part on the same composer’s song, “To plead my faith” (see R. Dowland, A Musical Banquet, ed. P. Stroud [London: Stainer & Bell, 1968], pp. 10-11), unless the relationship is the other way around. Dowland took more than “the first five notes of the tune” (JD, p. 145); the first strain is saturated with the opening bar of Bacheler’s dance, harmonies as well as “tune” (see Music Example 14, in which all shared notes have a short stroke through the stem; see also the note on LM 29, below), and there are echoes of the opening bars in the second and third strains of Dowland’s parody.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 14. See page 82.

The first strain of this galliard appears to be even more closely patterned after Bacheler’s “To plead my faith” galliard than
that of LM 28. Other pieces whose first eight bars are similar include CLM, No. 26, "Souch's Galliard"; CLM, No. 84, "Hasellwood's Galliard"; CLM, No. 97, "The Queen's Galliard"; Cutting, "Galliard" (publ. Selected Works for Lute, ed. M. Long [London: Oxford University, 1968], pp. 38-39); Anon., "Galliard," in N6, f. 25; J. Harding, "Galliard," a popular work found in D5, ff. 25, 45; D3, ff. 34-38; W, f. 9v (ascribed to Bacheler); LHC, f. 9v; Nür, ff. 8v, 9,148 and Robinson, "Galliard" in The Schoole of Musicke, ed. Lumsden (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1971), pp. 9-11. See Music Example 15, in which the treble and bass of the several first strains, transposed to D where necessary, are assembled one above the other.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 15. See page 83.


See above, pp. 26-27, for a discussion of this piece. Robert Johnson's charming "Galliard" for lyra viol, in CCB d, f. 36, is saturated with the phrases of "Walsingham." Another galliard whose first strain is based on a popular tune, in this instance "Go from my window," is by Cutting (see his Selected Works for Lute, ed. Long, pp. 32-33). In addition, the second strain is based on the tonic/supertonic harmonies of the tune's first half, and the third strain contains echoes of the tune itself. The first strain of F. Pilkington's galliard "Mrs. E Murcots Delight" (see his Complete Works for Solo Lute, ed. B. Jeffery [London: Oxford University, 1970], p. 14) is a variation on the same tune.

LM 34. Mignarda.

In The Excellent Comedy, called The Old Law, or A new way to please you, by P. Massinger, T. Middleton, & W. Rowley, published in London, 1656, but performed ca. 1618, Act III, Sc. ii, one of the characters dances "A Galliard Lamiardi." The music that accompanied his dancing is less likely to have been a version of Dowland's galliard, "Mignarda," than a version of the totally different and anonymous "Lamiardi" in Cambridge, Trinity College Ms. 0.16.2, p. 123.


While Dowland was at the Danish court, a John Knight sailed 2 May 1605 from Copenhagen for the Greenland coast, one of three men in charge of the Danish expedition. The following year he was killed off the coast of Labrador, probably by natives. See S. Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes (London, 1625; repr. Glasgow, 1905-07), XIV, 318, 353-65.

148 Also set for keyboard in FVB, No. 122, arr. by Byrd, and Dre3, pp. 188-89; for instrumental ensemble in BL Add. Mss. 17786-9, 17791, f. 14v, and APG, No. XIV, where it is paired with a paduana by J. Sommer; and for viol (see this Journal, V [1972], 91-92).

Compare Tru6, f. 30v, n.t., anon., for two lutes, one part placed above the other “in score” (I am indebted to Harris Saunders for calling my attention to this piece): a related, highly variant form of the galliard, perhaps a “first draft,” or another composer’s work which provided Dowland with a point of departure for his own, or a parody of Dowland’s duet by someone else.


As noted above, p. 28, this galliard, which Dowland dedicated, first to Bucton, then to Sydney/Lisle, is composed entirely of extracts from Lasso’s chanson, “Susanne un jour.”

LM 40. The Battle (also King of Denmark’s) Galliard.149


Only one other galliard by Dowland is cast in four-bar strains (CLM, No. 20), and it, too, begins with the first strain of the “Battle Galliard.”

At the conclusion of the chapter on the Moods (i.e., “by its various Moods [music] produceth in the hearers various effects”), C. Butler, The Principles of Musik (London, 1636), p. 2, writes: “And soom Musik is compounded of soom or all of these [i.e., the “Dorick, Lydian, AEolik, Phrygian, and Ionik” moods]: as the Battel-galliard.” It is doubtful that he had a particular setting of the music in mind.

LM 41. Queen Elizabeth’s Galliard.

CCB e, f. 8, n.t., anon. (cittern).

LM 42. Can she excuse.


Nür, f. 6v, “Galliard Pipers No. 1,” has the words, “bass-lute,” written at the end of the piece, and is probably a consort part; Nür, f. 7, “Galliarda Pipers No. 2,” is a copy of TGG, p. 122, “V[alentin] S[trobel] / Variatio secunda” (the third strain is omitted in No. 2, incorporated into No. 1, and its varied reprise included in No. 2); Nür, f. 65v, “Galliarda Pipers,” is an almost exact copy of TGG, p. 121, “Galliarda 12.”

ChCh Ms. 439, p. 107, n.t., anon. (lyra-viol); Eys, f. 62v, “Galliard” (keyboard). (Mrs. Poulton lists Myn, f. 12v, “Dowlans Galliand”; it

149 Concerning “The Battle,” see App. T.
belongs under LM 83.)\(^{150}\)

The cantus part of "Can she excuse my wrongs" was frequently adapted to other texts; see the many instances cited by K. Fischer, "Gabriel Voigtländer," *S.L.M.G.*, XII (1910-11), 50-57. Like most of those who made use of the melody, Voigtländer did not acknowledge his source and Mrs. Poulton, *J.D.*, p. 155, accuses him of plagiarism. She could with as much justice accuse Dowland of the same thing, since he made unacknowledged use of the tune, "Will you go walk the woods so wild," in the last strain of his song; neither man is likely to have known the name of the composer of the music he borrowed, which, in both cases, had been in the public domain a long time. Moreover, the title page of Voigtländer's work quite candidly declares: "Allerhand Oden vnnd Lieder / welche auff allerley /als Italianische / Frantzöische / Englishe / vnd anderer Teutschen guten Componisten / Melodien vnnd Arien gerichtet."

LM 42a. *Excuse me.*\(^{151}\)


In Shirley's play *Hyde Park* (1632), Act II, Sc. ii, a character, forced to dance against his will, asks, "Will you excuse me yet?" At which his tormenter says to the musicians, "Play excuse me," and to the dancer, "yes, any thing you'll call for." Andrew Barton's *The Disappointment: or, the Force of Credulity*, a ballad opera put into rehearsal but never performed (New York, 1767), was to have concluded with the country dance, "Excuse me" (see O. Sonneck, *Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music* [New York, 1921], p. 36); in the second edition of the play (Philadelphia, 1796), p. 94, the dance is still called for but the tune is not named.\(^{152}\)

\(^{150}\)For a discussion of the \(b^\flat/b^\natural\) in bar 2, see *JD*, pp. 223-25, and "The revising of The First Booke," above.

\(^{151}\)Chappell, 1, 343, lists "Buff Coat" as an alternate name for "Excuse me," an error repeated in Wooldridge's revision of Chappell's work; as Simpson, p. 72, n. 1, observes, the error goes back to two ballad operas—Chetwood's *The Generous Free-Mason*, 1731, and Fielding's *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, 1734—in which the title "Excuse me" is given to the quite different tune of "Buff Coat."

\(^{152}\)I am indebted to Mrs. Frank Van Cleef, Jr., for the references to the Walsh collection and the Barton ballad opera.
Robinson's arrangements of "Can she excuse my wrongs" and "Excuse me" appear within a few pages of each other in the New Citharen Lessons (see Music Example 16). Though this is the earliest-known appearance of "Excuse me," turning Dowland's galliard into a country dance was probably not Robinson's inspiration but that of one of London's professional dance musicians. Whoever made the change, "Excuse me" caught on, outlasting the galliard version by more than a century.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 16. See page 84.


LM 45. Lady Clifton's Galliard.
The figure, 9, placed at the beginning of the tablature (CLM, p. 155) is composed of: (1) Q, the mensuration sign for tempus perfectum cum prolacione perfecta, and (2) —, a segment of the third line of the tablature staff, displaced during the printing (see the facs. ed., p. 50); it makes no sense to reproduce it in a modern edition.

LM 47. Smith's Almain.
Brahe, ff. 16v-17, "Balletto" (publ. W. Gerwig, Der Lautenist, VII, 6, "Balletto II"); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Musik Bd. 678, a volume of printed tablatures with Ms. adds. (see J. Dieckmann, Die in deutscher Lautentabulaturen überlieferten Tänze des 16. Jahrhunderts [Cassel, 1931], p. 96), f. 21, "Almand"; Linz, Landesmuseum Ms. No. 16 (Inv. No. 9647), No. 11, "Englosa" (keyboard; publ. E. Schenk, "Englische Schauspielmusik in Österreichischen Tabulatur-Überlieferung," Řada Uměnovědění [Festschrift Jan Racek], ed. J. Vyslouzil [Brno, 1965], p. 254). The first strain of BD, p. 7, n.t., anon., is almost identical with Dowland's, the second strain is not.

Linz, f. 27, "Allemande / Doolannd / Englessa"; L, p. 498, "Anglicum"; (the other versions in L are on pp. 367, 491); CCB b, f. 28v, "Dowlands Almaine" (cittern); Paris 86, ff. 120v-121, "Ye Lady Layton's Almaine" (keyboard = Dre9, p. 94).

Nür, f. 36v, "Volte / pauana," appears to be a variant form of Dowland's almain.

As Mrs. Poulton, JD, p. 159, notes, the first strain of this almain resembles the beginning of the tune, "Wilhelmus van Nassouwe," whose earliest datable version is not, as she suggests, the one in the Neder-Landinge Gedenck-Clanck of 1626, but the "Almande Prince" in Adriansen's Pratum Musicum of 1584, a copy of which is in the "Dallis" Ms., p.
220, and variant forms on pp. 35 (frag.), 217; the tune also resembles the song, "Was wölln wir auf den abend thun," found, e.g., in Hain, Vierter Thail, f. 32 (tune pr. F. Böhme, Alteutsches Liederbuch [1877; repr. Hildesheim, 1966], No. 334) and Fab, f. 57 (tune pr. J. Bolte, "Das Liederbuch des Petrus Fabricius," Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, XIII [1887], Musikbeilage, p. 6; notes on the history of the tune in "Die Liederhandschrift des Petrus Fabricius," Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur, CXVII [1906], 242-43).

LM 49. An Almain.
Concerning the musical commonplace with which this piece begins, see pp. 32-34, above.

LM 50. Mrs. White's Thing.
CCB e, f. 31, "Mrs. Whyte" (cittern); Fab, f. 13v, "Mein hertz mit schmertz"; ff. 14-14v, "Ein schon Liedt / Alio modo"; both settings for lute, the second one followed by the full text of "Mein hertz mit schmertz ist vberall vorwundt." Simpson, p. 766, notes that "Mistris Whittes thinge" contains elements of both strains of the ballad tune, "When the King Enjoys His Own Again."

Perhaps some, certainly not all, of the instrumental pieces whose titles incorporate the names of individuals—e.g., "Mistris Whittes thinge" and "Nothing," "Mrs Vauxes Gigge," "My Lady Hunsdons Allmande"—are lessons written for and dedicated to persons who studied lute playing with Dowland.

LM 52. Mrs. Nichols's Almain.

LM 54. Lady Hunsdon's Puffe.
Continental versions of this music are discussed on pp. 29-30, Dowland's version on pp. 43-45, above.

LM 55. Mrs. Winter's Jump.153
Like LM 42 and LM 42a, "Mrs. Winter's Jump" occurs in two dance measures: once as a courante and once as a galliarde in Praetorius's Terpsichore (ed. G. Oberst, pp. 96, 178).

LM 60. Come Away.
Turin, ff. 55-56v, "Pauana Come"; Turin, ff. 56-56v, "Alio modo" (both keyboard).

LM 61. Orlando Sleepeth.
There is a purely musical reason for associating this tune with the mask-like scene in Greene's play, The History of Orlando Furioso (pr. 1594, but acted at least two years earlier), lines 1257-59, in which "Melissa striketh with her wande, and the Satyres enter with musicke and plaie round about" the sleeping Orlando. The music entitled "Orlando sleepeth" consists of two very short bipartite dances, the first in C time,

153 Concerning the editing of this piece, see App. P.
the second, which is a variation of the first, in 6/4 time, a change of measure typical of masking dances; see, e.g., J. Knowlton, "Some Dances of the Stuart Masque Identified and Analyzed," diss., Indiana Univ., 1966, II, passim, for many examples transcribed from BL Add. Ms. 10444.

Perhaps the almain (CLM, No. 48) entitled "The Sedreppetis Lamentation" in Myn, f. 10 is also theater music (see the facs. ed. [Leeds: Boethius, 1975], f. 10). The scribe's spelling is erratic enough to support the conjecture that he wrote "Sedreppetis" when he should have written "Sacrepan," the name of another character in Orlando Furioso whose lament occurs near the end of the play, lines 1409-31.

There may also be a theatrical connection for the pavan "Sans per" of Dowland's contemporary Cutting (see his Selected Works for Lute, pp. 22-23), for that is the name of a character in John Phillip's Play of Patient Grisill.

LM 62. Fortune. \(^{153}\)
Linz, f. 33, "Fortune / Dolland" (incomplete); Linz, f. 37, "Fortune / Dollanndt."

The third of Byrd's keyboard variations on the tune (see MB, XXVII, 25-26) is almost identical with the second of Dowland's variations.

LM 63. Complaint.
CCB e, f. 23, "Complainte. / J. Dowlands" (cittern); CCB b, f. 21v, "Complaintt att ffortune" (cittern); CCB c, f. 5, "Complainte" (recorder); CCB d, f. 5, "Complainte" (bass viol).

LM 64. Go From My Window.
Concerning the editing of this piece, see App. P.

This music is not the same as "The Earl of Oxford's March" alias "My Lord of Oxenfords Maske," as Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 167-68, states. Only the opening of the first strain is the same. For a piece in part identical and otherwise similar to the Oxford March/Mask, see the "Ballo de Colla" in the de Bellis LB, No. 55.

LM 68. Aloe.
Other composers have used the same theme for sets of variations: Holborne, n.t. (CW, ed. Kanazawa, I, 146-51); John Johnson, "Short Almain," for two lutes (JP, ff. 13v-14, CCB a, ff. 9v-10); Cutting, n.t. (CCB a, f. 59); Anon., "Tinternell," a single setting for cittern (CCB e, ff. 20v-21). The title, "Tinternell," is that of one of the "old measures" of the Inns of Court (see J. Cunningham, Dancing in the Inns of Court [London: Jordon, 1965], passim).

Of the three sources containing Dowland's variations only one, the Trumbull LB, f. 23, has what appears to be a title: the music is followed by the three letters Al[o]? and a 153Concerning the editing of this piece, see App. P.
fourth mark that looks something like an e. Mrs. Poulton, JD, p. 171, suggests that these letters form the name Aloe and conjectures that the theme of Dowland’s variations is the ballad tune to which the words, “The George Alow came from the south,” etc., were sung by the Jailer’s Daughter in the play, The Two Noble Kinsmen, III.v. Perhaps the third letter should be read as e, not o, and the first three letters as Ale, an abbreviation of either Ale[made], a spelling found, e.g., in Ramsay’s “Practice of Dauncing(e)” (see Cunningham, p. 40), or of Al[made], a title that would concord with that of Johnson’s “Short Almain” and the almain “Tinternell.” The fourth mark, which Mrs. Poulton reads as e, is separated from the first three by about half an inch, written in a different ink (as I am informed by the Berkshire County Archivist), and is most probably a flourish of the pen, like the one that appears higher on the same folio, below the word “Proueribus.”

LM 74. A Fancy.

Mrs. Poulton, CLM, p. 311, suggests that this anonymous piece may be by Dowland, citing as evidence the similarity of the opening theme to that of LM 1 and the construction of the fancy, which she finds “very skilful.” The piece strikes me as a collection of odds and ends; the opening theme is an Elizabethan commonplace (see Music Example 4, above).

LM 84. Hasellwood Galliard.

Mathew Holmes, who copied a version of Holborne’s piece into D9, f. 17, may have ascribed it to Dowland because the melody of the first strain is very like that of the latter’s “Sir John Souch’s Galliard.”


This piece is as much a galliard as any of the other duple-time galliards in the de Bellis LB., Nos. 10, 15, 57, and L, p. 193; the “Gagliarda di Spagna, fatta in dieci Tempi,” in Caroso’s Il Ballarino (Venice, 1581), f. 24; see p. 26, above.

LM 93. Variations on Une jeune fillette.

The theme of this set of variations goes by many names, in several languages, including the English ones of “The Queen’s Almaine” (see, e.g., Byrd’s variations for keyboard, MB, XXVII, 39-41), and “The oulde Almaine” (see Holborne’s CW, ed. Kanazawa, II, 27; also JAMS, X [1957], 175, n. 85), and TCD Ms. D.3.30/I, p. 213, “The kinge of Africa.”

LM 97. The Queen’s Galliard.

See under LM 29.

Pieces ascribed to Dowland and not in Mrs. Poulton’s Index.\footnote{According to W. Gerwig, Der Lautenist, V, the Christophorus Herholder LB, dated 1602, now in the possession of Hans von Busch, contains pieces by Dowland, which ones not specified. Forlute music by Dowland in a Königsberg LB destroyed in WW II, see App. U.}

Sp[rignell]; D2, f. 41, n.t., anon.; H, f. 7, n.t., anon. (with varied reprises); D2, f. 44, n.t., anon. (for bandora). The auction catalogue issued by Sotheby Park Bernet, Bibliotheca Phillippica, New Series, Nineteenth Part (London, 1977), item 4852, includes a facsimile of Sprignell's arrangement for cittern of Dowland's galliard. The tablature for the D2, f. 41, version of the piece begins:

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b. *Nür*, f. 4v, "Galliarda D soul. Cantus."
A variation of Bacherel's Galliard, quite different from the parody, *CLM*, No. 28.

The piece is only 9 bars long.

d. *Hain*, Dritter Thail, f. 17, 'Praeambulum. Dooland.'
The piece is 18 bars long.

e. *Hain*, Sechster Thail, f. 6v, 'Gagliarda. Dooland.'
Five strains, all but the last with varied reprise.\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{155} A transcription of the galliard is given in App. V.

72
VOCAL MUSIC.  

The First Booke. (Unless stated otherwise, the text is lacking.)


I/1. Vnquiet thoughts.
   Tait, f. 149, four voice-parts, cantus w. text; Fitz52, f. 61v, bass.

I/2. Who ever thinks.
   Fitz52, f. 61v, bass.

I/4. If my complaints.
   Panll, ff. 30v-31, cantus w. text; Fitz52, f. 62v, bass.

I/5. Can she excuse.
   Fitz52, f. 63, bass.

The tune of "Will you go walk the woods so wild," which Dowland quotes in the third strain of this galliard/song, was frequently combined with other music: e.g., it pops up in the middle of "Christes crosse be my speede," the notational extravaganza that comes near the end of the first part of Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction (London, 1597), pp. 42-43; Byrd combined it with the tune of "The shaking of the sheets" in his medley on "Ut re mi fa sol la" (MB, XXVIII, 38-39); it is combined with "Heaue and ho, Rumbelo" and "Oft haue I ridden vpon my gray nag" (= "Dargison") in one of Ravenscroft's medleys, Pammelia (1609; facs. ed., Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1961, p. 13); and it is paired with the tune of "Farle become" in BD, p. 83.

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156 See App. W for miscellaneous notes on the printed sources.

157 The words of songs 1-3, 5 (last two stanzas) - 21 of Dowland's First Booke, and 10-11 of Greaves' Songes of sundrie kindes (1604) are found in a fragmentary 17th-century Ms., PRO, SP 16.540/pt. 4. The rest of the Ms. contains "a rhyming list of the (chief) veils and fasting days in the year, a rule to know by heart what part of man's body is subject to any of the twelve signs (of the Zodiac), and alphabets, large and small" (CSP, Dom., Chas. I, XXIII, 759).

158 Of the seven songs by Dowland included in the manuscript music book begun in the 1670's by the Scottish precentor Robert Taitt: "Vnquiet thoughts," "Come again," and the "Lachrymae" appear almost without change; "What if I neuer speede" retains its cantus, but the other voice parts are so reworked as to constitute new ones; "Sleep wayward thoughts," copied twice, the second time with the text, "If fluds of teares," consists of only the cantus and bass of Dowland's song; and "Shall I sue" consists of the original cantus with a new bass.
Dowland seems to make a second reference to the tune in the end of the song, "Were every thought an eye" (A Pilgrimes Solace, No. 6).

The first stanza of the poem usually attributed to Wyatt and beginning, "I muste go walke the woodes so wyld" (pr. Sir Thomas Wyatt and His Circle: Unpublished Poems, ed. K. Muir [Liverpool: Liverpool University, 1961], pp. 26-28), does not fit Byrd's version of the tune, as Mrs. Poulton notes, JD, pp. 152-53; however, it does fit Ravenscroft's version; he printed a variant form of the first stanza of the (Wyatt?) poem with the musical notes in Pammelia, a fact that adds weight to the suggestion, made by Muir, p. xvi, that "it is possible that Wyatt, or some other poet, was revising and expanding an earlier anonymous poem." Dowland, Byrd, and others may have quoted the tune as much for its textual associations as for its attractive melody.

1/6. Now, O now I needs.
Fitz52, f. 63v, bass; FLH, Tweede Deel, ff. 38v-39, "2. Courant, of Harte diesje waerom zoo still," 3 vars. on the tune.

1/7. Deare if you change.
Panll, f. 7v, "deire if thou chaine," cantus; Fitz52, f. 64, bass.

Panll, f. 9, cantus; Panll, ff. 30v-31, cantus w. text; Fitz52, f. 64v, bass.

1/9. Go Cristall teares.
Fitz52, f. 65, bass.

1/11. Come away.
Row, p. 44, cantus; Paris 86, f. 13v, keyboard (= Dre9, p. 102).

1/12. Rest a while.
NYPL, Drexel 4175, f. 8.

1/13. Sleepe wayward thoughts.
The text and/or title of "If fluds of teares" is associated with the music of "Sleepe wayward thoughts" in the following Scottish sources: Forbes, Cantus, No. 13 (cantus w. text); Taitt, f. 74v (cantus w. text of first stanza, bass without text; remaining stanzas on ff. 86, 87); TW, pp. 184 (tenor), 200 (bass), 202 (altus), all without text; Ske, pp. 114-15 (for mandora, without text; publ. in a poor transcription by W. Dauney, Ancient Scottish Melodies [Edinburgh, 1838], p. 249).

The text and/or title of "Sleepe wayward thoughts" with its own music appears in: Forbes, Cantus, No. 20 (cantus w. text); Taitt, f. 67 (cantus w. text, bass without); Row, p. 44 (cantus); EUL LA.III.490, p. 71 (cantus w. text); Panll, f. 6v (cantus); Panll, ff. 26v-27 (tenor w. text).

Though the melody of Dowland's "If fluds of teares" does not appear in Scottish sources, its influence is evident; see the opening phrases of "Let not, I say, the sluggish sleep," in Forbes, Cantus, No. 11 (publ. MB, XV, 182, harmonized by
the editor).

I/17. Come agaie.

I/17a. All the day.
The Otley cittern book, f. [11], “All the day” (concerning this Ms., see LM 19 above).

In the four editions of *The First Booke*, No. 17 is printed with what appear to be two texts. The well-known one of two stanzas, begins “come again: sweet loue doth now inuite.” The other of four separately numbered and metrically variant stanzas (the last line of each stanza is two syllables shorter than the corresponding lines of the first poem), begins “All the day the sun that lends me shine.” Whether both poems are to be sung to the one setting has remained an open question (see, e.g., E. Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs*, 1596-1622 [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ., 1970], p. 465; *JD*, p. 236). The appearance of an instrumental arrangement of the music with the title “All the day” suggests that the music was known under both titles and that both poems were sung to it.

I/21. Awaie with these selfe louing lads.
Pann, f. 9, cantus.

*The Second Booke*.

Title page. Praise God vpon the Lute and Violl.

Not included in the “Index of Works.” Mrs. Poulton’s solution of the canon, *JD*, p. 248, is the same as the one in Fellowes’ edition of the *Second Booke*. A different one, written down sometime in the 19th century, is on a fly-leaf of the Huntington Library copy. Either way, the canon is “scant worth the hearing.”

Dedication. To . . . Lady Lucie Comptesse of Bedford.

