

# Dowland's Seven Tears, or the Art of Concealing the Art

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In 1604 John Dowland (1563-1626) published *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares figvred In Seaven Passionate Pauans, with diuers other Pauans, Galiards, and Almands*.<sup>1</sup> The collection consists of instrumental music in five parts and a lute part. There are 21 pieces in all of which only six pavans were newly composed (nos. 2-7); the remaining pieces are old songs and lute solos especially rewritten for the collection. The *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares* is no ordinary repertoire as it was the first time consort music, specifically written for “the Lute, Viols, or Violons”, appeared in England. At the time only very few publications of consort music had appeared at all, apart from Anthony Holborne’s *Pauans, Galiiards, Almains* and Thomas Morley’s *First Booke of Consort Lessons*, which were both published in 1599. That the work was dedicated to Queen Anne, wife of James I and sister of Christian IV of Denmark who was Dowland’s employer 1598-1606, reveals the importance the composer attached to the volume. Dowland explains that writing, collecting and arranging the music “was begun where you [i.e. Anne] were borne, and ended where you raigne”.<sup>2</sup> This indicates that he had already started preparing *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares* when, in the summer of 1603, he set out to visit England on private business.<sup>3</sup>

Queen Elizabeth I had died in late March 1603, and shortly before Dowland arrived in England, Anne had travelled south from Scotland to join her husband in Westminster for his coronation on 25 July as the new king of Great Britain. After the ceremonies in the Autumn of 1603, the court travelled to Winchester where it remained approximately three weeks, avoiding the plague which raged at the time.<sup>4</sup> According to Dowland’s dedication it was here he met the queen, and presumably it was also here that he presented the collection to her.<sup>5</sup> It seems likely that on presentation of the manuscript to Anne and with a dedication to the new queen, he received a gratuity which he might have used towards printing

<sup>1</sup> The collection has been dealt with by David Pinto, “Dowland’s Tears: Aspects of *Lachrimæ*”, *The Lute* 37 (1997) pp. 44-75; and Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimæ (1604)*, Cambridge 1999. However, Pinto and Holman do not study the music in detail, and their approach and conclusions differ from those of the present article.

<sup>2</sup> John Dowland, *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares*, London n.d. [1604], dedication, sig. A2<sup>f</sup>; for an interesting view on the missing date of publication, see Holman (1999) pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Copenhagen, The Royal Archives, “Rentemesterregnskab” 1604-5, fol. 590<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> John Stow & Edmund Howes, *Annales, or, A Generall Chronicle of England*, London 1631, p. 828; and John Nichols, *The Progresses of King James the First*, London 1828, vol. 1, pp. 274-78.

<sup>5</sup> Dowland (1604) sig. A2<sup>f</sup>.

expenses. The remark on the title page, “to be solde at the Authors house in Fetter-lane”, infers that Dowland was presumably the publisher and financed the project himself. As he did not return to Denmark until 10 July 1604, he had the opportunity to oversee the publication.<sup>6</sup> Thus the minor stop-press corrections, which were made during the printing process, were most likely approved by Dowland himself.<sup>7</sup>

The present article attempts to uncover the overall structure of the collection and, in particular, to study in detail the seven *Lachrimæ* pavans (Table 1, nos. 1-7, see p. 14). Since the first pavan of the collection, *Lachrimæ Antiquæ*, was also published in 1600 as a lute song with the title “Flow my teares”, a closer examination of the *Lachrimæ* is made on the basis of the poem. In addition, a music analysis of the first seven pavans is also presented. The approach takes its point of departure from concepts and theories (philosophical as well as musical), which Dowland most likely knew and could have employed. Thus the poem is read in the context of other contemporary poetry and philosophical writings, rather than employing a twentieth-century framework; and the music analysis is based on contemporary music theory, taking into consideration the modal systems, for example, rather than major/minor harmonic tonality. The main purpose has been to try to understand how the composer – through “long and troublesome worke” giving the pieces “their last foile and polishment”<sup>8</sup> – may have arrived at the structure he did, and how an Elizabethan intellectual might have read Dowland’s collection of consort music.