The tone is so impersonal, the language so conventional when compared with that of Dowland’s other dedications, it is quite possible the choice of dedicatee was Eastland’s, who composed a poem on an acrostic of the lady’s name and placed it immediately after Dowland’s epistle.\(^1\)

II/2. Flow my teares.
Pann, f. 6v, cantus; Pann, ff. 33, 34, cantus w. text; Cleveland, Western Reserve University Library, Ms. fragments bound into a copy of David & Lussy, *Histoire de la notation musicale* (Paris, 1882), following p. 114, cantus w. text; W. de Swart, *Den Lust-Hof der Niewe Musycke*

\(^1\)Concerning the “prisoner taken at Cales” mentioned in Eastland’s address “to the curteous Reader,” see App. X.

75
(Amsterdam, 1603), f. 51, "Mijn droefheyt moet ich clagen," a5; W. Braythwaite (= G. Victorinus), Sirene Coelestis (London, 1638), cantus w. text (see Grove’s, 5th ed., VIII, 283); Taitt, f. 151v, cantus w. text, bass without; EUL La.III.483, ff. 184 (tenor), 202 (bass). See also IV/2, below.

II/3. Sorrow sorrow stay.
Paris 86, ff. 77-78, treble & bass in score.

Paris 86, f. 58v, for keyboard; Fétis, pp. 28-29, four voice-parts, cantus w. text.

II/11. If fluds of teares.
Fétis, pp. 24-25, four voice-parts, cantus w. text.

II/12. Fine knacks for Ladies.
Panll, ff. 30v-31, cantus w. text.

II/13. Now cease my wandring eyes.
Paris 86, ff. 58v-59, for keyboard (= Dre9, p. 142).

II/15. White as Lillies.
Paris 86, f. 59, for keyboard.

II/17. A Shepherd in a shade.
Fétis, pp. 22-23, four voice-parts, cantus w. text.

II/18. Faction that euer.

II/19. Shall I sue.
Paris 86, f. 77, for keyboard; Taitt, f. 64, cantus w. text, new bass without.

The Third and Last Booke.

The printing of the third book of songs must have followed somewhat the pattern established with the second book, but without the legal complications. Dowland is known to have remained in Denmark until 15 July 1603, and may not have left for England before August 18th (see footnote 54, above). The manuscript of the third book, with its dedication "to my honorable good friend Iohn Souch Esquire," was in the hands of the publisher, Thomas Adams, before 21 February 1603, on which date he registered the work with the Stationers’ Company. On 23 April Souch was knighted, whereupon someone, probably the publisher, had a copy of Souch’s newly acquired coat of arms insetted on the verso of the title page, opposite the dedication. Thus it happened that the esquire of Dowland’s dedication is acknowledged a knight in the same volume.

A Pilgrimes Solace.

IV/2. Sweete stay a while.

Henry Lawes set the same poem to music and, as P. J. Willetts notes, "it may not be entirely by chance that Lawes’s setting opens with a quotation from Dowland’s Lachrymae, for his early songs have something of the quality of the lutenist
school of composers and use the same techniques.” (The Henry Lawes Manuscript [London: British Museum, 1969], p. 13.)

IV/11. **Lasso vita mia.**

Dowland’s single setting of an Italian text may date from his years in Denmark. Italian is the language of the madrigals composed by Borchgrevinck, a Netherlander, Pedersøn, a Dane, and other composers in Christian IV’s employ; some of these pieces were printed in Copenhagen.

**A Musical Banquet.**

Concerning: (1) the galliard with which the volume begins, see pp. 28-29, above; (2) Guillaume Tessier, one of whose songs is included in the *Banquet*, see footnote 20 above; and (3) the use of the French system to indicate the singer’s initial pitch, see App. Y.

**Additions to the songs?**

a. **One ioy of ioyes I only felt.**


The first phrase resembles that of “M. Thomas Collier his Galiard” (*Lachrimae*, No. 17); the second is similar to the opening of “M. Giles Hobies Galiard” (ibid., No. 15); the fifth resembles the last phrase of “My thoughts are wingde with hops” (*First Booke*, No. 3), and there are further echoes of Dowland in the piece. Is the song, in fact, his? another composer’s pilferings? an assemblage of Elizabethan commonplaces? or the work of an older song writer, like Strogers, one who may have had an influence on the lutenist-song composer? The instrumental accompaniment is unlike most of Dowland’s; however, it may be a straightforward intabulation of the three lower voices of one of his four-voice ayres, not an original lute part (for a comparable accompaniment, see the anonymous song, “My cyllie lyfe,” in BL Add. Ms. 31992, f. 53v). In the present state of our knowledge of the early history of the lutenist ayre, “One ioy of ioyes” is best left unascribed.

b. **Settings of Shakespeare’s sonnets.**

According to C. M. Simpson, “Musical Settings,” in App. XII to H. E. Rollins’s *New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, II (1944), 314, William Oldys (d. 1761), “in his manuscript notes (under ‘Shakespeare’) to Langbaine’s *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, asserts that ‘John [Dowland?]’ and Tho. Morley are said to have set several of these sonnets’ to music—pieces which, if they ever existed, are still fugitive.”

**PSALMS AND SPIRITUAL SONGS.**

1. **Psalm 38.**
Est printed the same four-voice musical setting twenty-one times in the 1592 edition of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, viz., with the texts of Ps. 38, 47, 51, 53, 56, 60, 64, 71, 75, 80, 85, 86, 95, 98, 101, 106, 109, 114, 118, 142, and "A Thanksgiving"; and thirty-two times in the 1594 edition of the work, adding the texts of Ps. 2, 10, 13, 17, 20, 26, 28, 32, 35, 84, and 138.

Barley, in his modified reprint of Est's work (undated, but almost certainly published in 1599) printed the four voice parts of Ps. 38 with the text of Ps. 2, the tenor and bass parts only with the texts of Ps. 26, 28, 32, 35, 38, 51, 53, 56, 60, 64, 71, 75, 80, 85, 86, 95, 98, 101, 106, 109, 114, 118, 142, and "A Thanksgiving."

The use of one musical setting for the singing of different metrical psalm texts parallels the practice of singing different broadside ballad texts to a single tune.

Est's psalter of 1592 was arranged for lute by Ridel (also spelled Rydell), an otherwise unknown French lutenist resident in London in 1596, who dedicated his work to Anthony Bacon, brother of Sir Francis. The music appears to be lost; the letter that accompanied the music is among Bacon's papers in Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 660, f. 191, is dated November 1596 (endorsed 25 Dec. 1596), and reads, in part, as follows:

Mon Seigneur[:] Aiant entendu par le rapport, de gens de bien & d'honneur combien vous estes amateur de toutes sciences, et faicet es cases des hommes a qui DIEU a departi de ses graces pour les recepvoir humainement, l'ai bien voulu prendre la plume selon que ma petite cappacité, peut porter de redure en tabulature de luth, tous les pseaumes et cantiques qui se chantent en l'Eglise angloise mises en musique par plusieurs et chauans musiciens de ce pais d'angleterre le tout a quatre parties en un volume qui se intitule, the Whole Booke of Psalmes Imprimé a Londres par thomas Est, en l'an 1592 ou le subiect comme on le chante est au tenor lequel subiect toutefois pour l'entendre plus facilement sur le luth je les ay mis au superius ou il faut noter que touchant les diminutions que l'ay ajusteees elles se peuxent laisser prenant les accordz simplement qui sont en la musique et ne faut toucher que ceux ou il y a des points rouges et laisser le reste selon le bon plaisir de ceux qui jouent[.]

2. *Psalm 100.*

Est printed the four-voice setting three times in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, viz., with the text of Ps. 100, "A Psalme before morning prayer," and "A Psalme before Euening prayer." Barley reprinted the four-voice setting with Ps. 100 and only the tenor and bass parts with the other two texts. Facs. of the Est and Barley printings of Ps. 100 are in R. Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (London, 1903), figs. 33, 34, 40.

Dr. Pepusch is said to have thought Dowland the composer of the tune as well as the setting, according to Hawkins, who corrected the Doctor in his *General History* (London, 1776), III, 518-19. The error was resurrected by W. L. Bowles, in his *Parochial History of Bremhill* (London,
4. Psalm 130.
Barley reprinted the four-voice setting from Est's Whole Booke of Psalmes.

15. An heart, that's broken & contrite.

Leighton, Teares or Lamentacions (1614), sig. [Alv], includes the following direction to the performers: "Note that this Musical Booke inserteth only the first staffe of the Hymne or Psalme: but it is the Authors intention that in the practise of this heauenly harmonious exercise, some one in the company should out of his other Printed booke read the other staues to them that play and sing"; i.e., the rest of the text should be lined-out by someone reading from the similarly entitled volume of poetry published the year before and to which reference is made at appropriate places in the volume of musical settings. Neither Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 337-38, nor Cecil Hill, in his edition of the Teares (Early English Church Music, XI [London: Stainer & Bell, 1970], 24-26), provide the complete text of the psalm set by Dowland, which is found on pp. 41-43 of the 1613 Teares and reads as follows:

Psal. 51. 1 An heart, that's broken & contrite, 

to God, in a sweete sacrifice: 

Repentant sinners him delight, 

far more than lust men in their eies.

2 what I haue bin my God hath knowne 

what I now am the Lord doth see: 

What I shall be to him is showne, 

from him no secret kept can be.

3 How I consume so many yeares, 

mispent so many moneths and dais: 

Both houre and minutes all appeares, 

to God who markes my life & wais.

4 Time is the meane that all things tries, 

time worketh what mens wits deuise: 

Time with his swiftnes, euer flies, 

and time in time, will make men wise.

5 Fly from me, follies of my youth, 

packe hence my sins that burnded me: 

Welcome to me is age and trueth, 

now I by faith in Christ will be.

Psal. 25. 6 whole sins do make their harts to bleed 

let them examples take by me: 

Whose wickednes all mens exceede, 

come, come, and my repentence sec.

7 Lord now let me depart in peace, 

I feele thy rod, I finde thy love: 

My paines doe grow, my ioyes encrease, 

this mercie comes from thee aboue.

Luk. 2.29. 8 My sicknes is a present meane, 

to heale and cure my wounds of sin:
Lord purge all my corruptions cleane,  
and let my death, my life begin.

16.  *I shame at mine vnworthines.*

Dowland set only quatrains 11 of the second part of Leighton’s “ninth Lamentation in distresse.”

**CONSORT MUSIC.**

*[Lachrimae.]*

This volume illustrates Dowland’s penchant for dedicating his works. Of the twenty-one pieces in the *Lachrimae*, twelve are dedicated to individuals, one to the memory of Sir Henry Umpton, another to himself, and the whole book to Queen Anne. None of his musical contemporaries made so much use of the convention; e.g., Bacherel appears to have dedicated none of his works, Cutting only three, possibly four, and Holborne less than a dozen.

CM 8, 10, 15-17, 20-21. *DM*, ff. 38v-39, 36v, 52v, 51v, 53v, 58, 57v (lute parts only). Though referred to in the text of *JD*, these lute parts are either omitted from the Index of the Works or listed with the pieces for solo lute (see LM 9, 52).

Van den Hove has been taken to task by several writers for reprinting these lute parts, some of which do not contain the “melody,” without the parts for viols or “violons,” which do. (C. Simpson did the reverse in his *Opusculum*, 1610, printing the string parts of Nos. 3 and 21 without those for lute.) If anyone is to blame it is the composer, for he describes the work, in his usual permissive way, as “set forth for the Lute, [or understood] Viols, or Violons, in fiue parts,” and further emphasized the independence of the lute parts by referring to them as “Lute-lessons” in his address “To the Reader.” Most of the lute parts work as solo pieces. Three—those for the Hobie and Gryffith galliards and Mrs. Nichols almand—contain dull stretches, and the third strain of Bucton’s galliard (which van den Hove did not reprint) does not work at all. A few of the pieces—e.g., the Lachrimae Antiquae, Semper Dowland semper dolens, and Sir Henry Vymptons Funerall (only one of which van den Hove reprinted)—were probably solo lute pieces before being arranged for ensemble and appear to have been little altered in the process.

**CM 1. Lachrimae Antiquae.**

*CCB d*, f. 3v, “Lachrimae,” bass part (in d minor), a few variants.

*CCB d* also contains three versions of the bass part of *MCL*, No. 7: one with little change, on f. 6v, “Lachrimae”; a second somewhat elaborated on f. 17v, “Lachrimae”; and a third, differently elaborated, on f. 28v, which has been published in S. Beck’s ed. of the *MCL* (New York: Peters, 1959), pp. 81-89, and included in a recording, *The Consort of Musicke* (Columbia Records KL 5627), side 2, band 3, made under Beck’s direction.
CM 9. **Sir Henry Vymptons Funerall.**

Dowland may have been inspired to compose this "Funerall" (sometime in 1597?) by the collection of memorial verse written in memory of the deceased and published a year after his death under the title *Funebria nobilissimi ad praestantissimi equitis D. Henrici Untoni.* His composing it may indicate that he was in some way associated with Unton, who is known to have had an active interest in music; he is one of the viol-playing gentlemen accompanying the singing boy in the well-known biographical portrait; see R. Strong, "Sir Henry Unton and His Portrait," pp. 53-76.

CM 18. **Piper's Galliard.**

*Panll,* f. 7, "The galeard," *Mel,* f. 22v, "The galyard," bass; *NKM,* No. 46, "Pypers Galliardi," a4 (only the bass part survives). Mrs. Poulton lists these sources, but under LM 19.

CM 19. **Buctons Galliard.**

Perhaps the person to whom this galliard is dedicated was one of the couriers employed by Cobham during the time Dowland was in the ambassador's service. On 12 December 1582 Cobham wrote to Walsingham: "I have received the packet you sent me by Buckton" (CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XVI, 459).

**Additions to the consort pieces.**

a. **Almaine.**


b. **Fuga.**

*BL* Add. Ms. 27579, the "Album Amicorum" of Johannes Cellarius of Nürnberg, f. 88, "Fuga. / Jo: dolandi de Lachrimae his own hande."

Though she reproduces the original autograph of the music in facsimile (pl. opp. p. 217), Mrs. Poulton says nothing about the "Fuga" in her text. It is most ingeniously constructed. The melody begins on a, ends on g. To return to the key in which it begins, the melody must be repeated five times, starting on g, f, e\(^b\) (= d\(^#\)), c\(^#\), and b, successively. The second voice enters, at the fourth above, in bar 3, beginning on d, and thereafter repeats the melody, first on c, then on b\(^b\), a\(^b\) (= g\(^#\)), g\(^#\), and e, successively. The two "key" sequences form whole-tone scales. As Ian Harwood, *Early Music,* 11 (1975), p. 115, observes, the first eight notes of the canon are taken from the beginning of the Genevan tune for the Lord's Prayer (see M. Frost, *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes* [London, 1953], p. 209). (See Music Example 17.)

MUSIC EXAMPLE 17. See page 85.

Thomas Morley prints a similar "canon in epidiatessaron" in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction,* p. 175,
and writes of it: "There be also some compositions which at the first sight will seeme very hard to bee done, yet hauing the rules of the composition of them deliuered vnto you, they will seeme very easie to be made, as to make two partes in one, to be repeated as oft as you will, and at euerie repetition to fall a note, which though it seeme strange, yet it is performed by taking your small Cadence one note lower then your first note was, making your first the close," which is what Dowland does.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 13

Dowland, 'Lachrimae Pavan.'

‘Smith’s Pavan.’

MUSIC EXAMPLE 14

Dowland, The Bacheler Galliard (first strain).
(a) Bacheler, “To plead my faith.”

(b) Dowland, “Giles Hobie’s Galliard.”

(c) Dowland, “John Souch’s Galliard.”

(d) Dowland, “The Queen’s Galliard.”

(e) Dowland (= Holborne?), “Hasellwood’s Galliard.”

(f) Cutting, “Galliard.”

(g) Anon., “Galliard.”
(h) Harding, "Galliard."

(i) Robinson, "Galliard."

MUSIC EXAMPLE 16


*B The varied reprises have been omitted.
Moisten back and place over
Music Example 16, page 84.


b No. 21. Excuse me.*
4. Appendices: Background Material
A. The Apprenticeship Indenture of Robert Johnson
B. The Earl of Salisbury's Musicians
C. The Mask of Portuguese Men and Spanish Women
D. Musical Papists
E. Gregory Howet
F. Fabrizio Dentice
G. Ferdinando Heyborne's Letter to Sir Michael Hicks
H. Christopher Heyborne's Letter to Lord Burghley
I. Dowland's Danish Salary
J. The Danish Records
K. The King's Lutters, 1593-1612
L. "... to bestowe some ydoll tyme uppon the lute. . . . "
M. Anthony Holborne's Letter to an Unnamed Patron
N. Howet's Galliard
O. Thomas Robinson
P. "Falce and vnperfect'?"
Q. "Dowland's First Galliard," for Broken Consort
R. "To the Tune of, Frogs Galliard"
S. The Linz Lute Book
T. "The Battle"
U. The Königsberg Lute Book
V. An Unpublished Galliard Ascribed to Dowland
W. Miscellaneous Notes on the Printed Sources
X. The "prisoner taken at Cales"
Y. "... the Tune that the singing Part . . . begins-in"
Z. Five Letters Concerning Thomas Cutting's Appointment to the Court of Christian IV
Appendix A. The Apprenticeship Indenture of Robert Johnson.

Berkeley Castle, Select Charter 822. A précis of the document is in I. H. Jeayes, Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments... at Berkeley Castle (Bristol, 1892), pp. 239-40. The following transcript is based in part on one made by Mr. Brian Smith, Gloucester County Archivist. A facsimile of the original is on pl. 1 (I wish to thank the Trustee of the late Lord Berkeley's Will for permission to reproduce the document.)

This Indenture Witnesseth That Robert Johnson the sonne of John Johnson, late one of the Musitions of our soveraigne Lady Eliz: deceased hath put himself servaunt allowes or Covenant servaunt vnto the Righte Worshipfull Ser George Carey Knighte /// and with him to Contynewe remaine and abide as his Covenant servaunt ffrom the feast daie of Thanunciation of our Lady S't Mary the Virgin last past, vnto thend and terme of Seaven Yeares from thence next ensuigne and fully to be Compleate and ended. Dureinge all which said terme of Seaven years, the said Robert Johnson, doth Covenant and grant to doe his said master good true faithfull and dilligent service hurte to his said master he shall not doe nor suffer to be donn which he maie lawfully lett ffornicacion he shall not Comitt matreymoney dureinge the said terme he shall not Contract, At the Cards dice or anie other vnlawful games he shall not play with the goods of his Awne or other mens dureinge the said terme he shall not marchandize ffrom the service of his said master daie or night he shall not absent himself. But in all things as a good & faithfull servaunt he shall gentlie beare and behave himself towards his said master & all dureinge the said terme: ffor which said service soe well & trulie to be donne in manner & forme aforesaid: the said Sir George Careye, doth Covenant and grant by theis presentes to teach & enstruct or Cause to be taught and enstructed his said servaunt in the arte of Musicke, fyndinge and allowinge vnto his said servaunt sufficient & Competent meate drink apparrell beddinge and washinge and all things to him needefull & Convenient dureinge the said terme And also to give vnto his said servaunte every yere dureinge the said terme One penie in the name of his solary & wagis. And in thende of the said terme doble apparrell both lynnen and wollen In Witnes whereof the partes first above named to theis present Indentures Interchangeably have put there seals the Nyne and Twentieth daie of Marche, In Eighte & Thirty yere of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendor of the faith &c:

1596

[Signed] Roberte Johnsonne

[Seal: on a tag, circular, brown wax.
Foliage above and beneath the letters W.P]

[Endorsed] Sigillat' et deliberavit in

presencia mei Leonardi Wallworth ser'

[Endorsed] Rob. Jhonsons apprehension for 7 yeres


Eliz. 38° [The words underlined are in a different

17th-century hand.]
Appendix B. *The Earl of Salisbury’s Musicians.*

A good deal is known about the traffic in boy musicians around the turn of the 17th century, in part thanks to the way in which Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, wangled favorite singers away from the consorts of the lesser nobility in order to perfect his own.¹⁶⁰ For instance, in 1595 Sir Richard Champernowne, to whom Holborne was to dedicate a volume of music for instrumental ensemble in 1599, sought to dissuade Cecil from taking one of his singers, for fear that, “losing this boy, his whole consort for music, which most delights him, were overthrown.” He offered to have the youth attend Cecil “sometimes for a month or two, and so to return again.”¹⁶¹

The following year Thomas Lord Burgh, to whom Holborne was to dedicate his *Citharn Schoole,* wrote to the acquisitive Cecil:

> If it lay as much in my power to conduct you to the end of your desires, as it abideth with me to satisfy you in this portion of your liking to a musician, I would make you as sensible of being beholden to me, as I am feeling of a great obligation to you for kind favours. Daniel you shall have; three other boys with him are misshapen [sic] to me, one of them both plays and sings an excellent treble, but his conditions are not stayed, and one other had a voice for a very high mean; the last is Jack, of whom I think you have taken best notice. Of these, and whatsoever else is with me, command what you will. The four, with all his instruments, were all by my worthy companion bequeathed me; choose as freely as where your commandements have most interest.¹⁶³

Two years later Sir Percyvall Harte wrote to Cecil that “one Henry Phillipps, who hearing what disposition I bear to music, tendered his service to

¹⁶⁰ The extent of Cecil’s interest in music being revealed as the evidence at Hatfield House is calendared illustrates how imperfect our knowledge of domestic music making in the great houses of the Elizabethan aristocracy is and how ephemeral the generalizations based on it. See, e.g., the view expressed by one of the best-informed historians for the period, W.L. Woodfill, “Patronage and Music in England,” in *Aspects of the Renaissance: A Symposium,* ed. A.R. Lewis (Austin: University of Texas, 1967), p. 66: “The new, great men, closely bound to the court, such as Burghley, Hatton, and Salisbury, could display their greatness and could fully employ their wealth by building great new Renaissance houses. When they entertained the monarchs in these houses… they could borrow musicians from the court or hire them elsewhere. They did not need to maintain large musical establishments in their country places, and the royal music was in effect, theirs when they were at court.”

¹⁶¹ HMC 9, *Salisbury Papers,* V, 436-37. During the same year Champernowne wrote Cecil asking for the name of the person responsible for reporting him to the Queen “as a gelder of boys for preserving their voices,” and confessed that “being naturally and often oppressed with melancholy more than he would wish… has [though to his own charge] bought [apprenticed?] such as he has found whose voices contented him.” Ibid., 155, 536-37. (Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society,* p. 70, cites the Duke of Newcastle’s purchase of “a singing-boy for fifty pounds,” and conjectures that it may have been for the years remaining in the boy’s apprenticeship.) See also the 1606 “Byelaws,” *Handbook of the Worshipful Company of Musicians,* 3rd ed. [n.p., 1915], p. 35, “Selling Apprentices.”

¹⁶² B. Jeffery, *Musica Disciplina,* XXII (1968), 136, assumes that Burgh refers to the composer John Daniel; more likely, I believe, he refers to a Daniel by his first name, as he does to a Jack in the same letter; whether surname or Christian name, Daniel cannot be identified on the basis of this one document. John Daniel the composer is known to have been employed by the Earl of Hertford in 1603, to have accompanied the Earl on his embassy to Brussels in 1605 (HMC 58, *Longleat Papers,* IV, 200, 206), and may have been in the Earl’s service earlier.

¹⁶³ *Salisbury Papers,* VI, 68.
me, which I was willing to entertain as well in regard of his skill as for the
satisfying of my own desire unto music”; but discovering that the singer had
“lately appertained to your Honour,” Sir Percyvall declared himself unwilling to
proceed further in the matter before consulting Cecil. Learning that the boy had
left without the Earl’s “leave or liking,” Harte “determined to send him
[Phillipps] up, but finding him not only weak with sickness but unwilling for his
lewdness to see you,” asked Cecil to send one of his servants “to persuade him,
than by any violent means to enforce him up.”

How the Earl provided for his domestic musicians is revealed in household
records preserved at Hatfield House, the great mansion he built for himself
during the first years of the 17th century. One set of bills appertains to George
Mason, who appears to have been apprenticed to Cecil, probably in 1607. On 26
November of that year “this singing boy” received 41s. 6d. for “his bill of
charges,” covering purchase of a hat, 5 pairs of shoes, a pair of stockings and
garters, 2 pairs of gloves, a haircut, and strings for his viol; on 21 December 50s.
7d. was paid for “a suit of apparel.” On 17 February 1608 one of the King’s
flutists, Innocent Lanier, was paid 20l. “for teaching of George Mason one [of] his
Lordship’s musicians in music” for a year. Four months later the Earl “put
the boy away;” according to Lanier, who was “sorry for the boy, with whom I
have taken much pains, but it lay not in my power to keep his voice....” On
August 4th of the same year John Copario, another of the Earl’s musicians,
received 21s. “laid out ... for sending a messenger in the Isle of White [= Wight]
to my Lord of Southampton’s for the preferring of George Mason.”