### Allegory, Symbolism and Dedicatæe

As in the rest of Europe, the Elizabethans made extensive use of allegory. The arts were often suffused with Neoplatonic-Hermetic doctrines and, in particular, the popular Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology. In this way the Elizabethan poets, visual artists and architects experimented and sought new modes of expression and to place man within the laws of the cosmic universe. Numbers and intervals, for example, were interpreted as the manifestation and result of the ideas emanating from the divine creator, and by studying numbers, the philosophers thought it possible to achieve divine knowledge of the correspondence between the uni-

<sup>6</sup> “Rentemesterregnskab” (1604-5) fol. 590<sup>v</sup>. Kenneth Sparr, “Some Unobserved Information about John Dowland, Thomas Campion and Philip Rosseter”, *The Lute Society Journal* 27 (1987) pp. 35-37, shows that Dowland was in England on 5 May 1604.

<sup>7</sup> E.g.: Dowland (1604) dedication (sig. A2<sup>r</sup>): Dowland’s name is missing in the British Library copy (= BL); *Lachrimæ Tristes* (sig. C2<sup>v</sup>, bassus, b. 20, third note): BL has a crochet, Manchester Public Library copy (= ML) has the correct dotted minim; *M. Iohn Langtons Pauan* (sig. Gr<sup>v</sup>, cantus, b. 20, first note): BL has a crochet, ML has the correct minim; *M. Henry Noell his Galiard* (sig. Ir<sup>v</sup>, bassus, b. 23): BL has the correct *d*, ML has *f*. Corrected sheets were mixed with uncorrected, since changes are found in both copies. On the music printing process in late Renaissance England, see John Milsom, “Tallis, Byrd and the ‘Incorrected Copy’: Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type”, *Music & Letters* 77 (1996) pp. 350-54.

<sup>8</sup> Dowland (1604) sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

verse (macrocosm) and man (microcosm).<sup>9</sup> Influenced by the melancholic temperament (especially love melancholy), art was believed to be conceived through a divine inspiration of which God was the ultimate source.<sup>10</sup> Inspiration – and hence art – would contain a hidden knowledge of man's creation and his previous happy position in Paradise. The goal was to achieve divine omniscience and thus return to the sublime state of being as before the Fall from Paradise – a fall caused when Eve enticed Adam to eat the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

James and Anne were no exception in their appreciation of symbolism and allegory. It therefore seems highly probable that Dowland's important collection contains microcosmical and macrocosmical correspondences and symbolism. A popular allegory is found already in the epigram following the title page. Here Queen Anne is compared to Juno in power, Minerva in wisdom, and Venus in beauty:

Dedicated to Queen Anne. With you as queen three times blessed are the  
Scots, the English, and the Irish: you the sister, wife, and mother of a king.  
You hold three realms joined; you hold three divinities in one, a Juno in  
power, a Pallas in wisdom, and a Venus in beauty.<sup>12</sup>

Dowland was presumably inspired by a popular mythological theme in which Queen Elizabeth was presented together with the three goddesses. The implication was, of course, that Elizabeth excelled them in their respective virtues.<sup>13</sup> The reinterpretation of this mythological theme was a popular allegory associated with Elizabeth. But in the epigram to the *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares*, Dowland has applied exactly the same allegory to Anne. It was not uncommon to adapt the various symbols and allegories of Elizabeth to Anne of Denmark, though it came

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Isabel Rivers, *Classical and Christian Ideas in English Renaissance Poetry*, London 1979, p. 179. On Elizabethan philosophical thought, see E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, Harmondsworth 1943/repr. 1972; Frances A. Yates, *Astrea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, London 1975/repr. 1985; John N. King, "Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990) pp. 30-74; and Vaughan Hart, *Art and Magic in the Courts of the Stuarts*, London & New York 1994. On allegory, see Michael Murrin, *The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance*, Chicago 1969.

<sup>10</sup> On melancholy, see Frances A. Yates, "Inspired Melancholy", *Library Bulletin* 34 (1981) pp. 27-44; and Peter Hauge, "Musikkens filosofi eller filosofiens musik i senrenæssance", Nina Bendix & Mogens Friis (eds.), *Musa-Årbog*, Aarhus 1992, pp. 9-32.