Southampton seems not to have taken the boy on, for two years after Cecil
dismissed him Mason is known to have been a household musician to Francis
Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, and may have held that position earlier. It
was for Clifford’s entertaining of King James I at Brougham Castle that Mason
composed the ayres published in 1618.

Another of Cecil’s musicians was Nicholas Lanier—composer, flutist,
lutenist, later Master of the King’s Musick—, apprenticed to Salisbury sometime
before July 1605, when his father sought the Earl’s help in obtaining a place in
the King’s Music for his son and offered to serve in Nicholas’s place “until the
years which his son is bound to his Lordship have expired”; nothing came of the
petition. In April 1610 Lanier, then twenty-two years old, was in Paris with the
Earl’s son, Viscount Cranborne, who wrote his father for permission to take his
musician into Italy, “so that he may learn the viol.” The Earl gave his approval,
but it is unlikely Lanier made the journey south, for five months later he was in
England and, with Henry Oxford, another of the Earl’s musicians, presented his

164Ibid., VIII, 498, 501.
165R. Charteris, “Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605-1613,” R.M.A.
166Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, p. 257. The ayres are publ. in The English
Jaques Freuille, who had been “ployed by her Maistrie [Queen Henrietta] to bring over a
french boy whom she had caused to be bredd for her Musick and hauing performed that
service is now to go back again.” The same month Louis Richard, “hauing ben one of the
boyes of her Ma’ Musick,” was “now leaving her Majesties seruice, and returning home to
france.” See The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun, ed. C.B. Gullans (Scottish
Text Society, 1963), p. 353. Aytoun was Secretary to the Queen.
bill for various expenses incurred when “the Prince [Henry] was heer.” Three years after the Earl’s death, Lanier succeeded Robert Hales as one of the lutenists in the King’s Musick.167

Other musicians in Cecil’s employ168 or with whom he had dealings include Simon and Mr. Christian the Dane, two boys who were taught music by Innocent Lanier; John Coprario, who acted as the Earl’s musical factotum; William Frost, keyboard player who in 1611 asked the Earl to recommend him for the place of “M’ Marchant ... latelie deceased who taught the princes [Elizabeth] to play upon the virginalles”;169 Thomas Dallam, instrument maker, whose most notable feat was making the clock-organ Queen Elizabeth presented to “the great Turk” and supervising its delivery in Constantinople,170 who kept the Earl’s instruments tuned and repaired; and others, like Peter Edney, from whom Cecil purchased musical instruments.171

Near the end of his life, when the Earl, sick and in great pain, made the journey from London to Bath, one of his attendants was “Cormacke the k. musicon,” presumably the harpist Cormack McDermot, who received 10l. “for his paines for attending his Lordshippe.”172 During the continuation of that journey from Bath to Marlborough, where the Earl died on 24 May 1612, several musicians attended him.173

Clearly it was not empty flattery when Dowland wrote of Salisbury in the dedication of the Micrologus: “such is your diuine disposition that both you

167 Salisbury Papers, XVII, 297; XXI, 212, 252; MA, III, 55. For a time Henry Oxford appears to have fallen into disfavor; in 1608 the Earl’s secretary, Sir Michael Hicks, wrote on Oxford’s behalf that the musician wished to be taken back into service (Salisbury Papers, XX, 149-50; a draft of the letter is in BL Lansdowne Ms. 90, No. 88). The request was granted, for in September 1610 Oxford was reimbursed for various expenditures, and in 1612 he received 10l. “as my lords gifte to him” (ibid., XXI, 252; XXII, 3).

168 According to the letter written by Elizabeth Holborne to the Earl of Salisbury sometime in 1606, her husband, Anthony, on his death bed charged her to get “his onlie sonne freed from the service he was in,” presumably an apprenticeship, and “straighte present him” to Cecil “as a ffree guifte from him whoe withall humble to desire your Lordshipp in his name to accepte and receive him as yours perpetuallie without anie condition whatsoever.” (See Holborne, CW, I, 3.) Though Widow Holborne enumerates the boy’s good qualities, she does not mention his being musical. There is no record of the young Holborne having entered the Earl’s service.


170 See S. Mayes, An Organ for the Sultan (London: Putnam, 1956), for an account of this curious episode based on Dallam’s diary of his journey to Turkey.

171 Edney is listed as one of the flutes in the “Allowance of certain mourning livery ... for the funeral of Q. Elizabeth,” 1603 (KM, p. 45). In March 1608 and ’09 a privilege was “grauoted to Peter Edney his Ma’ servant and George Gill servant to the Prince for ten yeares for the sole making of violins violins and Lutes with an addition of wyer stringes beside the ordinary stringes for the bettering of the sound being an invencion of theirs not formerly practised or knowne.” (T.F. Ordish, “Early English Inventions,” Antiquary, XII [1885], 64). Gill is described as “Musical Instrument Maker” in the list of Charles I’s musicians in 1641 (KM, p. 111).

172 Cecil Family & Estate Papers, Box G/13; I am indebted to R.H. Harcourt Williams, Librarian and Archivist, Hatfield House, for this reference.

excellently understand, and royally entertaine the Exercise of Musicke...”

Appendix C. The Mask of Portuguese Men and Spanish Women.

Cobham’s unusually detailed account of Catherine de Medici’s “private bankett unto the k: not as kynge of ffrance, but henry her sonne, and his wyfe,” is part of the long letter the ambassador wrote “To m” Secretaries” on 21 February 1580. Though the letter, in a modernized, slightly inaccurate version has been in print since the beginning of this century (CSP, Foreign, Eliz., XIV, 161-64), it appears to have been little noticed by historians of court entertainments. Cobham describes the Queen’s mask thus (PRO, SP 78/4/A, ff. 9-9v):

Firste vj musitian maskers [entered] playinge on their lutes, then too yonge boyes in apparell representinge Cupides havinge small bowes and quyvers full of shaftes with certain garlandes on their armes[,] their eyes bounde aboute with thinne vayles. Then there followed one of the maskers apparralled ala Portughehse with a cassacke and gargasses of cramoyzin satinn layde on with Silver lace, his portugall cappecoat and cappe both of Russett cloth of silver, havinge in one hande a Portugall darte blonte at both endes and in the other a portugall timbrell with bells after their manner[,] There followed him vffe other maskers attyred in all poynetes like to him[,] After they had passed once or twysse abowte the hawle they came vppe where their Maiies sate and the two boyes sang to the lute a Frenche song[,] afterwarde they retorned down agayne — shakinge in measure their timbrells[,] and in their passinge each of them tooke an arrowe owte of the boyes quyvers which represented cupydes, wherewith they threatned each other...The Portugheh lykewyse tooke arrowes[,] Thereon the too boyes havinge too scarfes of carnation and silver tynsell made a barryer by holdinge by both endes the scarfe at length[,] the spanishe women kepinge them selves on the one syde and the Portugalle men on the other[,] They came to the barriers one to one still observinge the measure in offeringe their fight[,] but the Portugheh when [it] should come to strayke the women threwe downe their darts, submittinge them selves by their countenances as overcom which acte they passed one after an other[,] Whereon there was put on the womens heads garlandes by the cupydes[,] Then the Portugheh by gestures made request to the spanishe women to vse compassionne towards them[,] Whereon the cupydes went awaye with the barriers[,] Then the Ladies after a whyle with cherefull gestures put the garlandes on the portugheh heads so they entred into sundry daunses together Wherein the greater part of the afternoone of that daye was spent / whyle these things were dooinge it pleased the k: to minster sundrye occasions of speche and callinge to him yonge Lansae the chef and devyser of the maske willed him to bringe him the verses which were songe[,] After that the kyng had a little perused them, he delyvered them to me[,] Whereon I sayde this should present howe your Maiies will were to celebrate the vnitie of Portugall with spayne[,] he sayde to me , it is to showe what they passe and our mislyke, for that his mother pretended her ryght to that Realme...

174 In the address “To the Reader” of his New Citharen Lessons Thomas Robinson describes a fourteen-course instrument and declares: “for the which Citharen, I must remaine a thankeful debter, and wellwiler to a most kind and louing Gentleman and scoller of mine, Master Edward Winne, an attendant of the Right Honorable Robert Earle of Salisbury, now Lord high Treasurer of England.”

175 Superintendent of the Queen Mother’s household.
Appendix D. Musical Papists.

A study of English music and recusancy is long overdue. Among musicians known to have been or suspected of being Catholic are Dowland, Byrd (see, e.g., the Essex Recusant, VII [1965], 18-23), Sebastian Westcott, master of the Children of Paul's (MA, III [1911-12], 149-57), Peter Philips (Recusant History, IV [1957], 48-60), John Bull (Acta Musicologica, XXXII [1960], 175-77), Thomas Morley (Monthly Musical Record, LXXXIX [1959], 53-61; Lute Society Journal, IV [1962], 28-30), probably both John Wilbye and Edward Johnson, who for years were in the service of the Kytsoms of Hengrave, known papists (see Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, XXVIII/3 [1960], 254), Edward Paston and the scorpion that provided him with lute-song arrangements of motets, mass movements, consort songs, etc. (Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, IV [1964], 51-69), Daniel Norcom (Report of the Fourth [I.M.S.] Congress [London, 1912], pp. 130-31), Richard Dering (Music & Letters, XXXII [1952], 41-49), Francis Tregian (Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, LXXIX [1953], 51-63), Martin Peerson (Shakespeare Survey, XI [1958], 100), John Bolt, whose departure from the Queen's service is said to have caused Elizabeth to fling her "pantoffle at the Master of Music" (CSP, Dom., Eliz., III, 467; The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves, 1st ser., ed. J. Morris [London, 1872], pp. 297-300); William Bathe (T. Corcoran, Studies in the History of Classical Teaching [Dublin, 1911], pp. 2-13); and, no doubt, many of the musicians employed at Nonesuch, first by Arundel, then by Lumley (Musical Quarterly, LIV [1968], 47-57); etc. Three of Dowland's compositions (LM 12, 57, and VM II/10) are dedicated to individuals known or thought to have been Catholics: the Dr. John Case who included Dowland's name in a list of distinguished instrumentalists of the time (see Music & Letters, L [1969], 265-66; also LV [1974], 452); Mrs. Vaux (see JD, p. 433); and Hugh Holland (see L. I. Guiney, Recusant Poets, I [New York, 1939], 361-67).

If Sir Thomas Mounson was justifiably accused by the Lord Chief Justice of being "popish," who "never denied his poperie though he were divers tymes charged withall" (PRO, SP 14/84, No. 9, dated 4 December 1615), then the education of Robert Dowland during the years his father was at the court of Denmark was in the hands of a papist. That goods, lands, and the fines due from particular recusants (PRO, SP 38/8; SP 14/11, no. 23, f. 57v; SP 14/84, No. 9; E. 377/24) were assigned to Mounson by the King argues nothing against his being a Catholic; recusants are known to have been offered and have accepted from James I the property of co-religionists (see L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 [Oxford: Oxford University, 1965], pp. 727-28).

Mrs. Poulton points out, JD, pp. 40-45, in her very sensible analysis of the letter in which Dowland confessed to Robert Cecil of having been "an obstinate papist," that Elizabeth's religious policies could be as accommodating as they were sometimes repressive, and she cites the well-known instance of the recusant Byrd in the Chapel Royal. She might also have mentioned the petition Byrd sent to the Earl of Salisbury sometime after the Queen's death, "to crave the [King's] counsailers letter to Mr. Attorney Generall to like effect and favor for his recusancye as the late gratious Q. and her counsailer gave him" (undated, unsigned paper, Hatfield House; see Miscellanea: Recusant Records, ed. C. Talbot, Catholic Record Society, LIII [1961], 157).

Appendix E. Gregory Howet.

Howet is not so mysterious a figure as Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 411-12, makes him out to be. He was appointed lutenist to the Wolfenbüttel court on 22 May 1591 (M. Ruhnke, Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der deutschen
Hofmusikkolegien im 16. Jahrhundert [Berlin, 1963], p. 65), at a yearly salary of 90 Gulden (W. Gurlitt, Michael Praetorius [Leipzig, 1915], p. 117), which by 1606/07 had been increased to 150 Taler plus 30 Taler “Saitengeld” (F. Chrysander, “Der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Cappelle und Oper,” Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft, I [1863], 150). On 18 December 1593 he received 15 Taler “zu Behuf seiner Reise nach Leipzig am Gnaden” (Gurlitt, p. 113), and in 1595 a gift of 1200 Taler “für den Erwerb eines Hauses” (Ruhnke, p. 71). In the well-known “Memorial” of 1614 on the state of the ducal Capelle at Wolfenbüttel, Praetorius wrote of Howet:

Dieweil Gregorius, Lautenist, sich bisher in unser Music nicht gebrauchen lassen, ich auch nicht gern wollte, dass er als numehr ein alter Diener hierzu sollte genöthigt werden: so wäre hoch vonnöthen, wie ich mit Gregorio selbste drauss geredet, dass auf einen Lautenisten, der die Concerten mit Tribben und Coloraturen zu exorniren gut wäre, wie ich dann mich darnach bemühen will, auch etwas geordnet würde. (Chrysander, p. 154)

Two years later “der alter Diener” is still listed among the court musicians (Ruhnke, p. 71). As a performer he was, according to the Landgrave, unsurpassed in the playing of motets and madrigals on the lute (“ein erfahrner geübter Lautenist, undt was muteten madrinal zu schlagen anlangt, gar perfect undt wohl Passiert”; see E. Klessmann, “Die Deutschlandreisen John Dowlands,” p. 14), and he used the thumb in the new manner in striking the strings, according to the treatise, “De Methodo Studenti in Testudine,” copied by the Königsberg lutenist Strobäus (BL Sloane Ms. 1021, f. 24). He must have had a reputation as a teacher of lute playing, for in October 1606 Christian IV sent Hans Nielsen to study with him at Wolfenbüttel, where the Dane remained for two years (Dania Sonans, II, xii).

Howet is called “der Engländer” in the Wolfenbüttel records, and one of his galliards is described as “Englessa” in one source, “Anglica” in another. In M. Reymann’s Noctes Musicae (Heidelberg, 1598) he is referred to as “Gregorius Hovvet Belga,” as “of Antwerpe” in Var, and as a musician “qui Germanis celebres” in one of the dedicatory effusions printed at the beginning of Mertel’s Hortus Musicalis Novus (Strassburg, 1615). Music for lute by him appears in most of the continental prints and manuscripts in which Dowland is represented; nothing by Howet is found in English sources, with the exception of the fantasia in Var and the “Walsingham” Galliard, if that piece is actually by him.

The following is a list of Howet’s known compositions. They are for solo lute unless otherwise indicated.

5. Pavan. FM, II, No. 90. “Pavana á 5. voc. Gregorij Huberti.” The pavan is in part based on the Lachrimae, a version of which follows in FM.

In duple time; followed in the Ms. by another duple-time galliard, this one ascribed to Dowland (CLM, No. 87).

Galliard 2 is almost identical with the “Walsingham” Galliard: its second and third strains are musically the same, its first strain only slightly different (see Music Example 2 above). I suspect that someone (in England?) observed that Howet’s first strain resembles the ballad tune and altered his music to accommodate the English tune. This variant form of Galliard 2 appears in the following sources, all English and anonymous:

7a. (a) Wi, f. 17, “As I wente to walsingham” (ed. D. Stephens, The Wickhambrooke Lute Manuscript, pp. 101-03; (b) D2, f. 29, n.t.; (c) CCB b, ff. 38v-39, n.t. (cittern); CCB c, f. 10, “Walsingham gall” (recorder); CCB d, f. 6v, n.t., R. Reade (bass viol).

Further concerning this galliard, see p. 00-00 above.


Makes use of the same themes as CLM, No. 40, “The King of Denmark’s Galliard,” of which an anon. setting is in L, pp. 202-03.


Only the bass part survives.

Doubtful attribution.


Begins with the third strain of CLM, No. 40; otherwise an independent piece.

Lost works.


b. Fantasias. According to Eitner, Quellen-Lexikon, V, 215, the von Loss LB also contained two fantasias by Huwet, according to R. Wustmann, Musikgeschichte Leipzig, I (Leipzig, 1909), 231, three.

Appendix F. Fabritio Dentice.

In the “Postscripta” to a letter written in Madrid on 27 September 1564 and addressed to Lord Robert Dudley, the English envoy to Spain, Sir Thomas Chaloner, wrote at length about the Neapolitan lutenist Fabritio Dentice and his
father Luys. A précis of the passage is in HMC 70, Pepys Mss., p. 30; the entire passage is given here, taken from the original at Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library Ms. I.207, pp. 213-16.

Post scripta
At my being at Barcelona in Marche last it was my chance to here fabricio Denti sonne vnto Luys denti playe on the Lute / Luys Denti was offred of Kyng Henry the viii[th] M[.] Crownes pencion yereely to serve him, and as then he refused it / the fathers play was but meane, but his voyce the swetest that any in owr tyme hath been praysed for / The yong Man fabricio a gentilman Napolitan of a semely personage was with me in my lodging[.] I herd hym both playe and syng / his play for clene handling and depe Musike and partes withall and excellent fyngering in tyme and place, is vncomparable of any that ever I herd / A lute in his hand speketh other langage then ever I yet herd / and pardee I can somewhat playe and [have] skyll of lute playe my self / his sin[ging] (which him self passeth not so muche of) is also excellent in a faining voyce after the Napolitan fashion / he told me he entendeth this wynter tyme to repayre into Ingland and kisse the Quenes s[on]ne hanDES handes. I letted not encourage him all I might, and said that trusting to be there afore him I wold not misse to make his waye with the best comendacio[n] I might / Wherfore seing my disgrace kepeth me here beyond all [good] expectations, I can no more but recommend hym to your honour as the favoerer of all gentilmen[,] specially strangers of any vertues profession. I nothing dowbt but your lordship ones hearing him playe will procure her MaTes shall heare him / and then of the lykke I lesse dowbt / An entertaynment of cccc Cr[owns] a yere bestowed on such a son as he were not owt of the waye though others were cawld that deserve it lesse / . . .

Though Fabritio is not known to have visited England, his name was known to many English lutenists: in F. Ke.'s translation of Le Roy's Briefe and plaine Instruction (London, 1574), f. 41v, reference is made to "Lutes tuned after the maner of Fabrice Dentice the Italian, and of other his followers. Where those strynges that stande twoo and twoo together, bee sette in one Tune, and not by eights, which thei doe for a perfection of harmonie, in auoydyng many vnissions, whiche those eight would cause."

Two of Fabritio's lute songs are in the Bottegari LB (ed. C. MacClintock, Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1965, pp. 87-88), four of his fantasias in Besard's Thesaurus Harmonicus, ff. 14v, 15v, 32v-33, 35v; and three pieces in Hain: Ditter Thail, f. 10v, "Phantasia"; Sechster Thail, f. 25v, "Gagliarda"; and Zwelffster Thail, f. 4v, "Volte de Spagne."

Appendix G. Ferdinando Heyborne's Letter to Sir Michael Hicks.

The circumstances surrounding the composition of music during Dowland's lifetime are rarely recorded. Heyborne's letter provides an exception. The writer was a minor figure and the pieces he composed for Sir Michael Hicks's daughter do not survive, but both he and they were probably typical of the period, he of the domestic musician, they of the lessons such musicians wrote for the delectation of their patrons and the education of their children. Heyborne's letter is preserved in BL Lansdowne Ms. 92, No. 61, and has been reprinted (with some inaccuracies) by W. Robinson, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Tottenham in the County of Middlesex, 2nd. ed. (London, 1840), I, 113-14. The letter is addressed: "To my honorable frend S[1] Michaeill
Hickes give thes at his house in London.”

Sir. When I saw yow Last yow spake to me for some virginal Lessons for your daughter. I haue therfore made thes of purpose for you which is more than I have doon since Q Eiz. dyed. ffor since her death I haue had many things to drawe me from all Musickall exercises and nothing to invite me thervnto. till nowe that his Ma[tie] hath byn pleased graciously to consider of my yeeres & Long service & to grant me Leave to wayt as I shall fynd my self able. And by that means I shall enioye my self at home the more, & sometyme perhaps take pleasure to Lookke vpon y^e virginalles when the wether sers not to hedg & dich & to do those thes that I must nowe get my Lyving by; & then if my Labor in this kynd or any way may do yow pleasure I shalbe willing to bestowe it. if he that teacheth your daughter will coppie thes out & Leave my coppie at Me Candelers office in the Royall exchnang & therewithall write me a word or tow howe thes things may fitt your daughters hand, I shall as my Leisure will serve remember yow sometymes with some such toyes. which is all I am able to do for my frendes, among whom I desire to hold yow And so I shall euer seek to deserve. Totnam this 16 of Aug. 1611.

Y^e assured pootre frend.
Fer. Heyborne.

Appendix H. Christopher Heyborne’s Letter to Lord Burghley.

Christopher Heyborne, who shared the patent for music printing with Morley and therefore the 9l. 10s. in fees for the printing of Dowland’s Second Booke, was “Mr. Fernando’s brother” (see Morley’s letter of 23 July 1598 to Cecil, Salisbury Papers, VIII, 273), and was earlier in the service of Lord Burghley, Cecil’s father, as the following letter, dated 1591, makes clear. It is in BL Lansdowne Ms. 99, No. 57, f. 157:

I beseech your honoure, to graunte me pardon for presuming, so boldly to showe my greef or discontentment. So it is, I am trobled in my minde. with dayly experiens of your honours myselfe towards me. which I wolde be loth to induluer longer. it is so greefus to my hart. to be mayntained by so honourable and worthy a master. and be thought of his honour to be an unworthy servant/

My time of hopinge to content your honour is now expirde quite, Ill strive no moer to sine youe your honours delicate earers to my yll temperide musicke. but content my self that I have doune my best, to desverse your honours favorabe sensure. worthy my entertainment. But this much I say for my self, or in the behalf of my musick. eaven as it is impossible for to have all the delicate fruits of the Indias, and other partes of the worlde to growe in on

176Hicks, for many years Cecil’s secretary, was frequently concerned with music and musicians, as Lansdowne Mss. in the BL show. On 4. Oct. 1594 Anthony Holborne wrote him concerning a debt (Ms. 77, No. 40; publ. CW, ed. Kanazawa, 1, 1: Hicks often lent money, was known to be fair to his debtors); sometime before the middle of 1604 the Earl of Northumberland wrote asking Hicks to find him a good teacher of lute playing (Ms. 109, No. 51; see App. L); in 1607 he gave the Earl of Salisbury a viol (Charteris, “Jacobean Musicians,” p. 120); on 16 Jan. 1611 Thomas Bellow wrote Hicks that he would try to procure for him a fine Irish harp (Ms. 92, No. 83), and on 7 Feb. 1611 Sir John Denham, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, wrote that he was sending Hicks such a harp (Ms. 92, No. 84); on 16 Aug. 1611 Sir Ferdinando Heyborne wrote that he had composed the virginal pieces Hicks had requested for his daughter (Ms. 92, No. 61; see App. G); on 12 April 1612 John Bull wrote requesting a place in reversion for his son (BL Add. Ms. 6194; see MB, XIV, xxiv). For a time Sir Michael employed a musician named Cuthbert Bolton, but he turned out to be a thief and was discharged; several of his letters—to Hicks, to Mrs. Hicks, to his father and mistress—are among the Lansdowne Mss., Ms. 88, Nos. 54, 72, 81; Ms. 89, Nos. 10, 13, 18, 31; Ms. 101, Nos. 43, 44; none concerns music.
English garden, so is it unpossibell to comprehend the varietie in musicks pleasors upon on Instrument/ Most humble your poor searvant intreathith to understand your liking or myslyke of me or my qualloles, that I may be in hop of your good opinion. or be resolved of the contrary. 

Your houmble and obedient searvant Chr: Hybourne

f. 158v: 
From my self your obedient searvante Chr: Heybourne. 

Ch. Heybourne Richards

Appendix I. Dowland’s Danish Salary. 