<sup>11</sup> There might seem to be a paradox between seeking divine knowledge and being expelled from Paradise for eating of the Tree of Knowledge. According to the Mosaic Genesis Man was not allowed to eat of the Tree; however, according to the Hermetic account of creation, Man had been the true image of God and hence also in possession of divine knowledge before the Fall; cf. Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, London 1964/repr. 1982, pp. 1-19.

<sup>12</sup> Dowland (1604) title page verso: "ANNÆ REGINA / Sacrum. / Ter felix te Regina Scotus-Anglus-Hybernus: / Tu soror, & coniux Regis, itemq. parens. / Juncta tenes tria Regna, tenes tria numina in uno, / Iuno opibus, sensu Pallas, & ore Venus?"

<sup>13</sup> See also Richard Barnfield, *Cynthia with certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of Cassandra*, London 1595, Montague Summers (ed.), *The Poems of Richard Barnfield*, London n.d., pp. 49-55; and Henry Peele, *The Arrangement of Paris*, London 1584, sig. E4<sup>v</sup>. Thanks are due to Ian Harwood for drawing my attention to Peele.

to an end after some years. Following the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the Oriana symbol, for instance, was transferred to the new queen: Ori-Anna.<sup>14</sup> It is also likely that the number of pieces in *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares* is significant and might contain symbolic allusions. Twenty-one (three times seven) was believed to correspond to the total number of realms of both macrocosmos and microcosmos, and it therefore had special connotations as it embraced the entire universe. The collection could be seen as an entity in itself – “a lesser world” of man, who was the microcosmos of the universe.<sup>15</sup> Dowland’s collection was a man’s creation, as man was the creation of God.

However, the political and diplomatic disputes between England and Denmark, which escalated into a dangerous climax in the winter of 1602, would seem to suggest that the original dedicatee was Elizabeth and not Anne. Through the diplomat Stephen Lesieur, Dowland was asked to procure information from the Danish Court concerning some unsuccessful negotiations which had taken place in Bremen during the Autumn of 1602. In return the diplomat promised that he would make Dowland’s “true hart & seruice to her majestie knowen to [his] good”, and that he would also be repaid.<sup>16</sup> Dowland indicates that he began ordering the collection when in Denmark; hence he must have been working on it during the winter of 1602 while Elizabeth was still alive. Keeping in mind Lesieur’s promise of a reward and introduction to the queen, it is tempting to conclude that the *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares* was originally conceived as an important part of Dowland’s endeavours to lobby for a post at Elizabeth’s court. Unfortunately the queen died, and Dowland had to find another dedicatee, the most obvious substitute being Anne of Denmark. On the accession of James and Anne, ties between England and Denmark became more amicable, and it would have been unrealistic for Dowland to petition actively for employment at the new English court without offending his Danish employer. Had Elizabeth been alive, and considering the continuing disputes, the matter might very well have been completely different and in Dowland’s favour.

### The Overall Structure

When arranging a volume of music, it seems logical to assume an order of some kind, either in terms of tonality, type or title. Since there is no systematisation in

<sup>14</sup> Roy C. Strong, “Queen Elizabeth I as Oriana”, *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959) pp. 258-59; Oriana was the Arcadian queen of shepherds.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi majoris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica, atque technica historia*, Oppenheim 1617-18, vol. 2, tract. I, p. 254, where the universe and Man are divided into three areas corresponding to the three octaves of the Gamut, G-f”.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Peter Hauge, “Was Dowland a Spy?”, *Early Music Performer* 6 (Aug. 2000) pp. 10-13; the letter is discussed in detail in Peter Hauge, “Political Disputes between England and Denmark 1598-1606: Was Dowland an Informant at the Danish Court?”, forthcoming in *The Lute* 41 (2001). Holman (1999) p. 20, suggests that the *Lachrimæ* were composed in England during the winter 1604-5; thus, according to Holman, Dowland’s original idea could not have been to dedicate the music to Elizabeth.

terms of tonality,<sup>17</sup> dance type or title must have been an obvious and important factor for the publisher, who presumably in this instance was also the composer. The pieces have indeed been placed in groups according to dance type: all the pavans together (nos. 1-10), all the galliards together (nos. 11-19), and all the almands together (nos. 20-21) (see Table 1, p. 14). It is also interesting to note that the dances are placed in a hierarchical order. According to Thoinot Arbeau (1589), the pavan was a processional dance, “beautiful, grave” and most appropriate for “honorable persons” such as “kings, princes, and *Signeurs graues*”. The pavans are therefore placed first and are followed by the galliards which were lively dances. The almand, the most ancient, was considered a plain dance of “mediocre grauité”.<sup>18</sup> Within this arrangement of dance types, one would expect additional systematisations – this time according to title.