A. Hammerich was the first scholar to claim that Christian IV paid Dowland so handsomely as to place him “upon an equal financial footing with the Admiral of the Realm, who received the same salary.”\(^{177}\) Though often repeated, the comparison is erroneous. Dowland was indisputably one of the highest paid court servants and received in addition to his annual salary of 500 Daler occasional large gifts of money from the King. However, his earnings did not equal the income of the Admiral, a member of the administration, who, in addition to an annual salary of 600 Daler, received during the years 1596-1608 the total yields of Vestervig Monastery and sief in North Jutland, income greater by far than his salary but difficult to calculate in Daler, since part of it was in kind (corn, meat, butter, etc.).\(^{178}\)

A more realistic comparison can be made on the basis of information supplied by Fynes Moryson, who spent part of 1593 in Denmark and makes the following observation in the manuscript version of his “Itinerary”:

Some thirty gentlemen following the Court at that tyme had each man fifty dollars monethly to keepe five horses. The Cuppbearer had as much [i.e., 600 Daler annually] to keepe so many horses, and moreouer 300 dollars yearely for wages or pention. The like intertainment had the cheefe Cooke and two gentlemen Sewers who carried vpp the meat. . . .\(^{179}\)

One can also compare Dowland’s salary with that paid Thomas Cutting, the English lutenist who took his place at the Danish court in 1608.\(^{180}\) According to the Treasurer’s Account Book (Rentemesterregnskaberne) for 1608-09, ff. 757v-58:

His Majesty the King has most graciously engaged and taken into His service Tomam Cutting for an instrumentalist, and the said Majesty will graciously grant him an allowance of 300 Daler per annum inclusive of expenses for board and lodgings; the said sum is to be paid him in monthly portions of 16 Daler [for board and lodging] by His Majesty’s Chief Scribe, the remainder, 108 Daler, he will receive from His Majesty’s Exchequer at the end of the year,


\(^{178}\) I am indebted to Edit Rasmussen of the Rigsarkivet for this information.

\(^{179}\) Oxford, Corpus Christi, Ms. No. 94, f. 236.

\(^{180}\) The story of Cutting’s leaving the service of Lady Arabella Stuart for that of Christian IV is known from five letters preserved among the Harleian manuscripts in the BL; see App. Z.

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and this allowance of his shall take its beginnings and run from Easter Day anno 1608 in accordance with the certificate conveyed to him by His Majesty dated April 1st anno 1608; a copy of the same is enclosed from which further details may be learned.  

Cutting appears to have received no gifts of any sort, just his salary, a far less royal entertainment than that received by Dowland.

According to Moryson, *Itinerary* (London, 1617; repr. Glasgow, 1907), II, 153, the Danes 'esteemed an English Angell at two Dollers, and little more than the fourth part of a Doller. The angel was worth 10s.; thus one Danish Daler was worth a little less than 9 English shillings. Eastland's expenses in publishing Dowland's *Second Booke* came to 47L 12s.; calculated in Daler, the sum was equal to about a fifth of the lutenist's annual salary.

**Appendix J. The Danish Records.**

The court records of Dowland's Danish service have never been published in full. A few are summarized in Hammerich's *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof* and a few published in their entirety in the *Kancelliets Brevbøger*. Mrs. Poulton provides a précis of most of the entries, *JD*, pp. 55-63, and a facsimile of one (on pl. opp. p. 217). Unfortunately several entries are omitted, one is dated wrong, and there are a few other minor inaccuracies. The following transcript of all the Danish records referring to Dowland was made at my request by the late Thomas Hatt Olsen of the Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, who also provided the English translations.

   His Royal Majesty has graciously appointed and accepts John Dowland to be a lutenist in the service of his Majesty, wherefore His said Royal Majesty intends yearly to let him have for his sustenance 500 dollars out of His Majesty's public treasury, in accordance with the contents of his letters of appointment, a copy of which has been deposited here. Dated Frederiksborg on the 18th November in the year 1598.


83. On the 18th August given to the above mentioned John Dowland, lutenist, on account, of his yearly salary to which he is humbly entitled from His Royal Majesty, for the duration of one year [in left margin: 100 dollars] from the 18th of November in the year 1598, from which time his salary begins to run,

181 I am indebted to Svend Aakjaer of the Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, for the translation from the Danish.

182 There is no mention of July 16th hence no need to account for the interval between that date and November 18th, as in *JD*, p. 55.
according to the terms of his commission, and until the 18th of November next, in this present year 1599.


94. On the 30th November given to John Dowland, lutenist, wherewith he is now satisfied and paid off, to the sum of 500 dollars, which is his salary to which he has been humbly entitled from His Royal Majesty, for one year [in left margin: 200 dollars] reckoned from the 18th of November in the year 1598, from which time his salary began to run according to his letters of appointment, and until the 18th of November last, in this present year 1599. Of which sum His said Royal Majesty’s treasury has formerly, under the 18th of August 1599 last, paid and satisfied him 100 dollars on account of the same salary, which are entered above. Moreover Harmes Roese, grocer and citizen of Elsinore, has on behalf of His Majesty satisfied the said John Dowland with 200 dollars of his said salary, which settles his salary claim for the last year as is written above.


95. Thennd 20. februairj, giuffuett for:ne Johannes Doulannt, Lutenist, som er hans besoldung for [in left margin: ijfe xxv daller] 3 Maaneder, fraa thennd 18. Novembris, Anno. 1599. Och till thennd 18. februairj nest forledenn, wdi nernerrenndis Aar. 1600. 95. On the 20th February given to the said John Dowland, lutenist, in settlement of his salary for [in left margin: 125 dollars] 3 months, from the 18th of November 1599 and until the 18th of February last, in this present year 1600.183


6. *Bilag til Rentemesterregnskaber*, 1600-1601 (Udg. konto no. 7[C.d.])


I, Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist, acknowledge that by the instruction and command of the honourable and noble Christopher Walckendorff of Glorup, Lord High Steward of the kingdom of Denmark, I

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183 Not “February 18th until May 18th,” as in *JD*, p. 56.
have received from the honourable and noble men, Eenvold Krusse of Hiermitslevgaard and Siuert Beck of Fjørslev, His Royal Majesty's treasurers, six hundred old dollars which His said Royal Majesty has upon this time graciously given and presented to me. In acknowledgement of this I have signed the present receipt with my own hand. Done in Copenhagen on the 28. July Anno 1600. [Signed:] Jo: Dowland 184

7. Rentemesterregnskab, 1600-1601, f. 530.
158. The same day [31 August] given to John Dowland, His Royal Majesty's lutenist, as his salary for three months, [in left margin: 125 dollars] from the 18th of May 1600 and to the 18th of August following in the same year.

8. Ibid., f. 532v.
172. On the 24th November given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty's lutenist, as his salary for three months, [in left margin: 125 dollars] reckoned from the 18th August and until the 18th November last, in this present year 1600.

173. On the 24th of February given to the said Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty's lutenist, as his salary for three months, [in left margin: 125 dollars] reckoned from the 18th of November 1600, and until the 18th of February last, in this present year 1601.

84. On the 19th of May given to John Dowland, His Royal Majesty's lutenist, as his salary for three months [in left margin: 125 dollars], reckoned from the 18th of February, and until the 18th of May last, in this present year 1601, which is for a whole year 500 dollars.

85. Thennd 6 Juný giffud for: Johannes Dowlannd Konn: Ma: Luteniis, som højgbemeldt Konn: Ma: Naadigst haffuer Ladet forstreke hannum, for- [in left margin: iijct Dr] wd paa handenn at tienne fore, Och er hanns besoldung, for eett halfft aar, beregnit fraa dennd 18 Maý, nest forledenn, Och till dennd 18 Nouembris fprstkommenndis Udj nerwerendes aar 1601.
85. On the 6th of June given to the said John Dowland, His Royal Majesty's lutenist, which His said Royal Majesty has graciously advanced him as a deposit to serve for, and it is his salary [in left margin: 250 dollars] for six months, reckoned from the 18th of May last, and until the 18th of November

184. There is no reason to conjecture, as Mrs. Poulton does, JD, p. 56, that the sum of 600 old Daler which Dowland received from the King and for which he was required to sign a receipt was anything but a gift; the words, skenckhít, och med foreshidt (“given and presented”), which occur in the receipt, also occur in the Treasury Voucher (doc. 12, below) recording the gift (sehenckhe och forehere) of the King’s portrait to Dowland.
185. Not “November 27th,” as in JD, p. 57.
next, in this present year 1601.186

12. *Bilag til Rentemesterregnskaber*, 1601-1602 (Udg. konto no. 7[C.d.]).


Upon His Royal Majesty’s gracious command His Majesty’s treasury has forwarded and delivered to Master John Dowland, lutenist, one plain portrait of His Royal Majesty, made of crown gold, which His said Royal [omitted: Majesty] has graciously given and presented to him. Done in Copenhagen on the 6th of June Anno. 1601. [signed: ] Christian R


Cronneborg 5. fbris a:o 1601.187

The customs officers received letter because they have transferred 300 dollars to Dulanndt who according to His Majesty’s orders is to purchase several instruments in England, and said 300 dollars are to be credited their accounts. Cronneborg the 5th of September anno 1601.


On the 19th of June given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist, as his [in left margin: 250 dollars] salary for six months, reckoned from the 18th of November 1601, and until the 18th of May last, in this present year 1602.


On the 4th of September given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist, as his [in left margin: 125 dollars] salary for three months, reckoned from the 18th of May, and until the 18th of August last, in this present year 1602.


....wdj lige maader eftersom wij wille haffue den engelske harpsnslaer och den danzer afftacket, effterdj deris aar wel nu schall werre om, tha bede wij eder och wille, attj thennom afftacker och lader gisfue och forniige thennom huis pension thennom aff Dulannd vdj Engelandt, er loffuit och tillsagt, dog attj beholder harpen efftherdj wij den haffuer betalld....

.... as we desire that the English harpist188 and the dancer be discharged because their time is up by now, we likewise beg of you that you discharge

186 There are no “definite signs of trouble” in this entry, as Mrs. Poulton, *JD*, p. 57, states. Normally Dowland received his salary in four quarterly installments, viz., around the 19th of Feb., May, Aug., and Nov. In 1601 he received the Aug. and Nov. Installments in June because the King was sending him to England to buy musical instruments (see doc. 13) and to hire performers (see doc. 16). Dowland may have remained in England for not quite a year; he was back in Denmark by 19 June 1602, on which date he received the Feb. and May installments of his salary.

187 The document is dated “S. 7bris” [= Septembbris], not “S 1bris,” as in *JD*, p. 57.

188 Not a “lutenist,” as in *JD*., p. 58. Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof*, p. 24, proposed Henrik (= Henry Sandam), a dancing-master, and Carolus Oralli, “Harpenslaer,” as the two performers dismissed by the King, though he had doubts about Oralli’s being English. I believe the name was O’Reilly, a good one for a harp player.
them and please them by granting them the allowance which Dulant of England has promised and pledged, still you will have to keep the harp because we paid for it. . . .

17. Rentemesterregnskab, 1602-1603, f. 982v.
Thennd 19. Novembris, giffuit Mister Johannes Dowlannd, Konng: M: Lutenist, [in left margin: $f^{e}_9$ xxv Dr] som er hanss besoldning, for triinde Maannder, beregnit fraa denn 18. Augustj oc till denn 18. Novembris nest forleden vdj nerverendis aar, 1602. On the 19th of November given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist [in left margin: 125 dollars], as his salary for three months, reckoned from the 18th of August and until the 18th of November last, in this present year 1602.

Thennd 19. februiarj, giffuet Mister Johannes Dowlandt, Konng: M: Lutenist. som er [in left margin: $f^{e}_9$ xxv Dr] hanss besoldning, for iiij Maannder, beregnit fraa denn 18. Novembris 1602. oc till den 18. februiarj nest forledenn Vdj nerverendis aar 1603. On the 19th of February given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist, as his [in left margin: 125 dollars] salary for three months, reckoned from the 18th of November 1602, and until the 18th of February last, in this present year 1603.

19. Rentemesterregnskab (koncept), 1603-1604, no foliation; heading: Instrumentister.
On the 21st of May given to John Dowland, Lutenist, as his salary for three months reckoned from the 18. February A°. 1603 [in left margin: 125 dollars], and until the 18th of May following in the same year, which is annually 500 dollars.189

20. Loc. cit.
Thennd 15. Julij, giffuetd Johannes Dowlandt, Luttenist. Som er hanss Besoldung, for Thrinde Maannder [in left margin: $f^{e}_9$ xxv Dr], Och er att bergegne, fraa thennd 18. Mayj nest forleden, och till thennd 18 Augustj. Ærst komendis, vdj nerverendis aar. 1603.
On the 15th of July given to John Dowland, lutenist, as his salary for three months [in left margin: 125 dollars] to be reckoned from the 18th of May last and until the 18th of August next in this present year 1603.

On the 10th of July given to Master John Dowland, lutenist, as his salary for one year, reckoned from the 18th of August 1603 and until the 18th of August next, in this present year 1604. However, it depends on His Royal Majesty’s gracious pleasure whether His Majesty will be pleased to grant him the said salary, in view of the fact that he has travelled [in left margin: 500 dollars] to England on his own business and remained there for a long while, longer than His Royal Majesty had granted him leave of absence. And in case His Royal Majesty will not grant [part] of the said salary, he shall do future

189 Having missed this and the following entry, Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 58-59, conjectures that Dowland was in England shortly before 21 February 1603, in time to deliver the Ms. of his Third and Last Booke to the printer.
service therefore, or give satisfaction to His Royal Majesty therefore in other ways.


On the 19th of November given to Master John Dowland, lutenist, as his salary for three months [in left margin: 125 dollars], reckoned from the 18th of August and until the 18th of November of this present year 1604.\textsuperscript{190}


On the 19th of February given to Master John Dowland, lutenist, as his salary for three [in left margin: 125 dollars] months, reckoned from the 18th of November 1604, and until the 18th of February in this present year 1605.


On the 30th of April given to Master John Dowland, lutenist, as his salary for three [in left margin: 125 dollars] months, reckoned from the 18th of February last, and until the 18th of May in this present year 1605.


On the 9th of July given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist, as his salary, of which His said Royal Majesty has made him advance payment with a view to his [future] service, for nine months [in left margin: 375 dollars] reckoned from the 18th of May last, in this present year 1605, and until the 18th of February next, when we shall write 1606.


Jan Dulandt fick befalling att lere Han. Borckratz paa luten. Christi: nus. IV.


Jan Dulandt was ordered to teach
Hans Borckratz playing the lute.

Christian IV.

We make known to all that most graciously we have ordered our well-beloved Jan Duland the lutenist to teach the bearer of this letter, Hans Borckratz, a member of our Chapel, to play on the lute, and so we most graciously have granted him an annual sum of a hundred dollars in return for his teaching this boy and giving him board and lodgings as well. Begging this of our treasurers, and ordering them, both those of the present day and those to come, to accure to the said Jan Dulandt the annual sum of 100 dollars as long as no other orders

\textsuperscript{190}The “significant gap of three months,” noted by Mrs. Poulton, *JD*, p. 62, is filled by this entry, which she overlooked.


On the 2nd of November given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s lutenist, as an advance payment on his salary for the coming year, which does not begin until the 18th of February 1606, paid to him by the honourable and noble Breide Randzow of Randzowsholm, governor, on behalf of His said Royal Majesty. The sum is to be deducted in the coming settlement with him [i.e. Dowland].

28. Ibid., fl. 536v-537.


On the 10th of March given to Master John Dowland, His Royal Majesty’s former lutenist, in final satisfaction and settlement with him, 8 dollars and 11 shillings of current money, which is his salary for 6 days reckoned from the 18th of February 1606, and until the 24th day following in the same month, when he was dismissed from the service. [in left margin: 4½ dollars, 9½ shillings, 3 d.] Moreover, 38 dollars, 1½ shillings and 4 d., current money, which were due to him for instruction and sustenance for that boy whom His Royal Majesty has graciously entrusted to him, for 4½ months and 2 days, reckoned from the 10th of October 1605 and until the 24th of February 1606, which makes in a year 100 dollars, in accordance with the terms of his commission concerning the said boy. Furthermore, 32 dollars, 11½ shillings and 5 d., current money, which have been due to him for lute strings, and for the same boy, who was placed with him in order to receive board and instruction, before his commission came into force, according to the enclosed statement, handed in and signed by Henning Gdíe, steward of the Royal court. In the settlement with him [i.e. Dowland] 20 dollars have been deducted from

191 Several symbols for fractions have been misread in JD, p. 63.
the above amounts, which [20 dollars] the honourable and noble Breide Randzow of Randzowsholm, governor, paid him on behalf of His said Royal Majesty on the 2nd of November 1605 from His Majesty’s public treasury. Furthermore, deduction has been made of $73.50 dollars and 15 shillings, Lübeck money, which he has received, according to his own statement and the contents of the enclosed signed note, on various occasions from Hans Simensen, clerk of the naval establishment here. He [i.e. Dowland] has now been completely satisfied and paid off as regards his salary which was annually 500 dollars, according to the terms of his commission which, together with the above mentioned commission His Majesty has graciously granted him concerning the above mentioned boy, he has now delivered into His said Royal Majesty’s public treasury, and which has been deposited here.

Appendix K. The King’s Luters, 1593-1612.

A history of the King’s Musick has yet to be written. Woodfill’s account, the best we have, is an overview, not a full-dress history. The calendars, excerpts, summaries, etc., of the surviving records of the Musick published during the past century by Nagel, Lafontaine, Stopes, and the editors of the CSP provide minimal control of the sources on which any history of the royal musicians must be based. In making use of these publications for the information on which the following discussion is based I am acutely aware of the likelihood of error. What is offered is at best a rough draft.

In 1593 Elizabeth had five (possibly six) lutenists in her Musick. Sometime during the following year, probably around June 21st, one of them, John Johnson, died, whereupon Dowland made his first attempt to obtain a place at court. But Johnson, whom Dowland hoped to succeed, was not replaced until 1598, and then it was Edward Collard who was appointed in his place. Also in 1598 Robert Woodward who was probably not a lutenist, died, though for years he was listed with the lutenists in the Account Books of the Treasurer of the Chamber; his place remained vacant until 1612. (Whether Collard owed his appointment to the fact that there were at the time two places vacant—Johnson’s and Woodward’s—we cannot say.) Thus the Queen’s lutenists were reduced in number from five in 1593 to four in 1594, increased to five in 1599, again reduced to four in 1600 (I am assuming that Collard served for only the one year and a quarter his name appears in the Treasury Accounts). During the first year of James I’s reign two places fell vacant—Bassano’s and Piers’s—and these were given to Clement Lanier, a wind player, and to Philip Rosseter, a lutenist. In the same year Robert Johnson was appointed to what appears to have been Collard’s (and before that John Johnson’s) place, which had been vacant for four years. In 1610 Simon Merson succeeded Mathias Mason; and in 1612 Dowland was given Richard Pike’s place, which had been vacant since 1568, and Thomas Warren, a violinist, was appointed to the long vacant place of Robert Woodward. Thus only in the tenth year of James’s reign was the number of lutenists in the King’s Musick again five, the number at the time Dowland first sought to obtain a place at court, and it was to remain five until the end of the
The following charts provide a summary view of the lutenists in the King's Musick for the period 1593-1612.

**Chart 1. Lutenists in the King's Musick, 1593-1612.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Richard Pike</th>
<th>Robert Woodward</th>
<th>Augustino Bassano</th>
<th>Mathias Mason</th>
<th>John Johnson</th>
<th>Robert Hales</th>
<th>Walter Piers</th>
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<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>1594</td>
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<td>1599</td>
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<td>Edward Collard, 1599</td>
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<td>1600</td>
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<td>1604</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Clement Lanier, 1604-42†</td>
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<td>1605</td>
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<td>1610</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Simon Merson, 1610-17</td>
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<td>1611</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td>John Thomas Warren</td>
<td>1612-25</td>
<td>1612-42**</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Probably not a lutenist.  **A violinist.  †A wind player.  ††It is not stated whose place Johnson took.

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Further evidence that the number of lutenists in the King's Musick was limited is found in *Issues of the Exchequer*, ed. Devon, p. 213, where it is recorded that on 18 January 1616 Adam Vallet was "received into his Majesty's service, to be one of his musicians for the lute," and was to be paid quarterly "until he shall be admitted to be one of the said musicians in ordinary. . . ." Vallet is not known to have been made a member of the Musick before 1625, in which year he is listed as one of the "Musitions for Violins" (*KM, 57*).
Chart 2. Salaries Paid the Lutenists Listed on Chart 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lutenist</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Pike</td>
<td>12d. a day</td>
<td>18l. 3s. 4d. per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td>20d. &quot;</td>
<td>30l. 8s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Woodward</td>
<td>8d. &quot;</td>
<td>14l. 1s. 1d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Warren</td>
<td>20d. &quot;</td>
<td>30l. 8s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustino Bassano</td>
<td>2s. &quot;</td>
<td>36l. 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Lanier</td>
<td></td>
<td>36l. 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathias Mason</td>
<td>1579-88</td>
<td>20l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1589-1609</td>
<td>40l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Merson</td>
<td></td>
<td>40l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td>20l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Collard</td>
<td></td>
<td>20l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Robert Johnson]</td>
<td>20d. &quot;</td>
<td>30l. 8s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Hales</td>
<td></td>
<td>40l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Piers</td>
<td></td>
<td>20l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Rosseter</td>
<td></td>
<td>20l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Individual Musicians.

RICHARD PIKE (PYKE).

From 1536 to 1543 Richard Pike was a minstrel in the service of the Earl of Rutland (HMC 24, Rutland Mss., IV, 285, 309, 325, 339). In 1553 he was granted a warrant for livery "durynge pleasure" (KM, 9), in 1556 he is listed among the "mynstrells" in Queen Mary's Musick (PRO, Exchequer Accounts, 429/9), and he continued in court service until his death on 21 May 1568 (MA, I, 122). He is never described as a lutenist in court documents, only as a minstrel or musician.

ROBERT WOODWARD.

From 1557-98 Robert Woodward is listed among the "Musicians," a distinct group within Elizabeth's Musick whose instruments are never specified in the Declared Accounts, probably because they were not all of one kind. (We know from other sources that one of the "Musicians," Richard Woodward, was a bagpipe player; another, Anthony de Counte, was both a lutenist and a virginalist.) What instrument Robert Woodward played is not recorded. It probably was not the lute: in 1598 five men—Woodward, Bassano, Mason, Hales, and Piers—are designated "Musicians" in the Declared Accounts; in the following year Woodward's name is absent and the other four men are designated "Lutes."

AUGUSTINO (Augustine) BASSANO.

Augustino was one of the tribe of Bassani that entered Elizabeth's service in 1559 (MA, I, 60), at which time he had been for twenty-two years in
England; he continued in royal service until 1604 (MA, I-II, passim). From 1565-98 he is listed in the Declared Accounts as a "Musician," after that as a "Lute." The following pieces ascribed to him survive:


3. "Augustines pavan." Trumbull LB, ff. 8v-9; BL Egerton Ms. 3665, ff. 520v-21, a5.

4. "Galliard. / Augustin Bassano." Based on No. 3. BL Egerton 3665, ff. 520v-21, a5.

5. "Pauana. / Augustin Bassano." Ibid., ff. 520v-21, a5.

6. "Galliard. / Augustin Bassano." Based on No. 5. Ibid., ff. 520v-21, a5.


MATHIAS (Mathathias) MASON.

He was appointed "one of the musicians for the three lutes" at 20l. a year on 22 December 1579 (MA, I, 248); given an increase in salary of 20l. on 30 September 1589 (MA, II, 53); described as "lute of the privie chamber" in 1603 (KM, 46); was dead before 6 April 1610 when Simon Merson took his place (MA, II, 238). Dowland (Var, sig. D2) refers to him as "our most famous countriman... one of the Grooms of his Mosties most honourable Priuie Chamber," and as the man who "inuented three frets more, the which were made of wood, and glued upon the belly...." Mason appears to have been "Chief Luter" from 1589 until his death in 1610. The following pieces ascribed to "Mr. Mathias" are probably by Mason:


3. [Coranto]. D9, f. 75v, n.t., "M Mathias."

"Master Mathias his Galliard," in BD, p. 6, may have been composed in Mason's honor; it is almost certainly not by him but by Holborne (see CW, ed. Kanazawa, I, 37-39, 221).

EDWARD COLLARD.

Collard was a member of the Queen's Music from 24 June 1598 until 29 September 1599 (MA, II, 118). Otherwise nothing is known about him, unless he is the Edward Collard who, with Richard Hayes, witnessed Sir Walter Raleigh's bond in 1585 (Documents Relating to Law and Custom of the Sea (ed. R.G. Marsden, I [London, 1915], 235). His compositions for solo

193 In 1567 Augustino Bassano is described as having been "xxij yeres resident in England, so he cannot be the Alinixus de Basam appointed to the King's Musick on 14 April 1540, as Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, p. 307, n. 26, seems to imply. See Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603, ed. W. Page (Lymington, 1893), p. 340; Nagel, 20.