When looking at Table 1, it becomes apparent that the *King of Denmark's Galliard* – the first galliard which is named after Dowland's master and brother of the new queen of Great Britain – is the centre of the whole collection. Two sets of *Denaries* – ten, the most perfect and universal number – are placed on each side of the piece, giving the impression of the king, not as an ordinary earthly man, but as a very special and supreme person among all the dedicatees.<sup>19</sup>

When dividing the collection into three sections, each containing seven pieces, the centre of the middle section is still the *King of Denmark's Galliard*. This particular division is even hinted at in the title, *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares figyred in Seaven Passionate Pauans*. The number seven has a special meaning as it is composed of three, signifying Trinity and the universe, and four, symbolising the elemental world. Seven is also the unification of the intellectual (mind) and physical (body) worlds.<sup>20</sup> On taking a closer look at the titles of rank in the middle section, another pattern emerges: from the centre (no. 11) where the highest rank is placed, they descend in importance (10-9-8 and 12-13-14) so the outer movements have the lowest rank. *Iohn Langtons Pauan* seems misplaced since his title is merely “M?”. However, it appears that Langton was knighted in June 1603, and as Dowland was in England by August that year, he must have been aware of the

<sup>17</sup> See discussion below on music analysis.

<sup>18</sup> Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie*, Langres 1589, pp. 29<sup>r-v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>; see also Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, London 1597, p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, Lyons 1531, John French (trans.), *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, London 1651, vol. 2, pp. 210-11: “The number ten is called every number, or an universall number, compleat, signifying the full course of life: for beyond that we cannot number, but by replication [...] This number also is as circular as unity, because being heaped together, returns into a unity, from whence it had its beginning, and it is the end, and perfection of all numbers, and the beginning of tens”.

<sup>20</sup> Agrippa (1531/1651) vol. 2, p. 193: “And the *Pythagorians* call it the Vehiculum of mans life, which it doth not receive from its parts so, as it perfects by its proper right of its whole, for it contains body, and soul, for the body consists of four Elements, and is endowed with four qualities: Also the number three respects the soul [...] The number seaven therefore [...] joyns the soul to the body”.

TABLE OF CONTENTS			TONAL TYPE		
Dance	No.	Title	System	Clefs	Final
Pavans	1	Lachrimæ Antiquæ	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	2	Lachrimæ Antiquæ Nouæ	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	3	Lachrimæ Gementes	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	4	Lachrimæ Tristes	♭	C1 C2 <u>C4</u> <u>C3</u> F4	A
	5	Lachrimæ Coactæ	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	6	Lachrimæ Amantis	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	7	Lachrimæ Veræ	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	8	Semper Dowland Semper Dolens	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	D
	9	Sir Henry Vmptons Funerall	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	G
	10	M. Iohn Langtons Pauan	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	F
Galliards	11	The King of Denmarks Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	D
	12	The Earle of Essex Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	G
	13	Sir Iohn Souch his Galiard	♭	C1 C2 C3 C4 F4	A
	14	M. Henry Noell his Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	G
	15	M. Giles Hoby his Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C3 F3	D
	16	M. Nicho. Gryffith his Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F3	A
	17	M. Thomas Collier his Galiard[...]	♭	G2 G2 C2 C3 F4	G
	18	Captaine Piper his Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	G
	19	M. Bucton his Galiard	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	G
Almands	20	M <sup>rs</sup> . Nichols Almand	♭	G2 C2 C3 C4 F4	C
	21	M. George Whitehead his Almand	♭	G2 C2 C3 C3 F4	C

Table 1. *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares (1604), sig. Br<sup>r</sup>.*

event.<sup>21</sup> The reference to Langton as mister is presumably an editorial blunder.<sup>22</sup> The third section, in which “Captaine Piper” is placed in the centre among the ordinary misters and the only mistress, reveals a similar pattern. If Christian IV

<sup>21</sup> William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, London 1906, vol. 2, p. 111. The piece appears with the correct title in *Varietie of Lute-Lessons: Necessarie Observations*, London 1610, collected by Dowland’s son, Robert.