194 Also allowed for money paid to Edwarde Collarde, Musitian in the rume and place of John Johnson, deceased, late one of the saide Musitians, at xx. li. per annum, for his wages due to him for one hoole yere and a quarter accomplinte from the Feaste of St. John Baptiste 1598 untill the Feaste of St. Michael thechaungell anno xij amb Regine predicte by vertue of her Majestes warraunte under the privie Signett dated at Grenewich vij mo Junij 1599-------------xxvii." (PRO, A.O.1/387/37, m. 4d, Michaelmas 40 Eliz. I to Mich. 41 Eliz. I, under the heading "Musitians for the Lutes.")
lute—substantial, interesting music—are these:

2. The Galliard [to No. 1]. E. C. D5, ff. 54v-55.
7. [Variations on Hugh Aston's (alias Tregnian's) Ground.] Collard. D5, ff. 41v-42v, n.t., Collard; D2, ff. 101-101v, n.t., anon. (imperf.).
8. [Variations on "Go from my window."] Collarde. D9, ff. 31v-32.
9. As I went to Wallsingam [a set of variations]. M^2 Collard. W, ff. 9v-10; D2, ff. 96v-97, n.t., Collard; 30, f. 9v, n.t., anon. (vars. 1-4 only).

ROBERT HALES.

Appointed to the Queen's Musick on 3 July 1583 at a "Chief Luter's" salary. Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 407-08, summarizes what little is known of his life. 


PHILIP ROSSETER.

He was appointed to the King's Musick in 1604 and continued in royal service until 1623. What is known of the composer's life and activities is summarized by N. Fortune, "Philip Rosseter and His Songs," Lute Society Journal, VII (1965), 7-14, and I. Harwood, "Rosseter's Lessons for Consort of 1609," ibid., 15-23. His works for solo lute comprise:

5. A galyard by Rossetters. JP, f. 26; D9, ff. 47v-48, n.t., anon.

WALTER PIERS (Peers, Peirce, etc.).

Appointed a "musician for the three lutes" on 3 July 1589; deceased by Michaelmas 1604 (MA, II, 53, 177). Nothing is known of his life save the following remark included in the report of Sir Edward Michelbourne's examination, 13 March 1601, in connection with the Earl of Essex's insurrection: being near the Earl's house, Sir Edward "met with Walter Pierce, a musician, who said 'There is trouble at the Court, and her Majesty hath sent to apprehend the Earl!'" (CSP, Dom., Eliz., 1601-03, p. 13.)

ROBERT JOHNSON.

Appointed to the King's Musick in 1604. What is known of his life is
summarized by I. Spink in his edition of the vocal music (The English Lute-Songs, 2nd ser., XVII [1961], iii-iv), A. Sundermann in his edition of the CW for lute (Music for the Lute, IV [1972], 1), and Sister Jean Carmel, "New Light on Robert Johnson, the King's Musician," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, XVI (1965), 233-35. Sister Jean has discovered, in Folger Shakespeare Library Ms. V.b.198, ff. 71-72v, "a series of receipts for rent paid to Robert Johnson and his wife Anne by Captain Sibthorpe and Lady Southwell for the use of tenements in Acton," near the City of London, and an obituary that establishes the date of the lutenist's death as 18 November 1633, and includes the following eulogy:

"his Comendations... were foure, firste his humilitie for though by the exelence of his qualitye which was Musick in which hee excelled most men his Compeyny was desired both of princes and great personage[s] yet he did asocate the poorest of the parish both with his compeyny, his coumforte, and his Counsell; his second Comendacone was his charitie, for he was [struck out: as well] willinge and earnest to sett peace amongst all men, and readye to forgie an Injurye offered to himself, and to assist [struck out: anye man in] adversitie, his third was his patience which was expresseth both in his life and death, And the fourth was his peniteney..."

He is described, "at his last gaspe," as having entreated his friends "to sett him vpright in his bed and to leaue him that they might not hinder him of his passage."

Additions to the list of Johnson's pieces for lute are proposed by B. Jeffery, *Early Music* [EM in the references below], II (1974), 105-09, 175, and below:


**SIMON MERSON (MARSON, MERSTON).**

Merson was appointed to the King's Musick in 1610, apparently with the help of Sir Thomas Mounson, and continued in service until his death sometime before 4 March 1617 (*MA*, III, 56). Further concerning Merson, see footnote 7, above.

**Appendix L.** "... to bestowe some ydoul tyme uppon the lute. . . ."

"... which Instrument as of all that are portable, is, and euer hath been most in request..." 

195 *Dowland, Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus*, "To the Reader."
Playing on the lute adequately if not expertly was highly esteemed in renaissance England, the example set early in the 16th century by members of the royal family and maintained by them well into the 17th century.

The future Henry VIII and his sisters Margaret and Mary were given lutes by their father, the prince when he was seven, the princesses when they were twelve and nine, respectively. Master Gyles may have instructed both girls: in 1502 he was given 10s. "for stringes for the Quene of Scottes [= Margaret's] lewte," and in 1507, 13s. 4d. "for stringes for my Lady Mares lute." Another of the King's luters, Guylam, who, in 1499, is described as "my Lorde Prince luter," may have instructed Arthur. The playing of two of the royal children is known to have impressed visitors to the English court. In an account of the reception of Philip, King of Castile, at Windsor Castle, 1506, the chronicler reports:

My Lady Mary played on the lute, and after upon the claregalles [= clavichord]; who played very well, and she was of all folks there greatly praised that in her youth in everything she behaved herself so very well.

And the Magnifico Piero Pasqualigo, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary, in a letter dated 1515, wrote of Henry:

He speaks French, English, and Latin, and a little Italian, plays well on the lute and harpsichord, sings from book at sight, draws the bow with greater strength than any man in England, and jousts marvelously.

Of the wives of Henry VIII, two are known to have played on the lute: Anne Boleyn, who, "besides singing like a syren," could accompany herself on the instrument, according to a member of Francis I's court, and Catherine Howard, who at age 14 was instructed in playing on the virginals and lute by Henry Manox, who later became the Queen's lover.

All of Henry's children are known to have played on the instrument. Arthur Dewes, a member of the King's Musick, may have taught Henry Fitzroy, the King's son by Elizabeth Blount; in May 1531 Henry "paid [20s.] to Arthur the lawter for a lewte for the duke of Richemond."


Anglo, op. cit., p. 43.

Anglo, op. cit., p. 34.


S. Giustinian, Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII, trans. R. Brown (London, 1854), I, 86. There were 25 lutes among the "Instruments at Westminster in the charge of Philipp Van Wilder," according to the inventory drawn up in 1547, following Henry's death; see F. W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 3rd ed. (London, 1932), pp. 296, 298. An arr. for lute of Henry's song, "Pastime with good company," is in Melchior de Barberis, Opera Initolata Contina (Venice, 1549), sig. Ee3v-Ex4v, "Pas de mi bon compagni," described in the Tavola as a "Canzone." (I am indebted to Arthur Ness for this reference.)

A. Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, IV (London, 1840), 168, from a source that cannot now be located.

PRO, SP 1, vol. 167, ff. 135-36.

The Princess Mary may have received lessons from Giles, the King's luter, who is listed as "wt the princes" in 1525-26, and she certainly had lessons with another of her father's musicians, Philip van Wilder. At a time when the father's treatment of his daughter was particularly harsh, her mother, Catherine, urged Mary "sometimes, for recreation, use your virginals or lute, if you have any." Of her playing, G. Michiel wrote to the Venetian Senate on 13 May 1557: "she practises music, playing especially on the . . . manicordo and on the lute-so excellently that, when intent on it (though now she plays rarely), she surprised the best performers, both by the rapidity of her hand and by her style of playing." Among the New Year's gifts to Mary in 1556 was a "faire lute, edged with passamayne of golde and silke," presented by the instrument maker Browne, and "a lute in a case, coverid with blake tables [= pictures], thone of the phisnamy of the emperour and the king's maestie, thother of the king of Boheme and his wif," presented to her by Sir Henry Nevell.

Edward also studied with Philip van Wilder and was adept enough to perform for the Mareshal St. André when the latter visited him at Hampton Court in July 1551; afterwards the young King noted in his "Journal" that the Frenchman "dined with me, herd me play on the lute, ride, came to see me in my study, supped with me, and soe departed to Richmond." Two years later Tye, in dedicating his Actes of the Apostles to Edward, admonished the young king in the rhymed preface to the work:

That such good thinges your grace might move,  
Your lute when ye assaye:  
In stade of songs of wanton love  
These stories then to playe.

There is no record of Elizabeth's having studied the lute, but one of the earliest portraits of the Queen, a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, shows her holding one; the Baron Breuner, emissary of the Archduke Charles, reports hearing her play in the summer of 1559, and W. Camden, in his Annales, passim.


Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, VI, 1126.

CSP, Venetian, VI/Ii, p. 1055.


... on the 10th of June, I, after supper, to refresh myself took a boat on the riv'r, and the Queen came there too, recognized and summoned me. She spoke a long while with me, and invited me to leave my boat and take a seat in that of the Treasurer's [sic]. She then had her boat laid alongside and played upon the lute." V. von Klarwill, Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners, trans. T.H. Nash (New York, 1928), p. 96. Another of the Archduke's emissaries, Adam von Zwetcovich, Baron von Mitterburg, wrote of Elizabeth, in

114
translated by R. N. (London, 1635), p. 7, writes of the Queen: “Neither did she neglect Musicke, so farre forth as might beseeme a Princesse, being able to sing and play on the Lute prettily and sweetly.”

James I appears to have been quite unmusical; but Anne, his Queen and Christian IV’s sister, studied lute playing “in Denmarke at Elsanure” with Thomas Robinson, according to the latter’s dedication of The Schoole of Musicke, sig. A2. And Henrietta Maria, Charles I’s Queen, studied lute with the wife of Simon le Tillier and had lessons with Jacques Gaultier, according to the Tuscan ambassador. What instrument(s) James’s sons studied we cannot say, for though the names of their music teachers are known, the instruments they were taught to play are not.

In view of so persistent a cultivation of the instrument by members of the ruling family, it is not surprising to find that many of the nobility and gentry took up the lute, though how many can only be guessed. To the list of those mentioned by L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, pp. 678ff., and J. Buxton, Elizabethan Taste (New York: St. Martin’s 1964), Chapter V, can be added John, Lord Marney, who, in his will, dated 10 March 1525, left his “daughter Kateryn my grete paire of virginalls the litll pair of virginalls of booke fasshen and my grete lute”; and Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who, at the end of the century, wrote Michael Hicks, the Earl of Salisbury’s secretary:

M^f Hycckes foreasmuch as I am nowe of late very well dysposed to bestowe some ydoll tyme uppon the lute I thought good to request you that yf you canne heare of any commendye for that qualtyte and bento to serve that you wyll send hym to mee whear he shall fynde enterntayntn[.] I pray you make dlyyge[n]t enquiry after suche a one...

a letter dated 4 June 1565: “I had also seen her dancing in her apartments, some Italian dances, half Pavane and half Galliard, and she also played very beautifully upon the clavichord and the lute.” Op. cit., p. 228.

215 Playford, The Skill of Musick, 13th ed. (London, 1724), sig. [A7v], claims to “have been informed by an ancient Musician and her Servant, that she [Elizabeth] did often recreate her self on an excellent Instrument call’d the Polyphant, not much unlike a Lute, but strung with Wire,” an instrument invented by Daniel Farunt, according to Playford, Musick’s Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way (London, 1661), sig. A2, “a person of much Ingenuity for his several Rare Inventions of Instruments, as the Poliphant and the Stump, which were Strung with Wire.” A drawing of the poliphant is in R. Holmes’s “Academy of Armoury,” BL Ms. Harl. 2034, f. 207v, and reproduced in J. Pulver, A Dictionary of Old English Music & Musical Instruments (London, 1923), p. 176; details of the instrument’s construction are given in James Talbot’s Ms. (see Galpin Society Journal, XV [1962], 63-66). D. Gill, “The Orphanion and Bandora,” Galpin Society Journal, XIII (1960), 22, conjectures that it was not the poliphant Elizabeth played on (it “probably had not been invented during her lifetime”), but the orphanion, an instrument “used by many a dilettante musician of the governing classes”; and he finds some support for this conjecture “in the light of the traditional connection of the princely Helmingham orphanion with the Queen.”

216 The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton, p. 353; HMC, 11th Report, App., Pt. I, 103-04: “A certain Mons. Gouttier, a Frenchman and a famous performer upon the lute who has given lessons on this instrument to her Majesty...”

217 H.W. King, “Ancient Wills,” Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, III (1863-65), 160. Lord Marney also left “to my said daughter Elizabeth the other litll paire of virginalls”; but “the portatyves that stond in the girte chamb’r” he wished to “remayn within my said house to thuse of my said daughter Kateryn...”

218 BL Lansdowne Ms. 109, No. 51.
In the plan for "The erection of an Achademy in London for education of her Maestes Wardes, and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen," which Sir Humphrey Gilbert drew up sometime after 1562, there is provision for "one Teacher of Musick, and to play one the Lute, the Bandora, and Cytterne, &c.; who shall be yearely allowed for the same ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 26d." 219

The popularity of the lute is also reflected in such records as we have of musical instruments and their accessories imported into England, mostly on ships from Antwerp, where "goods from every part of the known world could be purchased." According to the entries in a London Port Book for the years 1567/8, the following stringed instruments and quantities of lute strings were brought into the country, mostly on English-owned boats. 220

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1567</td>
<td>22 Oct.</td>
<td>20 gross lute strings; 6 Venice lutes (value 6l);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>22 Jan.</td>
<td>2 hrs lute strings; 6 citterns, 6 gitters, 4 small lutes, 6 lutes in cases (value 6l);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 Mar.</td>
<td>2 Venice lutes (value 6l); 6 Venice lutes with cases (value 6l);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Apr.</td>
<td>6 hrs minikins; 3 hrs coarse catlins; 24 coarse lutes with cases;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 Apr.</td>
<td>6 slight citterns, 8 gitters, 2 small lutes (value 5l. 3s. 4d);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 Apr.</td>
<td>50 dozen lute strings;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 Apr.</td>
<td>8 Cologne lutes;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 Apr.</td>
<td>3 hrs minikins;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 Apr.</td>
<td>3 hrs minikins;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 May</td>
<td>8 hrs minikins;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 June</td>
<td>8 hrs minikins;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 June</td>
<td>6 citterns, 6 Cologne lutes (value 1l. 10s.);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 July</td>
<td>3 hrs minikins;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 July</td>
<td>6 hrs minikins;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Aug.</td>
<td>12 Antwerp lutes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all: 86 lutes (6 small, 24 coarse, 6 in cases, 12 Antwerp, 14 Cologne, 24 Venice), 14 gitters, 18 citterns, and 13,848 lute strings within a period of ten months.

So important was the commerce in lutes that they are among the small number of musical instruments listed in The Rates of the Customes house, printed in London, 1582, for the use of those whose job it was to collect duty on imports. There follows a list of all the musical instruments included in the volume, together with the valuation established for each. 221


116
Lutes with cases called Venice lutes the dozen\textsuperscript{223} xijl.
Lute stringes called Minikins the groce xs.
Recorders the set or case containing five pipes vs.
Regalle the pairo xls.
viols the pecees vis. viijd.
virginals double the pair xxiis. iiijd.
virginals single the pair xvis. viijd.

How much an individual might spend on the lute can be judged by the 
amounts John Petre paid out during the years 1568-79, when he was a law 
student at the Middle Temple.\textsuperscript{224}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>To John Taylor for bringing 2 lutes from Aldersgate Street to the Temple</td>
<td>2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>To Mr Pietro for his pains and songs for the lute</td>
<td>5s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
<td>To Bartlett at Fletebridge for lutestrings</td>
<td>20s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>For a wooden boxe to put them in</td>
<td>7s. 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1569</td>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>For a dozen of lute strings [from Bartlett]</td>
<td>3s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>To Mr Pietro for lutestrings</td>
<td>5s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>For 4 knots of lute strings</td>
<td>12d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570</td>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>For lute strings</td>
<td>10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>To Mr Pietro for a lute</td>
<td>50s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix M. Anthony Holborne’s Letter to an Unnamed Patron.

To the biographical information published by M. Kanazawa, CW, I, 1-4, 
and B. Jeffery, Musica Disciplina, XXII (1968), 128-38, can be added the 
following letter, a copy of which is found in Folger Ms. V.a.321, f. 24v, the 
manuscript that contains copies of two letters addressed to Dowland (see nn. 8, 
48). The Holborne letter is without date, the addressee unknown, and the 
composer’s name misspelled, presumably an error made by the unidentified 
copyist. A gift of music appears to have accompanied the original letter.

Right honorable good Lord, these lynes present vnto you the true service of 
hyrn that acknowledgeth him self most vnto you: Insufficient in any sorte to 
deserve well saving in desyer. The testimonie whereof hathe always ayayed your 
good Lordshyppes commandement, which I have ever embraced as a 

davour. I know not whether ever it shall please god to make me a man hal 
so fortunate personally to vysit you: Notwithstanding my care shall be to 

preserve the remembrance of my name with you least it dye by defalt of myne 

owne vnderservinges and Idle hand. / My studies hitherto have bene more ac 

companied with melanchoyle then musicke: whose fruytes yelde neither con 
tent to mee, nor pleasure to another. how be it, my desyre shall never be re-

\textsuperscript{223}Or 20s. a piece. In 1663 a Venice lute was rated at 40s. and a gross of minikins at 

1l. 6s. 8d.; see G.F. Oldham, “Import and Export Duties on Musical Instruments in 1660,” Galpin Society 
Journal, IX (1956), 97-98, whose information comes from The Statutes at Large, III (London, 1763), 147-63. 

\textsuperscript{224}Emmison, “John Petre’s Account-Books, 1567-1577,” Galpin Society Journal, 

XIV (1961), 74-75. 

\textsuperscript{225}According to The Statutes at Large, cited by Oldham, a gross is described as 

“containing 12 dozen knots.”
straynd to lay before your Lo: eyes suche poore skillesse notes as Pan (a mussion for so obscure a place) hathe lent me. Though they tell a tale playne & countriclike, yet am I bolde to prefer them to wayte on you at Courte. Humbly besechinge you to recyve them as true witnesses of the honor I beare you, and simple messengers for the continuance of your lordships good favoure. Whose entertymente (yf the rather for my sake) shall the better enable their younger brothers (yet in the cradle) to do your Lordship yf pleasing service which I my self have ever desired to doe. Who lyveth to honour you with all his powers in true faihte:—And ever shall be.

Your Lordships vnremoveably
the ynfortunate:

Antony Hoborne

To the catalogue of Holborne’s music for lute and bandora can be added the following texts, all in the Trumbull LB, for six of the pieces:

f.  1v  n.t., anon. = CW, I, 20-23, Lute Fantasia No. 3.

4  "A galliard. Mr Clarke" (without the varied reprises)
   = CW, I, 110-12, Lute Galliard No. 8.

5v-6  "A pauan. Mr Johnson" = TCD Ms. 1.21/11, p. 100,
      "A pavin of Jhon Jhonson"; cf. Holborne, CW, I,
      180-83, Bandora Pavane No. 5. Holborne appears to
      have arranged Johnson’s work for bandora and sup-
      plied it with new varied reprises.

12v-13  "A pauan. Mr Holburne" = CW, I, 24-29, Lute Pavane
       No. 1.

14v  "A galliard." Anon. = CW, I, 30-32, Lute Galliard
      No. 1.

19  "gli: cuttings" = CW, I, 117-18, Lute Galliard No. 11.
Appendix N. Howet's Galliard.

J. Rude, Flores Musicae (Heidelberg, 1600), II, No. 98, "Gagliarda"; another version is in L, p. 235, "Galiarda Gregory."

Appendix O. Thomas Robinson.

To the little that is known about Robinson's life (see Lumsden's ed. of The Schoole of Musicke [Paris: C.N.R.S., 1971], pp. xi-xii) can be added the fact that he was one of a large number of lutenists rewarded for playing during the Merchant Taylors' banquet in honor of the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales on 16 July 1609:

"To them that plaid on the Lute:—
To Thomas Robinson 30s., and to John Done 40s., 3l. 10s.
To George Roselor 40s., and to Tho. Sturgeon 40s., 4l.
To Wilm Ffregosie, by Mr. Roselor, 40s., and by Jo. Robson, 40s.
To Nicholas Sturt for himself and his sonne, 4l."
To William Browne, by Sturt, 40s., and to Joseph Sherly 40s., 4l.
To Willm. Morley for himself 40s., and for Robert Kennerly 40s., 4l.
To Robt. Bateman and Stephen Thomas who plaid on the treble violens, by
Nicholas Sturt and Richard Morley, 1l."

(C.M. Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, I [London, 1888], 290, n.)

In his address "To the Reader" of The Schoole of Musicke Robinson alludes to the "faourable acceptance of my first fruits from idlenesse" which "hath excitted mee further to congratulate your Musical endeavours." Lumsden assumes that the composer was referring to the

Medulla Musicke Sucked out of the sappe of Two [of] the most famous Musitians that euer were in this land. Namely Master Wylliam Byrd gentleman of his Majestys most Royall Chappell and Master Alphonso Ferrabosco gentleman of his Majestys pryvie chamber either of whom having made 40th several waiers, without Contention shewing most rare and intricate skill in 2 partes in one vpon the playne songe Miserere The which at the request of a friend is most plainly sett in several distinct partes to be songe (with moore ease and understanding of the less skilfull) by master Thomas Robinson (and alsoe to the further delight of all suche as love Musique) transposed to the lute by the said Master Thomas Robinson.

The Medulla Musicke was registered with the Stationers' Company on 15 October 1603 (Arber, III, 102). The Schoole of Musicke, which was not registered, was published in 1603, sometime after 24 March, on which date James I, to whom the work is dedicated, became King of England. If we assume that the Medulla Musicke was printed sometime after 15 October 1603 and The Schoole sometime before 31 December 1603 (or 24 March 1603/04, if East followed the legal usage in dating the work), there were but 2½ (or 5½) months between the printing of the two works, little time in which to generate the "faourable acceptance" that called forth the Medulla Musicke. Robinson may have had another publication in mind.

No copy of the intabulations of the Byrd-Ferrabosco canons has ever been reported, and it has been suggested a number of times that the work was registered but not published. If Robinson was not referring to the Medulla Musicke, to what "first fruits" did he refer? Perhaps the anonymous "new booke of Citernes Lessons" registered with the Stationers' Company 19 November 1593 and listed in the second part of Maunsell's Catalogue of English printed Bookes (London, 1595), p. 18; no copy survives, but the listing of the work by Maunsell argues for its having been printed; and the words, "further congratulate your Musical endeavours," which occur in Robinson's address to the "Right courteous Gentlemen, and gentle Readers" of The Schoole of Musicke, suggest that he had in mind some form of self-tutor, like the lute book of 1603 and the New Citharen Lessons of 1609. Moreover, New suggests that there were "old" lessons already in print.

Robinson boasts of having taught Queen Anne to play on the lute and Master Edward Winne to play on the cittern. He is known to have published bona fide instruction books—the one for lute even includes "Rules to instruct you to sing"—, and undertook the Medulla Musicke for "the moore ease and understanding of the less skilfull." Perhaps his chief occupation was that of teacher.

To the list of concordances, etc., included in Lumsden's ed. of The
Schoole of Musicke, pp. xxxvi-xxxix, can be added the following:

1. "Goodnight" was one of the most popular of Elizabethan grounds; see J. Ward, The Dublin Virginal Manuscript, 2nd ed. (Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1964), pp. 44-45, for a list of divisions to the ground, to which can be added the two divisions for cittern in CCB, f. 22v, n.t., anon. The words of the poem, "Good night, good rest, ah neither be my share," sometimes attributed to Shakespeare, can be sung to the ground itself, but require a threefold repetition of the music, not much of a recommendation for its use as a tune to sing.

2. "The Bells" is a tune ("if a mere change upon bells may come under that denomination," as Chappell, II, 516, observed):

MUSIC EXAMPLE 18.

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{It appears in the following sources: (a) Robinson’s “Twenty waies vpon the bells,” The Schoole; (b) Byrd, “The Bells,” FVB, No. 69; (c) Byrd, “The Medley” (in other arrs. called “Primero”), fifth strain, FVB, NO 173; (d) Byrd, “The burying of the dead,” BL Add. Ms. 10337, f. 18 (publ. My Ladye Nevelles Booke, ed. H. Andrews [London, 1926], p. 38); and Priscilla Bunbury’s Ms., f. 27, “The Bells”; (e) Anon., “Pavane Prymera,” fifth strain, BL Add. Ms. 29485 (ed. Curtis, MMN, III, 55); (f) Anon., “Primiero,” for consort, 5th strain, CCB a, f. 33, b, f. 36, c, f. 5v, d, f. 2v; the treble viol part is probably in NLS Ms. 5.2.14, f. 24;226 (g) a slightly variant form of the bass part in CCB d, f. 2v, one that agrees with the bass of Byrd’s “A Medley,” is in the Beverley consort “Base Viole” part book, No. 28; (h) Anon., “Primero,” fifth strain, CCB e, f. 19v; (i) Anon., “Ye bells of Osney,” Paris 86, f. 92v (two settings); (j) Paris 86, f. 41, n.t., “R: Cr.,” a set of variations for keyboard; (k) “The Bells of Osney,” Ms. add. to a copy of Robinson’s New Citharen Lessons: (1) Anon., “A Battle, and no Battle,” the section labelled “Bells of Osney,” Paris 85, p. 29 (publ. MB, XIX, 117); (m) T. Vautor, “Sweet Suffolk Owl,” section with the words, “And sings a dirge for dying souls,” First Set, 1619 (publ. Fellows, English Madrigal School, XXXIV, 100-01); (n) Anon., “The Epitaph,” beg. “Under this Stone lies one, who writ his Finis,” sung “To the Tune of, Turn again Whittington, &c., “Wit and Mirth,” ed. T. D’Urfey (London, 1719-20), IV, 328-29 (the earliest reference to the tune under this name is in Shirley’s Constant Maid, 1640, II, ii: “Six bells in every steeple, And let them all go to the city tune, ‘Turn again, Whittington’;” see Grove’s, 5th ed., II, 218).

In Myn, f. 8, the galliard elsewhere described as “The Lady Rich’s” (CLM, No. 43) is called “Doulands Bells,” perhaps because the first ten notes of the opening strain (see Music Example 19) resemble the tune of “The Bells”; the resemblance is probably fortuitous.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 19.
3. Concerning the tune, see Simpson, pp. 618-19.
5. See music example 15 above where it is suggested that Robinson may have drawn on a galliard of Bachelor's for this piece.
8. The passamezzo antico is not a "version en mineur du 'Quadro',' but a different pattern altogether; see Lute Society Journal XI (1969), 42.
10. Also in Tol, f. 12v, "bo peep / an allmane for 2 lutes," second lute part only; facs. ed.
13. Also in NCL, No. 25.
15. Also in CCB e, f. 21v, n.t., T.R., for cittern; BD, p. 100, "Robinsons toye."
16. Also in NCL, No. 44, n.t., first cittern part only.
17. Also in Thy, f. 487v, "Robinson's Allemande" (see J.P.N. Land, Het Luitboek van Thysius [Amsterdam, 1889], pp. 285-86); NCL, No. 19 The tune probably served for the singing of ballads; see R. Newton, "Thomas Robinson and the Ballad Writers," Lute Society Journal, I (1958), 82-87; also Simpson, pp. 611-12.
18. Also in NCL, No. 32, "Whetelies wheat-sheafe."
25. Concerning the tune, see Simpson, pp. 467-71.
26. "Bell Vedere" is a medley (2/4 A in d, B in f 3/4 C D in A E E' in d), i.e., a suite of short contrasting movements.
27. Also in 30, ff. 20v-21, "Tho. Robinson / Spanish pavan." Except for a few wrongly placed tablature letters (e.g., Id instead of 1d in bar 1) and the omission of bar 4, this is a copy of No. 27 in The Schoole of Musicke, and not "en majeur," but in minor. Concerning the tune, see Simpson, pp. 678-81; Poulton, "Notes on the Spanish Pavan," Lute Society Journal, III (1961), 5-16.
28. In bar 1, Lumsden has supplied an editorial eighth-note rest; makes better musical sense, as can be seen from Giles Farnaby's variations on the same tune in FVB, No. 267 (see W. Danckert, Geschichte der Gigue [Leipzig, 1924], p. 11).
30. Concerning the tune, see Simpson, pp. 739-40; JAMS, XX (1967), 78.
33. The tune Robinson calls "Lantero" went by other names as well: e.g., "The hay," in TCD Ms. D.3,30/1, p. 77; "The Boores Dawnce," in N6, f. 3 (following by another arr. entitled "Lantiero"); "The Bowres Daunce," D5, f. 44v; "Boeren Dans van Jan Bull Docti" in BL Add. Ms. 23623, f. 93 (publ. MB, XIX, 121-23). The first strain is almost identical with that of "A Allman," Myn, f. 7, and an anon., titleless piece in D9, f. 87v. Two plays include mention of the tune, in both of which it is used to accompany dancing. One is Ben Jonson's Every Man Out of His Humour (1599), V.v:  
   Carl. What, GEORGE, Lomtero, Lomtero, &c. (He danceith.)  
   Geor. Did you call, master CARLO?  
   Carl. More nectar, GEORGE: Lomtero, &c.  
   The other is Dekker and Webster's North-Ward Hoe (1605), 11:  
   Hans. . . O mine scho()men vro, wee sail dance=lanterra, teera, and sing Ick brincks to you min here, van . . . .
36. In NCL, No. 28. A variant form of the "folia" harmonic pattern, similar to the setting of "Tobyas om sterven gheneghen" in Susanne van Soldt's Ms. (publ. Curtis, MMN, III, 36-37).
37. In NCL, No. 15.
38. Also in NCL, No. 10; "A Psalme."
   Lumsden lists two lute pieces as found, not in The Schoole of Musicke, but in Ms. only. The first, "Spanish Pavan," is, in fact, a copy of No. 27 (see above). The other, "Robinsons May" (not Hay), also exists in an arrangement for keyboard, as noted by R. Newton, Lute Society Journal, I (1958), 87; see Anne Crompton's Virginal Book, 1638, ed. H. Ferguson (London: Oxford University, 1974), p. 3, "Mrs Villier's Sport."
Appendix P. "Falce and vnperfect"?

Dowland probably had Barley's *A new Booke of Tabliture* in mind when he complained of "divers Lute lessons . . . lately printed without my knowledge, falce and vnperfect." Holborne probably had the same publisher's "new booke of Citterne Lessons" in mind when he complained of "a wrong proffered from a meere stranger vnto me, who (without my knowledge of either man or meane) hath deliuered in common to the worlds view certaine corrupt coppies of my Idles . . . " And Morley named Barley's *The pathway to Musicke* when he roundly condemned it in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*.

Taking their cue from his contemporaries, modern scholars have continued to heap abuse on Barley. His failings in their catalogue include publishing rules for playing the lute, orphanion, and bandora that are "imprecise and incoherently expressed" and illustrated by examples that "are not without stupid error"; offering "seedy" copies of an "arbitrary" choice of pieces in texts that "are at best inaccurate and at worst contemptible" and either "too difficult for the beginners for whom the books were ostensibly intended" or "too scruffily presented to attract courtly connoisseurs," etc., etc., etc.

Though fewer in number, Barley has also had defenders, most notably Richard Newton, who long ago voiced the opinion that *A new Booke of Tabliture* "has been rather unjustly disparaged" because of Dowland's remarks, which "were little more than a literary convention" and enabled "the youthful author to allege that all other copies were untruthful, as a sort of excuse for


228 The Citharn Schoole, 1597, sig. [A2]. As M. Kanazawa observes, in his ed. of the CW, II, 3, if Barley was the offender, "the composer must have made peace with the publisher soon after 1597, because it was Barley who [printed] . . . Holborne's collection of ensemble music in 1599."

229 Sig. [*3*-*3v]*.


Lumsden states that "several pages are bound either out of place or inverted." The pages he thinks "out of place" are the second and fourth leaves of the E gathering of *WB/L*, which are not misplaced but incorrectly labelled F2 and F4, respectively. Only the BL copy of *WB/L*, sigs. F2v and F3, has pages on which the music is inverted; in the RCM and Huntington Library copies the error has been corrected. It is my impression that the BL exemplar of *WB* is a proof copy, for, in addition to pages with the music printed upside down, the forme containing sigs. E, E2v, E3, and E4v of *The pathway to Musicke* (which was originally bound up with the BL copy of *WB*) was not adequately inked with the result that part, sometimes most, of the four pages cannot be read; it is not likely such a copy was offered for sale.
putting forth his opus one.”  

Even Mrs. Poulton, who shares Dowland’s view of the Barley publication, finds A new Booke “beautifully printed and charming to look at.”

Is Barley’s new Booke all bad, all good, or something in between? Before apportioning praise and/or blame we need to know who was responsible for the work. Barley, who published it contributed the brief instructions for tuning and striking the strings of the orpharion and bandora and, as he declares in the dedication to Bridgett, Countess of Sussex, “caused (to my great cost and charges) sundry sorts of lessons to be collected together out of some of the best Authors professing this excellent science of musique...”

Who collected the lessons Barley does not say. Dart proposed Philip Rosseter, probably because the second part of A new Booke opens with three galliards by him, each dedicated to the Countess of Sussex. Elsewhere I have proposed Francis Cutting as editor, because “his is the only name occurring in all three parts of A new Booke, the only one to be spelled out (four times), the other contributors being identified by initials, and the only one to appear in the title of a piece (i.e., “Cuttings comfort”). His contribution (11 pieces) is greater than Dowland’s (6), Rosseter’s (3), Holborne’s (2), Edward Johnson’s (1), and that of anonymous composers (7). Of the seven pieces in the lute tutor, the first and probably the most prestigious of the three tutors, he contributed four, including the first two and the last, Dowland the rest.”  

Whoever he was, the editor of the music must share whatever judgment the work receives.

To publisher and editor of the music must be added the unidentified mechanic who transferred the collected music to wood-blocks and the printer, John Danter, who supplied the letterpress and did the actual printing. In all, at least four men were responsible for A new Booke, plus the nameless journeymen and apprentices who worked for Barley and Danter.

Dart begins his attack on WB by describing the rules for playing the lute, orpharion, and bandora as “imprecise and incoherently expressed” and the illustrations that accompany them as “not without stupid error.” The description does not fit the brief instructions for tuning and striking the strings of the orpharion and bandora, the only instructions for which Barley takes credit and which are clear and accurate to the extent that they can be tested against contemporary practice. The fact that the illustration of the bandora shows six courses and the music Barley published sometimes requires seven is no more a “stupid error” than is John Dowland’s failure to describe the tuning of extra bass courses, in his “Other Necessary Observations,” though the Varietie of Lute-lessons contains pieces calling for from one to four such basses.

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232 JD, p. 108.
233 Dart, op. cit., p. 494. In the following pages the four parts of A new Booke will be referred to as: WB/L (for lute), WB/O (for orpharion), WB/B (for bandora), and The pathway.
235 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
The "Instructions to the Lute" with which \textit{WB/L} begins is a recension of the old \textit{Le Roy} treatise as translated into English by J. Alford and first printed in 1568, reprinted in 1574.\textsuperscript{237} Whoever revised the translation improved on the original, which is often prolix, the language at times old-fashioned, as will be seen when the two versions of the thirteenth rule are compared:

\textit{J. Alford}

And to the ende thou shalt not bee abused by these termes, to strike downewards, to strike upwrrdcs, or to gripe, you shall vnderstande, to strike doune the strynges, is when the thombe plaieeth alone, whiche striketh the stryng downward, to lifte or strike upwrrdcs, those bee the fingers that striketh the strynges upwrrdcs, when the letters be marked with pointes or prickes, to gripe, is when the thombe and the fingers plaie together, the whiche notwithstanding, doeth not lose their office to strike upwrrdcs, or downewards, that is to saie, to strike downwardes with the thombe, and upwrrdcs with the fingers.

\textit{Barley}

And to the end yee shall not be ignorant what these terms meane of striking downwardes, or upwards, or to gripe, I meane by striking downwards the stringes, is when the thumb playeth alone, and to strike with the fingers is when the letters hath prickes under them, and the stringes are striken upwardes, to gripe is when the fingers and the thumb playeth together, and yet not loose their office in striking upwardes, and downwardes, that is to say, to strike downward with the thumb, and upward with the fingers.

Many of the rules as published by Barley are virtually word-for-word the same as Alford's or only somewhat abridged (e.g., nos. 14-19, 22, 24); others are a mixture of quotation and paraphrase (e.g., nos. 1-12); for two, Alford's cumbersome verbal description of how to finger the "stops" (i.e., chords) illustrated in an accompanying example of tablature have been eliminated and the directions incorporated into the tablature itself, the fingering indicated by means of dots (one for the index finger, two for the middle finger, etc.), a considerable improvement on the original (see nos. 20, 21); and one rule (no. 23) is omitted, probably because the information (concerning such common signs as the fermata, double-bar, and repeat mark) was included in \textit{The pathway to Musicke}, which formed the fourth part of \textit{A new Booke}.

Not all of the editorial changes made in Alford's translation are successful; though few in number, the blunders are serious enough to show that the editor was not a lutenist.\textsuperscript{239} For example, in the fourteenth rule the words "second


\textsuperscript{238}The "Accordes to the lute," which Lumsden, loc. cit., notes as missing from \textit{WB/L}, would have been of use only to someone engaged in translating music from staff notation into tablature; moreover, their place may have been taken by "certaine Tables, which doth teach how to remove any song higher, or lower from one key to another," advertised on the title page of \textit{The pathway} but not included in the only known copy of that work.

\textsuperscript{239}Which may explain why \textit{Le Roy}'s description of octave tuning of the three lowest courses was retained in the 1596 recension; the editor was probably not aware of current practice. Both Dowland and Robinson describe unison tuning for all courses on the lute; and the line drawings of the instrument in \textit{WB/L}, unlike those in the 1568 and 1574 prints,
strings” have been substituted for “the twoo strynges,” which is not the same thing; reference to the “firste finger” has been omitted in a passage where it is needed, and “three fingers” substituted for “third finger,” with the result that the sentence does not make sense.

The editing of Alford’s translation of the Le Roy treatise, like the bishop’s egg, is good in parts. Not so the choice of music which, on the whole, is excellent. I cannot agree with Lumsden, who thinks Barley offered the public “ill-considered and, to some extent, old-fashioned and plagiarised wares.” If by “ill-considered” he means poorly chosen or haphazardly arranged, the organization of the three parts of A new Booke argues against it. WB displays a nice progression from the serious to the playful, from the stylistically unified to the miscellaneous, and does this despite the division into three parts, each designed for a different instrument. The hand of the editor is clearly in evidence. The contents of WB/L and WB/O are complementary, as were the instruments themselves—same tuning, same repertoire, contrasting timbre; the contents of WB/B are quite distinct, as was the bandora with its low range and rich tone, and illustrate the instrument’s use for ensemble playing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB/L</th>
<th>WB/O</th>
<th>WB/B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Pavan</td>
<td>1 Galliard</td>
<td>1 Quadron Pavan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pavan</td>
<td>2 Galliard</td>
<td>2 Quadron Galliard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pavan</td>
<td>3 Galliard</td>
<td>3 Prelude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Pavan</td>
<td>4 Pavan</td>
<td>4 Division on a ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Alman</td>
<td>5 Galliard</td>
<td>5 Pavan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Variations</td>
<td>6 Galliard</td>
<td>6 Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Galliard</td>
<td>7 Galliard</td>
<td>7 Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Alman</td>
<td>8 Song</td>
<td>8 Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Variations</td>
<td>9 Song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Ballad tune</td>
<td>10 Medley of grounds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Toy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Toy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Variations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Intabulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the music’s being “to some extent, old-fashioned” in 1596, how is this determined? At the time, among the composers whose music is included in WB, Rosseter was 29 or 30, Dowland 33, and Edward Johnson 46; the age of Holborne, who died six years after the work appeared, and Cutting is not known; both men may have died young. But a composer’s age does not determine whether his music is “old-fashioned.” The pavan by Byrd that Cutting depict strings of equal thickness for the three lowest courses. When octave tuning was abandoned is not known. Apart from the instructions “To tune the Lute” in the three printings of Alford’s translation, I know of only three that date before 1600: (1) a late 15th-century English instruction, “To sette a lute,” in Cambridge, Trinity College Ms. 0.2.13, f. 97v (publ., slightly modernized, by J. Handschin, Acta Musicologica, XVI-XVII [1944-45], 2): “Loke that there be A. Trebili. Secunde trebili. Meene, Tenor. And basse. The secunde trebili to be sett a iij from the trebili. The megne A iij from the secunde trebili. The tenor A iij from the meene. And the Basse iij from the tenor.” (2) The directions “to tune the lawt bye thes stopes” in the Osborn LB (which dates from ca. 1570), f. 32v. And (3) TCD Ms. D.3.30/L, p. 14: “Concordiae quae in fidibus Testudinis requiritur rationes Tres.” In none of the three instructions is there mention of tuning the two strings of a course in the octave.

240Lumsden, loc. cit.
arranged for orpharion may have been an old piece; but the *terminus a quo* for the pavan and almost all of the other pieces in *A new Booke* cannot be established on any but stylistic grounds; and in view of the state of our knowledge of Elizabethan lute music, to date on the basis of style alone is hazardous.

The “plagiarised wares” mentioned by Lumsden cannot be identified. The title page of *WB* declares the contents to be “collected together out of the best Authors professing the practise of these Instruments.” The publisher’s initials accompany only the dedication and the brief instructions for the orpharion and bandora, texts found nowhere else. Barley does not claim to be the author of Alford’s translation of Le Roy’s “Instruction to the lute,” as did “F. Ke. Gentelman” in 1574, when the 1568 text was reprinted, word for word; he prints the revised text without ascription. As for the music, all but 7 of the 31 pieces are ascribed, usually with the composers’ initials, which proportion compares favorably with that of the *Varietie*, 17 of whose 42 pieces are without the composers’ names. Barley almost certainly published most if not all of the music in *A new Booke* without first obtaining permission from the composers; the Dowlands no doubt did the same when they published the *Varietie*. Appropriating is not plagiarizing.

Dart found the musical texts of *WB* “at best inaccurate and at worst contemptible”; Mrs. Poulton is more restrained in language but just as convinced Barley was offering “erroneous versions” of the music he published. How justified are the critics? I propose to compare the texts of Dowland’s seven pieces in *A new Booke* with Mrs. Poulton’s versions of the same pieces in the *CLM*. The comparison will not tell us what the composer found “falce and vnperfect” about the music Barley published—only Dowland could do that--; but it will allow us to compare the work of a 16th- and a 20th-century editor.


Mrs. Poulton dismisses Barley’s “Lacrima” as “another unusual text,” as she does the one in *FD*, “a text with many variants from the norm.” That norm, of which *CLM*, No. 15, provides an illustration, is distilled from the eight sources of the pavan that she believes “show a sufficient agreement both in the main structure and the treatment of the divisions, and in their conformity with Dowland’s style, to make it safe to conclude that they represent his original intention.” In other words, lacking a text written out by the composer or

241 *JD*, p. 108.

242 *CLM*, p. 293. To illustrate how inferior Barley’s text of the “Lachrimae Pavan” is, Mrs. Poulton, *JD*, pp. 127-28, prints the reprise of the first strain as it appears in *WB/L* and *D5*, the latter being the version chosen for the *CLM* edition of the piece. The qualitative difference between the two excerpts is considerably reduced if: (1) the editorial changes in *D5* are ignored (i.e., in bar 11, the addition [in square brackets] of the second V1a; in bar 4, the Ic; in bar 15, the second IIIa; and in bar 16, the first Illc and IIa); (2) bar 4 is noted similarly in both transcriptions, as it should be, and the editorial “sic” either removed from *WB/L* or one added to *D5*; and (3) the following notes, omitted in the transcription of *D5*, are restored: bar 9, first beat, Vc and IVc; bar 13, third beat, IIIb. *Nota bene*: of the six notes Mrs. Poulton has added in square brackets to the eight bars of the *D5* reprise, five are found in Barley’s text; a similar agreement between editorial suggestions and the *WB/L* text occurs throughout *CLM*, No. 15.

243 *JD*, p. 126.

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approved by him, a substitute has been found in the consensus of eight versions, six of which are ascribed to Dowland; and instead of basing the CLM text of the "Lachrimae" on a single source, she has abandoned a declared editorial policy\textsuperscript{244} and produced a composite text, presumably one that comes close to what she believes was the original form of the piece. The extent to which her edited text differs from the one in $D5$, the first of the sources listed in CLM, p. 293, can be seen in the following list. (I omit those departures from $D5$ footnoted in CLM.)

\begin{itemize}
  \item bar 4: dot under IIIb an ed. add.; $D5$ has dot under IVc;
  \item bar 5: first beat. Poulton:
  \begin{center}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      D5:
    \end{tabular}
  \end{center}
  \begin{center}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      $\begin{array}{c}
      a \\
      b \\
      c
      \end{array}$
    \end{tabular}
  \end{center}
  \begin{center}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      \textbullet \\
      \textbullet \\
      \textbullet
    \end{tabular}
  \end{center}

  \item bar 7: $D5$ has barre below Vd IVc
  \item bar 7: [e] not in $D5$
  \item bar 9: first beat, $D5$ has Vc & IVc
  \item bar 11: second IIIb is IIId in $D5$
  \item bar 11: second Va not in $D5$, should be in [ ]

  \item bar 12: in $D5$ the \# follows Ve
  \item bar 12: [c] not in $D5$
  \item bar 15: [e] not in $D5$
  \item bar 15: barres under Vd and following Vc in $D5$
  \item bar 15-16: $D5$ has 16 dots
  \item bar 16: first beat, $D5$ has IVc, should not be in [ ]

  \item bar 22: $D5$ has dots under IIId, second IIb, and a \# to the left of IVa
  \item bar 25: second IIIb not in $D5$, should be in [ ]
  \item bar 27: IIIc not in $D5$, should be in [ ]
  \item bar 29: third beat, $D5$ has IVc
  \item bar 32: first beat, $D5$ has IIId, not Ic
  \item bar 32: Poulton has:
  \begin{center}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      D5 has:
    \end{tabular}
  \end{center}
  \begin{center}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      $\begin{array}{c}
      H \\
      I
      \end{array}$
    \end{tabular}
  \end{center}

\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{244} CLM, p. xvi: "In each case a single source has been followed. Important differences of reading in other texts are given in the Notes."
Particularly striking is the fact that in bars 5, 9, 11, 12, 16, 27, 35, 44, 47, and 48 Mrs. Poulton has reproduced readings from WB/L in preference to those in D5. As a result of the editorial changes, most of them recorded in footnotes, the CLM text duplicates none of the sources of the pavan. Barley’s text, which—aside from mistakes in the printing—I find as musically satisfactory as the one in D5, has the advantage of being a version, not a medley of versions, and quite possibly one devised by Dowland during the years the pavan must have been much in request.


For reasons not specified Mrs. Poulton found Barley’s version of this pavan “generally unsatisfactory” and chose for CLM, No. 8, the versions in D2, JP, and 31, which “agree fairly closely.” In fact, the *WB/L* text agrees as “fairly closely” with the other three texts as they agree with each other, except for the first strain and its reprise, where Barley’s differs in many details from the others, most notably in being eight instead of eight-and-a-half bars long. Nor is Barley’s the only version of the pavan without the odd half-bar: the twenty-four sources in which some form or part of Dowland’s piece is found divide 9:15 into those with an 8½-bar first strain and those with an 8-bar one, viz.:

A. The 8½-bar first-strain group
   I. For solo lute:
      1. *D2*, ff. 46v-47
      2. *JP*, ff. 19v-20
      3. *31*, ff. 27v-28
      4. *G*, f. 29v
      5. *30*, ff. 2v-3
      6. *Linz*, f. 21
II. For solo bandora:
   1. D2, f. 82

III. For solo cittern:
   1. CCB e, f. 27v

IV. For solo voice:
   1. CSR, 1647 ed., pp. 110-13

B. The 8-bar first-strain group

I. For solo lute:
   1. WB/L, No. 4
   2. DM, f. 37v
   3. K10, ff. 70v-71

II. For instrumental ensemble:
   1. MCL, No. 4
      a. Mel, f. 22v (bass viol part)
      b. NKM, No. 24 (the same)
         NKM, No. 48 (the same)
   2. CCB
      a. b, f. 32v (cittern)
      b. c, f. 3v (recorder)
      c. d, f. 3v (bass viol)
   3. Cantus (treble viol?) part
      a. Panll, f. 7
      b. Row, ff. 27v-28 (= 46v-47)
   4. Bandora part
      a. Braye Ms., f. 89

III. For keyboard solo:
   1. FVB, No. 182
   2. Dre5, p. 4

The preponderance of consort parts in the B section of the list suggests
that the 8-bar version originated as an ensemble piece and that Barley
published an arrangement of the lute part. The 8½-bar version may also be
an arrangement of that part, and a not altogether successful one. The extra half-bar
(= the second half of bar 3) breaks the flow of the music, adds two extra beats
of tonic harmony in bar 4, expanding that bar to six beats, thereby throwing
the main accents off for the rest of the strain (as can be seen in Mrs. Poulton’s
barring of the music).