<sup>22</sup> It is possible that the error was emended in other editions similar to other stop-press corrections; see note 7.

and Captain Piper are the centres of their respective sections, the fourth pavan must be the centre of the first section. It is tempting to suggest that the entire collection corresponds to the three distinct realms of the christianised Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology popular in the Renaissance:

1. The seven *Lachrimae* pavans (nos. 1-7) correspond to the supercelestial sphere above the planets (the abode of God), which was believed to be constant, orderly, and eternal;
2. the titles of address (nos. 8-14) correspond to the planets;
3. the last seven pieces (nos. 15-21) correspond to the inferior and terrestrial world, often described in terms such as inconstancy, corruption, and generation.<sup>23</sup>

The division into three sections or worlds explains why so little is known about the dedicatees of the lowest, most inferior world, in which Piper is the most prominent. He was a notorious pirate who captured, among others, Danish vessels. Christian IV, placed in the planetary sphere, is thus in complete contrast to Piper, emphasising the difference between the two realms. The severe disputes between Denmark and England and a possible dedication of the entire volume to Elizabeth would underline the hierarchy, with Christian IV in a position inferior to that of the English queen and Piper placed in an even lower one. Though the Danish king is the centre of the volume – and in that context an important figure – it would, nevertheless, be Elizabeth who presided over and embraced the whole collection (macrocosmos). Such a dedication would certainly have flattered Queen Elizabeth.

It seems most likely that Dowland, the composer, editor and publisher, was very conscious of the way in which he compiled the volume of music, creating sections and placing the movements in a specific order. He employed symbolism and allegory to create an entity, suggesting a hidden meaning in the same way as the universe contained secret knowledge. One is tempted to conclude that this collection of music is a microcosm – that is, an image of the “true and real” universe (macrocosm) – containing a proper Platonic correspondence: as Apollo, the sun, is the centre of the universe, Christian IV is the centre of Dowland’s universe – and of his creation: his most important volume of music.<sup>24</sup>

### The Text of “Flow my teares”

The lute song, “Flow my teares” (Fig. 1), was first published in the *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600) where it has also been appended the title “Lachrimae”. There is no indication as to whom the poet might have been, though it is possible that

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Fludd (1617-18) vol. 2, tract. I, p. 254, ill.; and Rivers (1979) p. 73.

<sup>24</sup> Dowland (1604) sig. A2<sup>r</sup>: “In which time I haue endeouored by my poore labour and study to manifest my humblenesse and dutie to your highnesse; being my selfe one of your most affectionate Subjects, and also seruant to your most Princely Brother, the onely Patron and Sun-shine of my else vnhappy Fortunes”.

it was Dowland.<sup>25</sup> The first version of the tune, however, was as the lute solo composed before 1596 when it appeared in William Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture* presumably without Dowland's authorisation.<sup>26</sup> Hence the poem was written to fit the music. It may reveal the ideas which lie behind the *Lachrimæ* pavans as well as indicating a possible interpretation of the somewhat esoteric titles of the pavans. The *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares* from 1604 does not include the text; however, the original tune – which appears as the first pavan, *Lachrimæ Antiquæ* – and the references to tears (“Lachrimæ”) in the titles of pavans 1-7 suggest that performers would very much have been aware of the popular poem.

Flow my teares fall from your springs,  
 Exilde for cuer: Let mee morne  
 Where nights black bird hir sad infamy sings,  
 There let me liue forlorne.

Downe vain lights shine you no more,  
 No nights are dark enough for those  
 That in despaire their last fortunes deplore  
 Light doth but shame disclose.

Neuer may my woes be relieued,  
 Since pittie is fled,  
 And teares, and sighes, and grones my wearie dayes,  
 Of all ioyes have deprived.

From the highest spire of contentment,  
 My fortune is throwne,  
 And feare, and griefe, and paine for my deserts,  
 Are my hopes since hope is gone.

Harke you shadowes that in darckness dwell,  
 Learne to contemne light,  
 Happie, happie they that in hell  
 Feele not the worlds despite.

*Fig. 1. Second Booke of Songes or Ayres, London 1600, sigs. B2<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>, “Flow my teares”, also titled “Lachrimæ”.*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, London 1972/repr. 1982, pp. 126-27, 255-56; Winifred Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, Oxford 1986, pp. 116-17; and Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs (1596-1622)*, Harvard 1970, pp. 475-76.

<sup>26</sup> Poulton (1972/1982) p. 118; and Holman (1999) p. 36.





**L**OOKE how the *Limbeck* gentlie downe distil's,  
 In pearlie drops, his heartes deare quintessence:  
 So I, poore Eie, while coldest forrow fills,  
 My brest by flames, enforce this moisture thence  
 In Christall floods, that thus their limits breake,  
 Drowning the heart, before the tongue can speake.

Great Ladie, Teares haue moou'd the savage feirce,  
 And wrested Pittie, from a Tyrants ire:  
 And drops in time, do hardest Marble peirce,  
 But ah I feare me, I too high aspire,  
 Then with those beames, so bright had never shin'd,  
 Or that thou hadst, beene from thy cradle blind.

Ill. 1. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia, or a Garden of Heroical Devices*, London 1612, p. 142, "Hei mihi quod vidi".

Many of the concepts mentioned in the poem might seem somewhat obscure. When seen through the eyes of a contemporary intellectual, however, they reveal an interesting picture of the aesthetics, philosophy and religion of the time. It is evident that "tears" play a central role in the poem, and, together with "sorrow" and "love" for instance, they were important concepts in the Elizabethan world picture. Many of these ideas are defined and discussed in the emblematic literature and in books on courtly manners. In his *Minerva Britannia* (1612), Peacham includes a curious emblem showing tears running from an eye placed in the sky above a lake on which some boats are sailing (Ill. 1).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia*, London 1612, p. 142.

Combining the illustration with the epigram and the motto reveals the meaning of the emblem. “Hei mihi quod vidi” (Alas, for I have seen) refers to *Genesis* where God warns Adam not to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.<sup>28</sup> But the serpent persuades Eve to eat it by saying “your eyes shall be opened, ye shall be as gods, knowing both good & evil” (*Genesis*, III:5). Consequently, they are expelled from Paradise. The epigram explains that the “flames” result in tears trying to quench the fire in the heart. “Flames” are beams of light, and light also symbolised knowledge, and fits therefore nicely with Peacham’s motto.

But this process – in which eyes and ears were the two entrances leading directly to the heart, the residence of the soul – is closely linked with the concept of love, that is love understood both as *Venus vulgaris* and *Venus coelestis*: tears and sighs become signs of man possessed of love.<sup>29</sup> Elizabethan poets made extensive use of these philosophical ideas. Spenser writes in the *Tears of the Muses* (1591):

What wrath of Gods, or wicked influence  
Of Starres conspiring wretched men t’afflict,  
Hath powrd on earth this noyous pestilence,  
That mortall mindes doth inwardly infect  
With loue of blindnesse and of ignorance,  
To dwell in darkenesse without souenance?

What difference twixt man and beast is left,  
When th’heauenlie light of knowledge is put out,  
And th’ornaments of wisdome are bereft?  
Then wandreth he in error and in doubt,  
Vnwecting of the danger hee is in,  
Through fleshes frailtie and deceit of sin.

In this wide world in which they wretches stray,  
It is the onelie comfort which they haue,  
It is their light, their loadstarre and their day;  
But hell and darkenesse and the grislie graue  
Is ignorance, the enemy of grace,  
That mindes of men borne heauenlie doth debace.