In addition to having versions with variant forms of the first strain to
contend with, the editor of “Piper’s Pavan” has the problem of choosing from
among varied reprises. Only four of the lute sources have them: D2, JP, 31, and
WB/L share variant forms of A’ and identical forms of B’; D2 and 31 lack C’; JP
and WB/L have each a different form of C’; and 30, a late source, provides
reprises of A, B, and C unlike any others. For the CLM text of the pavan Mrs.
Poulton has chosen D2, which provides an A’ and B’ but no C’. To supply a
varied reprise for the third strain, she has appended, not the C’ of WB/L, which
must date from about the same time as the copying of D2, nor the one in JP,
which she finds “exceedingly simple,” but the quite elaborate reprise in 30, and
not because she believes Dowland composed it, but because it “shows how such
a passage would have been treated by an independent and competent
musician.”

245 The “responsorial” style of the third strain is frequently found in Morley’s
Consort Lessons; see, e.g., No. 3, strain 2, 3; No. 7, strain 2; No. 13, strain 3; No. 20, bars
22-31; No. 24, bars 55-106 passim.

246 CLM, p. 291.

For reasons unstated, Mrs. Poulton chose a 17th-century source (*D4*, copyist unknown) instead of *WB/L*, the earliest datable one. The two sources differ very little. In four places dotted notes occur in *WB/L*, not in *D4*; two cadences (bars 12, 20) are slightly more elaborate in *D4* than *WB/L*; four of the chords in *WB/L* and ten of those in *D4* contain one more note than the corresponding chords in the other source; with the exception of ornaments (# and +) there are almost no playing directions in *D4*, a great many in *WB/L*. The only substantive—if such they can be called—differences between the two texts are: (1) a three-note alto part in bar 4 of *D4* and not in *WB/L*; (2) a treble part in bar 30 which in *D4* reads \( \underbrace{a c a d} c a \) and in *WB/L* reads \( \underbrace{a c d a} c d a \); and (3) a bass note in bar 27 which is *Va* in *D4* and *Vla* in *WB/L*, both musically acceptable.\(^{247}\)

Dart criticized Barley for publishing what he considered to be the *secondo* part of a lute duet. Other scholars have noted that, though Dowland’s variations on “Fortune my foe” are described as “to the consort” in the Ballet Ms., and though the same music is found in eight sources, no copy of the hypothetical *primo* part has been discovered nor has any consort part that fits the music Barley published.


Mrs. Poulton dismisses Barley’s version of the three strains of this pavan (there are no varied reprises) with a reference to the “very erratic use of time marks,” by which I take her to mean the two mistakes noted below.\(^{248}\) In fact, Barley’s version of this pavan is very like the one printed in *CLM*. The variants, twenty-four in number, are of the sort Mrs. Poulton frequently creates by diverging from her chosen text. Typically they are small variants: the addition, substitution, or omission of single notes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>beat</th>
<th><em>WB/O</em> has:</th>
<th><em>CLM</em> has:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>VIIa</td>
<td>Iva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>IIId</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(a mistake)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>IVc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ic IIId</td>
<td>Ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>I (a mistake)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>IIId Ia</td>
<td>Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IId</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vc Ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>IIId Ic</td>
<td>Ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>I Ve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{247}\) In *CLM*, No. 62, bar 35, the note values of *D4* have been misread; the rhythm should be a series of four triple flag notes followed by two double flagged ones.

\(^{248}\) The equally “erratic” use of time marks in the *CLM* source of No. 10, bar 38, have been silently amended by Mrs. Poulton.
Mrs. Poulton voices no objections to Barley's text of the "Essex" galliard, places it third in her list of sources, and characterizes it as "the simple statement of the early copies."

Mrs. Poulton's chief criticism of Barley's version of this piece is the appearance of the "F double sharp" (= la) in bar 68, which she finds "historically unlikely"; as David Greer has pointed out, there are no double sharps in tablature, only in staff notation. She also finds the note "musically incorrect in the pattern of the sequence," which it is not. Dowland was playing a little game with whole and half steps in the passage in question, as the following précis of the melody in bars 65-71 shows (an asterisk marks the place where the "F double sharp" occurs):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>½ 1 1 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>¼ ½* ½ ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>½ 1 1 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>½ 1 1 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>1 1 1(3) 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dart thought Dowland's variations on "Goe from my windowe" another duet, "presumably for two orpharions," and that the music Barley published was "utter nonsense," a view not shared by Mrs. Poulton or any other scholar, to my knowledge.  

The "Jump" is found in four English sources, FD, 31, G, and WB/O, also once in L, a German source, and twice in the Terpsichore of Praetorius. Mrs. Poulton has chosen FD for the CLM text, probably because of its Dowland associations, although the piece is unascribed in the manuscript and the composer failed to sign his name to it, whether by design or accident is not

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249 JD, pp. 166-67; CLM, p. 309.
251 Dart, loc. cit.
known. The texts in 31, G, and WB/O, which are very similar, differ in many details from the one in FD, most strikingly by having the melody begin on the first beat of bar 1 (as it does also in L and Terpsichore) and by not having a reprise of the first strain.

* * *

Like most of the Elizabethan anthologies of lute music, WB is neither all good nor bad but something in between. An editor ignores its texts at his or her peril. A new Booke is the earliest printed source of English lute music and provides a terminus ad quem for a good many pieces. It is the only instruction book consistently to incorporate playing directions in the tablature: only one page in the three parts of WB contains none; the rest are filled with pointings, barres, and ornamentation signs; and on occasion, e.g., in the tablature of “Goe from my windowe,” bars 17, 19, and 21, Barley’s editor has indicated phrasing by means of time signs, in much the way Dowland does in “My Lady Hunsdons Allmande.”

The “Instruction to the lute” was largely out-of-date by 1596, but not the brief descriptions of the orpharion and bandora. The choice of pieces, especially those for the lute and orpharion, is excellent. The engraving of the texts is no more nor less accurate than the printing of the Dowlands’ Varietie of Lute-lessons, in which wrong notes (e.g., Fantasie 1, bar 1; Galliard 5, bars 4, 27, 32) and time signs (e.g., Pavan 5, bars 9, 31, 42), superfluous notes (e.g., Pavan 5, bar 47), missing notes (e.g., Galliard 3, bar 40) and time signs (e.g., Fantasie 7, bar 8), and garbled passages (e.g., Pavan 5, bars 30, 31) occur as frequently as they do in WB.

Texts can be good and still “falce and vnperfect” if they misrepresent the composer’s music. Do Barley’s merit Dowland’s criticism? I believe not; but proving they do not requires more than vindicating A new Booke of Tabliture. It requires determining what constitutes a “true and perfect” copy of one of Dowland’s pieces for lute. (Or copies! FD teaches us that the composer sometimes approved of two versions of a piece.) And that task requires a far more precise knowledge of Dowland’s lute music, the state of the sources, and Elizabethan performance practice than we now have.
Appendix Q. "Dowland's First Galliard," for Broken Consort.

CCB c, f. 5: recorder.

CCB d, f. 5: bass viol.

D2, f. 60: lute.

CCB b, f. 33v: cittern.
Appendix R. "To the Tune of, Frogs Galliard."

Most of the literature on the broadside ballad and its music is devoted to cataloguing the sources for the texts and for the tunes. Just as the words and music are rarely found together in the sources, so they are usually kept apart in the scholars' books. Thus in Simpson's account of "Frog Galliard" (pp. 242-44), one paragraph is devoted to the literary sources, another to the musical; beyond noting that the ballad texts require an anticipatory note not found in any musical source, Simpson makes no attempt to fit the words to the music. As soon as one tries to unite them problems arise.

Dowland's name is associated with two forms of the music: the song, "Now O now I needs must part," in The First Booke, and the "Frog Galliard" in FD. (Whether he composed the tune or not does not concern us here.) Each form of the tune (as distinct from elaborations of it) has distinctive features (see, e.g., the first phrase of each, given in Music Example 20) which enable us to label one "plain," the other "decorated." The most widely distributed form is not that of The First Booke; yet this is the version of the "Frog Galliard" that

252 Mrs. Poulton, CLM, p. 298, is not certain he did. In Folger MS V.a.399 (dated after 1603), f. 16v, a copy of the words of Dowland's song is headed: "A newe conceite to the tune of the frogge," as though it were broadside poetry and the words set to pre-existent music.

253 Of fifteen other versions of the tune (all of them related, none of them identical with either of Dowland's versions), two begin with the "plain" form, seven with the "decorated," and five with a decorated form different from Dowland's.
Simpson chose to illustrate the tune used for singing the ballad texts.

**MUSIC EXAMPLE 20.**

(a) “Now O now I needs must part”

(b) “Frog Galliard”

To the extent that “Frog Galliard” circulated orally/aurally—and we have no reason to believe that most of the ballad-singing public learned the tune from print—, it must have undergone change, if only in detail; the longer the tune circulated the greater the opportunity for change. Therefore printing *The First Booke* form of the tune called “Frog Galliard” without stating that what is offered is one of the forms current during the 17th century is misleading.

Further, whether ballad singers used all or only half of the tune is not certain. One of the two poems known to have been sung to “Frog Galliard” is always printed in eight-line stanzas and appears to require all of the tune; the other is always printed in quatrains and appears to require only half. Yet nothing prevents one from singing the first half of the tune twice to an eight-line stanza and the whole tune once to two quatrains. In practice, Dowland’s contemporaries probably made use of as much of the tune as they wished or remembered.

Despite the popularity of so many of Dowland’s melodies, only this one appears to have been taken up by a ballad writer, and then for only one piece, “The True Loves Knot Untied,” beg. “As I from Ireland did pass,” to be sung “To the Tune of, Frogs Galliard.”

One other poem is associated with the tune, but only when published in the form of a broadside; when included in poetic miscellanies no music is assigned; the combination of word and note seems to have occurred after the poem was written and had been taken over by the broadside press.

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254 Seven different editions of the broadside ballad are known: F. G. printed the Euing copy (facs. in *The Euing Collection* [Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1971], No. 356); A.M. the Roxburghe copy (ed. *The Roxburghe Ballads* [The Ballad Society, 1871-99], VII, 588-603); W. O[incy] the Bagford copy; W. O. and A. M. the Huth-Harvard copy; I. Clarke, W. Thackery, and T. Passinger the Pepys copy; T. Norris the Douce copy; and Francis Grove the Manchester copy, which is dated 1643. Considering the ephemeral nature of broadsides, it is likely there were other printings of the ballad copies of which have not survived.

Though “Frog Galliard” is known to have been required for only two ballads, the tune remained in the broadside repertoire for a long time, thanks to the popularity of “The True Loves Knot Untied,” which continued in print until the beginning of the 18th century. (This fact is not apparent from the way Simpson has listed the ten surviving copies of the ballad, which is by collection, not by printer.) Thus “Frog Galliard” joins “Excuse me” and the setting of “Old Hundredth” as the music of Dowland that remained alive the longest, thanks to balladmongers, country-dance musicians, and the singers of metrical psalms.

Appendix S. The Linz Lute Book.

This manuscript, which is in the Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, without shelf number, belonged to Michaeıl Eijserdt of Nürnberg, whose name appears on the first folio. Most of the volume’s 129 folios are filled with music in German lute tablature; one piece written in German keyboard tablature occurs near the end of the book. The contents are mostly intabulations of part-songs—motets, madrigals, German songs, etc.—by Hassler, Giovanni Gabrieli, Orologio, etc. Scattered through the volume, usually in spaces left over from the copying of the intabulations, are dances, including the following twenty-nine English pieces:

f. 10 Pauana Englessa Stille

= P. Philips; see FVB, No. 85, “The first one Philips made.”

11 Pauana Lachrimi

= CLM, No. 15.

16 Galliarda Englessa

17 Galliarda Englessa

21 Pauana

= CLM, No. 8.

22 Galliarda Englessa

= “Squiers Galliard”; see, e.g., BD, p. 15.

23 Pauana Englessa

= “The Sacred End Pavan”; see, e.g., Tru 6, ff. 2v-3.

24 Galliarda Englessa

= “Knoles Galliard”; see, e.g., Mar, p. 319.

27 Allemande Dollannd Englessa

= CLM, No. 48.

28 Der erst Pauana Englessa A5 2 Discant

= lute duet; Lute I is on f. 63.

33 Fortune Dollannd

= CLM, No. 62 (bar 1-26 only).

35 Der vierte Pauana Englessa A5 2 Discant

= lute duet; Lute I is on f. 63.

37 Fortune Dollannd

= CLM, No. 62.

39 Pauana Englessa

= R. Allison, “The Sharp Pavan Treble”; see 38, ff. 5v-6.

40 Galliarda Englessa

= CLM, No. 42.

line altered to read “On yonder Hill there springs a flower,” and with the direction “To the tune of Frog galiard,” the poem was twice printed as a broadside, once by “the Assignes of Thomas Symcocks” (two copies survive, both reprinted, one in The Roxburghe Ballads, II, 526-29, the other in facs. in The Ewing Collection, No. 216), and once by I. W. (facs. in the Sotheby catalogue for the sale of 26 November 1973, lot 2323), the latter registered with the Stationers’ Company on 14 December 1624 (Arber, IV, 94).
Appendix T. "The Battle."

This very long piece, the earliest version of which dates from the 1580's, the latest from the second decade of the 17th century, is composed of a medley of galliard-like sections and a long passage of reiterated brief treble figures over a tonic drone, the latter introduced by the opening strain of the "Battle Galliard." When played on the lute the effect of the piece is stupefying; one wonders at its popularity with Elizabethan and Jacobean lutenists. However, if, as I suspect, the piece was originally for instrumental ensemble, with the treble figurations played on a wind instrument and the drone bass on a drum, and if the music was used to accompany a "conversion of military training into mimesis" (E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, I, 139) like the "Exercise Performed the XVIII. of October, 1638, in Merchant-Taylors Hall [the largest hall in town], By Certain Gentlemen of the Artillery Garden, London," details of which are provided by W. Barliffe's Mars His Triumph (London, 1645), the effect must have been far from dull. The Exercise began thus:

The Cornets having once play'd over, the Targettiers, nine in a company, matched into the Hall, and without delay opposed each other; drawing into Figures, nine against nine, performing ten several forms, making their encounters and varying their Figures, all according to the distinct sounds of their Musick. . . . Next matched into the Hall, CaptaineMulti-Aken-Achmat
with his Saracens in great state; their musick was a Turkie-Drum, and a hideous-noyse-making Pipe (made of a Buffolas horn) ....Lastly, Captain John Ven led-in the Modern Armes, his Drums beating a lofty English March; his Souldiers being but 32. in number.... The second time of their coming from the lower-end of the Hall, the Drums beat a Troop, the Pikes advance, and Ranks close forwards to their distance of order.... [then] the Drums strike an Alt, and are silent (pp. 1, 4).

Music for the "Posture," "Falling-off," and "Motion" tunes (all almaines) is included (pp. 5, 8, 9; facs. in H. G. Farmer, The Rise and Development of Military Music [London, n.d.], p. 32) together with detailed descriptions of the military exercises that the music accompanied; during one part of the show the "Motion" tune was played thirty-four times!  

A grand battle between Saracens and Christians, accompanied throughout with music, concluded the entertainment.

Though no such detailed description of a 16th-century military exercise is known, references to comparable shows are found, e.g., in the diary of Henry Machyn, who provides us with the following account of the muster held on 2 July 1559:

at v of the cloke at nyght the Quen (came) in to the galere of the [Greenwich] parke gatt, and the inbassadurs and lorde (and ladies, to a) grett nombrur, and ... they rod to and fro (to view them, and) to sett the ij batelles in a-ray; and after cam trumpeters bluuwing (on) boyth partes, and the drums and fluttes; and iiij ansettes in evere bat(elle); so they marchyd forward, and so the gunes shott and the morses-pykes (en)centered to-gether with gratt larum ... and by and by the trumpetes and the drums and gones playd, and shott, and so they went to-gether as fast as they could ...  

And there was the mask of 1564, which required "thre harrols and iiij Trompetours too bringe in the devise with the men of Armes ... shown at the Courtte of Richmond before the Quenes Maiestie and the ffrench Embsaitours &c."  

The form, length, and musical style of the piece entitled "The Battle" suggest that it originally accompanied some such mimetic display and was only later arranged for one and for two lutes. Similarly, the anomalous character of Dowland's "Mr. Langton's Galliard" (CLM, No. 33) and an occasional resemblance to "The Battle" suggest that it too had at one time extra-musical associations. Both pieces begin alike, are divided into two unequal parts—the galliard has the unique proportions: $A^1(16)+A^2(17)$ $B^1(17)+B^2(17)+B^3(15)=33+49=82$ bars; and the second parts, which are longer than the first, begin with the music of "The Battle Galliard."

256 Monotony seems to have characterized the music for this type of entertainment. Arbeau, Orchesographe (1596), f. 99, says of the eight-bar tune that accompanies his description of the Bouffons or Mattachins, a mimed-battle type of dance: "les ioueurs le repeterent tousjours, tant en faisant les rondes que les passages."

257 The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J. G. Nichols (London, 1848), p. 202. The bits of text in parentheses were taken from a 17th-century copy of the passage made before the Ms. of the diary was damaged by fire.

Appendix U. The Königsberg Lute Book.

To the manuscripts known to have contained works by English composers and now believed lost should be added Königsberg Staatsarchiv Ms. A 116 fol. According to the description of the volume in H.-P. Kosack, Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen (Würzburg, 1934), pp. 80-85, it contained the following pieces by John Dowland:

f. 7 Fortuna Duland
21 Galliarda Doulandij Disc.
   Galliarda Doulandii Bass
21v Galliarda Doulandt Alt
22v Galliarda Anglic. Dulandt
   Variatio
23v Paduane Lachrimae
24 Johan Dulandt Galliarda
   Variatio
24v Lachrimae
38v Paduana lachrimae
40v The frogg, Galliard 2plici modo
   Variatio
56v Galliarda Dulandi
58v Excusa me
66 Galliarda Dulandi

In addition, the manuscript is known to have contained the following English pieces:

f. 1 Orlando Treble consorte
   Orlando Pandora
   Monsieurs Allemande Bass
6 Allemandt à Globe
7 Pavan Levecha
12 Tantz Alphonsi
14 Rolandt
20v Mr. Jonson Galliarde
   Fortuna
22 Galliarda Anglosa Disc.
23 Galliarda Angl.
   Variatio
27v Fortune angloise
38v Paduana Philippi
39 Flatt Pavina
   Felnigers Consorte
39v Monsieurs Allemande triplici modo
40 Lavecche Pavin
   A. Crocketts Pavin
   Greene sleves
41 Nachbaur Rolandt
51v Jigge of Cooper
53 Pavana Philippi
55 Flatt pauan NB
57 Chipass
   Rolandt
   Dingeld Galliardt
57v Comedientantz
   Engelsch Stückh
59 Allemande à Globe
60 Praeludium John Hoskins
60v Richard Shellower
   Elizabeths tonis Galliarda
Appendix V. An Unpublished Galliard Ascribed to Dowland.
Hainhofer LB, Sechster Thail, f. 6v, "Gagliarda. Dooland."

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Appendix W. Miscellaneous Notes on the Printed Sources.

To the lists of exemplars of the printed sources of Dowland’s music, JD, pp. 479-95, can be added the following information.

*First Booke* (1597): a title page is in BL Ames I.588; inscribed on the verso of the title page of the Huntington copy is: “This Booke is Mr John Alystagon” (not “John Egerton,” as stated in E. Backus, *Catalogue of Music in the Huntington Library* [San Marino, 1949], p. 98).

*First Booke* (1600): the title page of the Folger copy is inscribed: “Susan Risley booke.”

*First Booke* (1613): the title page of the BL copy (K.2.i.13) is inscribed; “John Marsham. C.”; that of the copy listed in the Maggs Bros. Catalogue No. 913 (Oct. 1968), item 60 [= the R. Spencer copy?], has the inscription: “Immanuel Halton” (=? the astronomer, 1628-99), legible under ultraviolet light.

*Second Booke* (1600): there is a copy in Bradfer-Lawrence’s library (= the Quaritch copy?).

In her account of the Eastland-East lawsuits, JD, p. 476, Mrs. Poulton does not give a complete account of the PRO documents. A summary of the suit brought by East during Michaelmas Term 1600 is in K.B. 27/1364/m. 534; Eastland’s Bill and East’s Answer for the Court of Requests suit of 1601 are in C2 Eliz./E1/64, and the depositions taken are in Req. 2/203/4; Eastland’s Bill and East’s demurrer for the Court of Chancery suit are in Req. 2/202/63.
Third and Last Booke (1603): a copy is in the Bibliothèque G. Thibault.
Lachrimae: there are two copies, not one, in the Dohna-Schlobitten library, and another in Bradfer-Lawrence's; an imperfect copy is in Lincoln Cathedral Library.
Varietie of Lute-lessons (1610): a copy is in the Library of Congress (= the James E. Matthews copy).


The Dowland translation of Besard's treatise, with which the Varietie opens, obviously pleased the author, who makes reference to Robert Dowland's anthology at the end of the Novus Partus (Augsburg, 1617), sig. b2v, as does I.N., who made a German version of Besard's work, published under the title, Isagoge in Artem Testudinariaum (Augsburg, 1617), sig. B, and ascribes Robert's words—"The Treatise on fingering I thought no scorne to borrow of John Baptisto Besardo of Visonti, being a man generally knowne and honoured for his excellencie in this kinde"—to John Dowland, turns them into an advertisement for the work translated, and praises the elder Dowland: Joh. Dolandus ein vortrefflicher Engelscher (hett schier gsagt Engelischer) Lautenist in einem schönen Lautenbuch / so er in Engeland hat lassen ausgeben / sagt: Was den modum oder ordnung auff der Lauten zu studiren betrifft wisse Er nichts bessers kürzubringen / als eben was Johann Bapt. Besardus daruon geschrieben.

Micrologus: Mrs. Poulton does not list the known copies. To the 19 listed in RISM, Écrits imprimés concernant la musique, II (1971), 628, can be added the one in the Chapin Library, Williams College.

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The Dohna-Schlobitten tablatures, first described by Kosack, Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen, pp. 74-76, were purchased in London in 1630 by Achatius von Dohna for his brother Abraham whose signature, "herr Abrahams B. zu Dhona," and the date, "1630," appear on the title page of The First Booke. Baron Achatius was also in London a decade earlier, sent there on behalf of Frederick, King of Bohemia, to urge Frederick's father-in-law, James I, to help "the winter king" keep his throne.

Another 17th-century European who collected English music was King João IV of Portugal, whose extraordinary music library contained 71 of the items listed on the Playford broadside of [1653?] discussed by L. Coral, R.M.A. Research Chronicle, V (1965), 1-12, including all but two of Dowland's published works; see the Primeira Parte do Index da Livraria de Musica (Lisbon, 1659; facs. ed., Porto, 1874), pp. 509-10, 518, 520. João may have owed his interest in English music to the influence of his tutor, Ruberto Torgh or Robert Tornar, said to have been an Englishman.

Apart from those in the João IV and Dohna-Schlobitten libraries, none of the English books of ayres appear to have crossed the Channel. The commerce in printed music books ran the other way. (English music was taken abroad "live" by musicians like Dowland, Philips, Brade, Simpson, a host of comedians, and other performers.) London music printers provided for an English market. To my knowledge, the four (recte three?) music books included in Georg Draudius's Bibliotheca Exotica (Frankfurt, 1625), pp. 291-301, are the only English ones to appear in any of the continental bibliographies of in-print books issued during the years around 1600, and they are: Parthenia, listed once as "Jo. Bulle. Music on the Virginals," and a second time as "Orlondo Gibbons. Musick on the Virginals"; Ravenscroft's Melismata, 1611; Jo. Warde's First Set of English
Madrigals, 1613; and "Dauuds Musicke. Lond. 1616," which may not have contained musical notes (see M. Spirgatis, "Englische Literatur auf der Frankfurter Messe von 1561-1620," Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekswesens, VII [1902], 81-84).

* * *

The only scrap of evidence concerning the number of copies of Dowland’s First Booke in circulation during the composer’s lifetime comes from the Eastland-East lawsuits. According to Eastland, the publisher of Dowland’s Second Booke, the edition of that work was to have consisted of 1025 copies, 1000 for general sale, 25 for proofs and complimentary copies (see M. Dowling, "The Printing of John Dowland’s Second Booke of Songs or Ayres,” Library, 4th ser., XII [1932] 367). No figures exactly comparable are available for other music books printed around this time, though we do know from an inventory of the books and other properties of Henry Bynneman, a London printer, made in 1583, that he had in stock “bookes of Birdes and Tallis musicke [i.e., the Cantiones Sacrae of 1575] in number seaven hundred and seaventene,” valued at “xliii<s> xiii<s>” (see M. Eccles, “Bynneman’s Books,” Library, 5th ser., XII [1957], 83).

If each printing of Dowland’s First Booke was as large as the single printing of the Second Booke, then with the fifth printing in 1613 approximately 5125 copies of The First Booke were in circulation, all but a handful in England at a time when the population of that country was about five million.259 Very few of the surviving copies of The First Booke (seventeen in number, all editions represented) can be associated with previous owners. Of those known to have possessed copies—Susan Risley, John Marsham, Immanuel Halton, John Aystagon, Abraham Baron von Dohna, and João IV—none is known to have been a professional musician.

* * *

In his address “to the Reader” of A Pilgrimes Solace Dowland boasts of having had some of his music “printed in eight most famous Cities beyond the Seas, viz: Paris, Antwerpe, Collein, Nurenburge, Franckfort, Liepsig, Amsterdam, and Hamburge: (yea and some of them also authorized vnder the Emperours royall priuiledge,)....” For five of the cities various scholars have proposed publications as those the composer had in mind. These include:

Paris.

259 As Joseph Kerman observes, The Elizabethan Madrigal (New York: AMS, 1962), p. 267, Dowland’s ayres seem to have been the only ones that proved profitable to publishers. The year after the composer’s death William Stansby acquired the rights to The Second Booke and Thomas Snodham’s share in A Pilgrimes Solace; five years after Dowland’s death and thirty-three years after it was first published, “Dowlandes booke of Musicke,” i.e., The First Booke, was the only item of music in a long list of properties transferred from Humphrey Lownes to Robert Young on 6 Dec. 1630 (Arber, IV, 152, 176, 211).
Collein.
Jean Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Coloniae Agrippinae [= Cologne], 1603), published "cum gratia, & priuilegio Sac. Caes. Maiest. ad decennium"; contains four pieces ascribed to Dowland, one wrongly:

- ff. 16v-17, "Fantasia Ioannis Dooland Angli Lachrimae" (= CLM, No. 15);
- f. 107v, "Galliarda Ioannis Doland" (= CLM, No. 19);
- f. 120v, "Galliarda Ioannis Dooland" (= by D. Bacheler);
- f. 139v, "Chorea Anglicana Doolandi" (= CLM, No. 48a);
- ff. 170v-171v, "Fantasia Ioannis Dooolandi" (= CLM, No. 1).

Nurenburge.
Valentin Haussmann, *Rest von Polnischen vnd andern Täntzen* (Nürenberg, 1603):

- No. 71, n.t. or mention of Dowland (cf. CM, No. 20); ed. F. Böschc, DdT, Scr. 1, XVI (1904), 133;
- No. 89, n.t. or mention of Dowland (cf. LM, No. 50).

Franckfort.
Thomas Simpson, *Opusculum: Neuwer Pauanen, Galliarden, Couranten, vnnd Volten* (Frankfurt a/M., 1610); contains three pieces a 5 by Dowland:

- No. 3, "Pauan," Johan: Dowland (= CM, No. 2);
- No. 11, "Pauan," Johann. Dowland (= CM, No. 22);
- No. 21, "Pauan," Johann. Dowland (= CM, No. 10).

Hamburge.

For the three cities for which no publications have yet been proposed, I suggest the following:

*Amsterdam.*

W. De Swart, *Den Lust-Hof der Niewe Musycke* (Amsterdam, 1603), f. 51, "Mijn droefheyt moet ich clagen," a 5 (a contrafactum of "Flow my teares," without the lute part); no reference to Dowland.260

*Liepsig.*

It has long been known that music by Dowland appears in the *Florum Mystae A Ioanne Rudenio Lripsiens Collectorum*, Liber Secundus, printed in Heidelberg in 1600. My guess is that Dowland named Rude's place of origin, Leipzig, instead of the city in which the *Florum Mystae* was printed. The volume contains three (not two, as usually stated) pieces by Dowland:

- No. 91, "Pavana à 5. voc.," Dulandi Angli (= CLM, No. 15);
- No. 110, "Pauana," I.D. (= CLM, No. 11);
- No. 115, "Entrata," anon. (= CLM, No. 52).

*Antwerpe.*

Similarly it has long been known that some of Dowland's music is included in *Florida . . . Opera atque industriâ Joachimi Vanden Hove Antverpian*, printed in Utrecht, 1601. And my guess is that Dowland named Vanden Hove's place of origin, Antwerp, instead of the city in which the *Florida* was printed. The volume contains two pieces based on Dowland's celebrated pavan and one based on the Essex galliard:

De Swart's work is dedicated to James I and includes, on f. 38v, Phillips' "First" or "1580" Pavan, FVB, No. 85, arr. a 4 and provided with the text, "Wy Engelen goet, mit stemme soet."
ff. 94-95, “Pauana Lachrime” (cf. CLM, No. 15);
F. 95, “Reprinse [= Galliard] sequitur” (cf. CLM, No. 46).

An additional reason for thinking that Dowland may have had the tablatures of Rude and Vanden Hove in mind when he included Leipzig and Antwerp in the list of cities in which his music had been printed is the fact that he omitted from the list Heidelberg and Utrecht, where the tablatures of Rude and Vanden Hove were printed. For someone as demonstrably well informed about foreign publications of lute music as Dowland, it seems unlikely that he would not have known the Florum Musicae and Florida.

In half of the eight publications listed above—I am assuming that most if not all of them are those Dowland had in mind—his music appears without his name and in all of them it appears in what can be assumed to be a form different from one for which the composer was responsible. The fact that he did not decry these “falce and vperfect” copies of his pieces was unquestionably because that was not the point of listing the “eight most famous Cities”; the point he wished to make was the old one of having been more honored abroad than at home. (Note the obvious name-dropping in the parenthetical remark: “yea and some of them also authorized vnder the Emperours royall priviledge.”) Besides, Dowland had already remarked, in the preliminary pages of the Lachrimae, “hauing in forren parts met diuers Lute-lessons of my composition, publisht by strangers without my name or approbation. . . .”

Appendix X. The “prisoner taken at Cales.”

In his address “to the curteous Reader” of the Second Booke, Eastland refers to “a prisoner taken at Cales,” i.e., Cadiz, apparently a book (of or about music?) which he intended “to set at liberty,” i.e., to publish, “God willing.” Mrs. Poulton, JD, pp. 249-51, speculates that the prisoner referred to may have been a copy of the Micrologus of Ornithoparcus taken from the Bishop of Faro’s library during the English raid in 1596 and later given to Dowland by Essex, “possibly. . . . with the suggestion that he might translate it.” One can as easily speculate that the “prisoner” was “one great booke which came from Cadis covered with redd lethre, and gylt,” listed as worth 10s. in the inventory (dated March 1603) of music books kept “in ye chamber where ye musicions playe” at Hengrave House (see Fellowes, The English Madrigal [London, 1925], p. 13), a chamber well known to both Wilbye and Edward Johnson either of whom could have lent the book “which came from Cadis” to Eastland.

I suspect, however, that the contents of the “great booke” at Hengrave were as little appropriate for publication in Elizabethan England as were those of the copy of Victoria’s Motecta (1585) “ex domo Episcopali Faronensi” now in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, and the same composer’s Cantica (1581) and Missae (1583) “taken out of the great Church of Cadiz in July, 1596” and now at Cambridge (see C. Sayle, Annals of Cambridge University Library [Cambridge, 1916], p. 89), and that this may explain why Eastland is not known to have liberated his “prisoner.”
Appendix Y. "... the Tune that the singing Part ... begins-in."

In *A Musicall Banquet* and in a few other lute-song sources Englishmen made use of what appears to have been a French system for providing the singer's initial pitch (see the facs. in *MGG*, I, col. 186), described thus by Edward Filmer in his *French Court-Aires* (1629), sig. B: "The single Letter before the beginning of the Lute-part gius the Tune that the singing Part, which is ouer it, begins-in." An example from the *Musicall Banquet* will illustrate: the voice part of Robert Hale's song, "O eyes yeau off," begins on *d la sol* and has one flat in the key signature; the bass part begins on *c sol fa ut* and has four (actually three) flats in its key signature; the lute part, assuming a tuning from *Gamut*, agrees with the bass part, i.e., requires three flats when transcribed onto staff notation. The three parts are reconciled by means of the tablature letter, IIId, placed at the beginning of the lute part, which informs the singer that his first note will be the lute's *c sol fa ut*.261 In addition to the *Banquet* and Filmer's collection of *airs de cour*, a few other English sources require the voice parts to be transposed, viz., TCD Ms. 3.30/1, 262 one of the Paston manuscripts, 263 Campian's *Third Booke of Ayres*, for songs 5, 7, and 10, 264 and the Turpyn lute book. 265

The practice of having the singer take his pitch from the instrumentalist is as old as the lute-song itself.266 It is a practice that enabled accompanists to play in keys singers were not accustomed to read in; and, as an anonymous writer in *The Musical Antiquary* points out,267 the practice was not restricted to the performance of lute songs; he cites the following passage from Morley's *Plaine and easie Introduction* (1597), p. 156:

The musick [one of the pupil's exercises] is indeed true, but you haue set it in

261 The fact that the intonation is on IIId, not II, suggests that the transposition is down a ninth, not a second, an observation that may reveal something about the type of voice Robert Dowland had in mind; almost all of the intonations in *A Musicall Banquet* are a seventh to an eleventh lower than the notated pitch.

262 At the beginning of the lute parts to the songs on pp. 52, 186, 202, and 210 of this Ms. a preliminary tablature letter indicates the singer's initial pitch; assuming a G tuning, no transpositions of the voice parts are required.

263 BL Add. Ms. 31992, in which the pitch of the voice part and that of the lute accompaniment are reconciled by means of a verbal formula, e.g., "La p. al 5. t." = "La prima al quinto traste" = "First [course] in the fifth fret" = *c sol fa* for the singer's initial pitch, assuming the lute to be tuned from *Gamut*.

264 In editing the three ayres for *The English Lute-Songs*, 2nd ser., XXVI, Fellowes mistakenly transposed the lute part for two of them, correctly transposed the voice part of the third.

265 Neither R. Rastall, who wrote the introduction for the facs. of the Ms. *Early Music in Facsimile*, II, nor P. Brett, who published one of the songs in *MB*, XXII, 13-14, interpreted the intonation-signs correctly, since both editors believe that a "bass lute" tuned a fourth below *Gamut* is required for the songs whose voice parts should be transposed instead; D. Gill makes the same mistake in his "Brief Notes on the Bass Lute," *Lute Society Journal*, III (1961), 27.

266 See, e.g., the frottola intabulations of Franciscus Bossinensis published at the beginning of the 16th century by Petrucci and recently edited by B. Disertori (Milan: Ricordi, 1964), who completely ignored the verbal instructions of the originals and transposed many of the lute parts.

267 1 (1909-10), 49-50.
such a key as no man would have done, except it had beene to have plaide it on the Organes with a quier of singing men, for indeede such shiftees the Organistes are many times compelled to make for ease of the singers, but some haue brought it from the Organe, and haue gone about to bring it in common vse of singing with bad successe if they respect their credit, for take me any of their songes, so set downe and you shall not find a musicion (how perfect soever he be) able to solfa it right.….. and as for them who haue not practised that kind of songes, the verie sight of those flat cliffes (which stande at the beginning of the verse or line like a paire of staires, with great offence to the eie, but more to the amasing of the yong singer) make them mistearme their notes and so go out of tune, wheras by the contrary if your song were prickt in another key any young scholler might easilie and perfectlie sing it…..

Of Dowland’s published ayres, only those in the Musickal Banquet have intonation signs. The lute for which he wrote is always tuned from Gamut and the mensurally notated voice parts require no transposition; moreover, the latter are always in simple keys: 42 of the songs are without sharp or flat in the key signature; 40 have one flat; 4 two flats; and 2 one sharp. What the actual, as opposed to the theoretical, pitch of Dowland’s lute was we are not told, not even in his instructions for the tuning of the instrument (Var, sig. E-Ev), where the explanation is entirely in terms of the Gamut.

Appendix Z. Five Letters Concerning Thomas Cutting’s Appointment to the Court of Christian IV.

The first two letters were printed in the Somerset House Gazette, and Literary Museum, II (1824), 27; the first three in Hawkins’ General History (London, 1776), IV, 15, n.; and all five in E.T. Bradley’s Life of the Lady Arabella Stuart (London, 1889), II, 217-22. The following transcriptions are based on a fresh examination of the originals; the somewhat flamboyant translation of the Latin letter is Bradley’s.

1.

Queen Anne to the Lady Arabella Stuart.
BL, Harl. Ms. 6986, ff. 74, 75v.

Anna R.

Welbeloved Cousine, We grette you hartlye well. Udo Gal our deere brothers the king of denmarks gentleman servaunt haith insisted with ws, for the licensing your servaunt Thomascottings to depart from you but not without your permission to our brothers seruice. and therefor we wryte these fewe lynes into you, being assured your H[onour?] will mak no difficultie, to satisfie our pleasour and our deere brothers desires, and so gving yow the assurance off our constant favours, with our wishes for the conteneuance of conuencence of your helth, expeciting your retorne we committ yowr H. to the protection of god. From whythall 9 March 1607

f. 75v:
To our Most honorable and Welbeloued Cousine The Ladye Arbella Stuart.

2.

Henry, Prince of Wales, to Lady Arabella Stuart.
Harl. Ms. 6986, ff. 76, 77v.

Madam, the Queenes Majestie hath commaunded me to signifie to your Ladyship that shee would haue Cutting your Ladyships servaunt to send to the King of Denmark because he desyred the Queen that shee would send him one that could play vpon the lute. I pray your Ladyship to send him back with ane answere asoone as your Ladyship can. I desyre you to
commend me to my lord and my Lady Shrewsbury and also not to think me anything the worse scruenerre that I write so ill but to suspend your judgement till you come hither then you shall find me as I was euer

Your Ladyships loving cousin and assured freind

Henry

f. 77v:
A Madame Arbelle ma Cowsine

3.

The Lady Arabella Stuart to Henry, Prince of Wales.
Harl. Ms. 6986, ff. 78, 79v (fair copy);
Harl. Ms. 7002, f. 38 (draft).

May it please your Highnesse
I haue receuied your Highness letter, whearin I am lett to understand that the Queenes Majesty is pleased to command Cuttling my servant for the King of Denmark, concerning the which your Highnesse requireth my answer to hir Majesty the which I haue, accordingly returned by this bearer, referring him to hir Majesties good pleasure, and disposition. And although I may haue some cause to be sorry, to haue lost the contentment of a good Lute, yet must I confesse, that I am right glad to haue found any occasion, whereby to express to hir Majesty and your Highnesse, the humble respect which I ow you, and the readiness of my disposition, to be conformed to your good pleasures; whearin I haue placed a great parte of the satisfaction which my heart can receive. I haue according to your Highness direction, signified vnto my vnCLE and aunt of Shrewsbury, your Highness gratious vouchsafeing to remember them, who, with all duty, present their most humble thankes, and say, they will euer pray for your Highness most happy prosperity; And yet my vnCLE saith he carrieth the same splene in his heart towards your Highness that he hath ever done. And so praying to the Almighty for your Highness felicity I humbly cease. From Sheffield the 15th of March 1607.

Your Highness most humble and dutifull
Arbella Stu[r]t

f. 79v
To the Prince his Highnesse

4.

The Lady Arabella Stuart to Queene Anne.
Harl. Ms. 7003, f. 37v (draft).

May It Please your most Royall Majestie.
I haue receuied your Majestes most gratious & favourabyle toaken which you have bene pleased to send me, as an assurance, both of your Majestes pardon, and of my remayning in your Gratious good opinion, the which, how great contentment it hath brought vnto me, I fynde no words to expresse, And therefore most humbly addressing my selfe to the awnsware of your Majestes pleasure, signified in your lettere, touching my licenceing my servant Cotting, to depart from me for the service of his Majesty of Denmark, I shall beseech your Majestie to conceave, that although I know well, how farre more easy it is, for so great a Prince, to command the best musiciens of the world, then for me to recouer one not inferior to this, yet do I most willingly imbrais this occasion whereby I may in effectues give some demonstration of my unfeyned disposition to apply my selfe [deleted. ever vnto all] to your Royall pleasure. And therefore most willingly referring my sayde servant to your Majesties good pleasure [deleted: and most humbly beseeching that my selfe may still remayne in your Gratious and Princeuely favour and protection] I will in all humility kysse your Majesties Royall handes. And ever beseech Almighty God to graunte vnto your Majesty all honorable happynes that may be imagined.

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Augustissime ac Potentissime Rex

Pau ci dies praeterlapsi sunt, postquam superiores meas ad Augustissimam Majestatem vestram dedaram, cum solissimae ac serenisissimae Reginae nostrae allatae ad me litterae sunt, ex quibus intellexi, cupere Majestatem vestram vt famulus meus Tho: Cottinges, qui has nunc ( nisi Deus non vult) perfert, ad cam mitteretur, vt eius opera inter pulsandae Cytherae peritos vti posset. Ac profecto, quamquam et is mihi gratus inter paucos illius artis peritos existat, et non nesciam, in fortuna Regia, ad quam potissimum omnia exquisitissima studia, vota, ingenia, et operae tum in hac, tum in caeteris artibus, expeditissime diriguntur, facilius esse [deleted: numerum adhibere] eorum qui maxime in quavis arte excellunt, numerum adhibere, quam modum, Tamen cum nihil ipsa diligentius investigaverim, aut ambitiosius, quam eam occasionem, quae eam experimenti officii mei, atque animi in obsequium vestrae Majestatis addictissimi, facillime suppediaret, hanc demum, quantumcumque, opportunem esse offerentem, libentissime arripuij, et quem, exquisitissimis magistris traditum, et in meam gratiam, in hac arte instructum, haud cum levii, tum artis, tum morum ingenuitatis, commendation accepi, hunc etdem, haud levius (modo id cum vestrae Majestatis bona venia fiat) commendatum vestrae Majestati mitto, missura ( si aequo possem) Orpheum, aut Apollinem. Preceor sumum Deum vt ad animij sententiam, non in choro tantum et Aula, sed in vita, etiam [deleted: ac] et Regno omnib Majestati vestrae consonent ac consiprent. Dat: [blank] die: [blank] 1607.

Most August and Potent King

But few days had passed after I had despatched my last letter to your most august Majesty, when I received a letter from our most high and serene Queen, from which I learned that your Majesty desired my servant, Thomas Cotting—who now (God willing) will convey this letter to you—to be sent to you, that you might employ him among your lute-players [inter pulsandae cytherae peritos]. There are, indeed, few professors of this art who please me as he does; and I am not ignorant that, in the service of a King (to which most of all, with the least hindrance, are directed all the best cares and wishes, the choicest intelligence, and effort, as well in this as in other arts), the difficulty is not to obtain a crowd of those who most excel in any art, but to limit their number. Yet, notwithstanding this, since I have sought nothing with more diligence or eagerness than an occasion of expressing my zeal and devotion to your Majesty, I have most joyfully seized this, slight as it is, which at last opportunely offers itself. This man has been sent to the best masters, and trained in this art to my pleasure, and came to me with no slight recommendation for the excellence as well of his character as of his art. Him I commend no less (with your Majesty’s permission), and send to your Majesty, to whom I would send, were it possible, Orpheus or Apollo. I pray the most high God that all things, not only among your musicians and in the court, but also in your life and kingdom, may be in harmony with your Majesty’s desires.
5. Addenda


Daniel Bacheler appears to have drawn twice on the second half of Dowland's song, once in the third strain of a galliard found in D5, ff. 55v-56, and again in the second strain of a galliard on ff. 67v-68 of the same manuscript.

2. Appendix G. Heyborne's Letter to Hicks.

The traffic in lessons for the virginals, lute, and other instruments was undoubtedly extensive; however, references to it are few in number, the sources rarely as informative as Heyborne's letter. Of comparable sources, I know only the following: a letter, dated 9 Oct. 1594, in which Francis Derrick asks a friend "to procure some principal lessons for the Bandora of holborne makinge and other most cunning men in that instrument" (HMC, Salisbury Papers, IV, 625); and several passages in the letters written to William Trubull while he was resident in Brussels, among them one from J. Beaulieu, dated 7 Dec. 1609, which contains the following passage:

Herewith you shall receive the lessons on the Virginals procured by Mrs. Bet. They are by one Martin Peerson [several of whose keyboard pieces are in the FVB], a skilfull musician who for company sake lieth with his wife in the same house as Mrs. Crowther at Newington. He has composed many lessons on the virginals, which is his principal instrument, and inserted some in this book. I will solicit Mr. Calvert [another of Trubull's correspondents] for those which he hath bespoken [presumably the virginal lessons Robin Henlake was to provide], which may be better." (HMC, Downshire Mss., II, 198; see also II, 171, 183, 220, 253, 491.)

3. Appendix K. The King's Luters.

Item 10 in the list of Collard's works is not for lute but for cittern; it is in Matthew Otley's Ms., ff. [9-9v], "Gal: Collyard per Ro: Spr:"
(concerning this Ms., see the Index of Works, LM 19).

4. Appendix L. ".... to bestowe some ydoll tyme...."

Of the small number of books of secular music known to have been printed and/or registered with the Stationers' Company before 1597, six are for plucked string instruments and four of these are for lute; viz.:


Received of John alde for his lycense for prynytynge of a boke intituled the Sequence [=? Science] of lutynge.................iijd

Ibid., 1566/67 (Arber, I, 343).

Recyevyd of Edwarde Sutton for his lycense for the prynytynge of a boke intituled an ex[ht]ortion to all kynde of men how they shulde lerne to playe of the lute by Roberte Ballarde .........vjd

1568 (copy in the BL).

A Briefe and easye instru[c]tion to learne the tablature[,] to conducte and dispose thy hande unto the Lute[,] englishe by J. Alford Londenor. (London: Ihon Kyngston for Iames Roubothum.)

Recevyd of James Robothum for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled the breffe and playne instruction to lerne to play on the gytron and also the Cetterne. .................. iiiid

[This is probably the work listed as "A Briefe and plaine instruction for to learne the Tablature, to Conduct and dispose the hand vnto the Gitterne. Pri. for James Rowbothum. in 4." in Andrew Maunsell's The Second Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes (London, 1595), p. 18.]

1574 (copies in the BL, Bodleian, and the late Countess de Chambure's library).

A briefe and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of eight diuers tunes in Tableture for the Lute. With a briefe Instruction how to play on the Lute by Tablature, to conduct and dispose thy hand vnto the Lute, with certaine easie lessons for that purpose. And also a third Booke containing diuers new excellent tunes. ALL FIRST WRITTEN IN FRENCH BY ADRIAN LE ROY AND NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY F. Ke. GENTELMAN. (London: James Rowbothome.)


Entred for his [= John Danter's] Copie vnder th[e h]andes of both the Wardens a booke intituled a moste perfect and true Instruction whereby a man maye learne by his owne industrie to playe on the Cytterne without the helpe of any teacher. ............... viid

[This is probably the work listed as "A new Booke of Citterne Lessons with a plaine and easie instruction for to learne the Tableture, to conduct and dispose thy hand, sette forthe to the Tunes of many Psalms as they be sung in Churches, also Pauins, Galliards and diuers other sweet and easy Lessons. Pri. for William Barley, 1593. 4." in Maunsell, op. cit., p. 18, and otherwise unknown.]

The "tua Lute bukes" listed in an inventory of the books left by an Edinburgh bookseller who died 18 Oct. 1577 (The Library, 4th ser., VIII [1927], 167), and the "li lutinge booke" and "i Sitherne booke ruled" included in the inventory of a Shrewsbury bookseller's stock in 1585 (The Library, 5th ser., XIII [1958], 252), if they were printed and not manuscript books, were quite possibly from those published by Rowbotham.

5. Appendix O. Thomas Robinson.

A third use of the tune, "Lantero," occurs in Dekker and Webster's Westward Hoe (1604), Act V:

Gozlin.... you shall go on fidling, and I follow dancing Lantera: currie your instruments: play and away.

6. Appendix W. Miscellaneous Notes.

To the list of pieces indebted to Dowland in Vanden Hove's Florida, add the "Galiarda" on f. 99, which is based on the Essex galliard, CLM, No. 42.

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Historical Stringed Instrument Making
The Art of the Luthier
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