<sup>28</sup> “Video” can also be translated as to perceive, to learn or to comprehend.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio [...] done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby*, London 1561, Walter Raleigh (ed.), *The Tudor Translations*, London 1900, vol. 23, pp. 356–57. For *Venus vulgaris* and *Venus coelestis*, see Edmund Spenser, *Four Hymnes*, London 1596, J.C. Smith & E. De Selincourt (eds.), *Spenser: Poetical Works*, Oxford 1912/repr. 1989, pp. 586–89, 593–96; and Castiglione (1561/1900) pp. 358–60. On love, light, fire and tears, see Castiglione (1561/1900) p. 356. On tears and knowledge, see Desiderius Erasmus, *Moriae encomium*, Paris 1511, Betty Radice (trans.), *Erasmus: Praise of Folly*, Harmondsworth 1971, pp. 188–89.

Through knowledge we behold the worlds creation,  
 How in his cradle first he fostred was;  
 And iudge of Natures cunning operation,  
 How things she formed of a formlesse mas:  
 By knowledge wee do learne our selues to knowe,  
 And what to man, and what to God wee owe.<sup>30</sup>

When comparing Spenser's thoughts with "Flow my teares", it is tempting to suggest that Dowland's sentence "Light doth but shame disclose" (Fig. 1, second stanza), confirms that man through light gains the knowledge of his former happiness and divinity as the image of God. However, he also realises the reason for his disgraceful position in the terrestrial world.<sup>31</sup> Dowland's "last fortunes" (second stanza) refers to the Fall; and "From the highest spire of contentment, My fortune is throwne" (fourth stanza) refers to the expulsion from Paradise to the unhappy earthly condition to which man now pertains. The final stanza implores man to shun gaining knowledge of his former happiness, for it is only possible as an ignorant to enjoy life on Earth, not realising the former joy he once possessed. Man could regain the image and his lost divinity through a painful process – painful, because he at the same time learned why he fell from Paradise. Spenser's "An Hymne of Heavenly Love" (1596) reveals:

But pride impatient of long resting peace,  
 Did puffe them vp with greedy bold ambition,  
 That they gan cast their state how to increase  
 About the fortune of their first condition,  
 And sit in Gods owne seat without comission:  
 The brightest Angell, euen the Child of light,  
 Drew millions more against their God to fight.

Th'Almighty seeing their so bold assay,  
 Kindled the flame of his consuming yre,  
 And with his onely breath them blew away  
 From heauens hight, to which they did aspyre,  
 To deepest hell, and lake of damned fyre;  
 Where they in darknesse and dread horror dwell,  
 Hating the happie light from which they fell.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Spenser, *The Teares of the Muses*, London 1591, Smith & De Selincourt (1912/1989) p. 485.

<sup>31</sup> See also John Milton, *Of Education*, London 1644, Ernest Sirluck (ed.), *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, New Haven 1969, vol. 2, pp. 366-67.

<sup>32</sup> Spenser (1596) p. 594.

The final phrase is echoed in Dowland's fifth stanza, "Harke you shadowes that in darckness dwell, Learne to contemne light". These ideas were widely referred to – not only by poets, but also by the clergy.<sup>33</sup> The theme of Dowland's "Flow my teares" was popular, perhaps because it was based on the large amount of poetry and religious material which appeared during the late sixteenth century. The connection between the Fall, the seven *Lachrimæ* pavans and salvation was emphasised most clearly by the Puritan lawyer, William Prynne (1633):

Alas there are *but few that finde the narrow way* [...] and those few what are they? Not dancers, but *mourners*: not laughers, but *weepers*; whose tune is *Lachrimæ*, whose musicke, *sighs for sinne*; who know no other Cinqua-pace but this to Heaven, *to goe mourning all the day long for their iniquities*; *to mourne in secret like Doves, to chatter like Cranes for their owne and others sinnes*. *Fasting, prayers, mourning, teares, tribulations, martyrdome were the onely rounds* [i.e. dances] *that led all the Saints to Heaven*.<sup>34</sup>

The circular process of expulsion, acknowledgement of the reason for the Fall (the idea of "nosce teipsum", to know thyself) and the return to the heavenly state was very much part of the Elizabethan philosophy and every-day life.<sup>35</sup> There was only one way for man to regain divinity: through a painful process in which he is concomitantly reminded of the reason for his expulsion. At the same time, the poet of "Flow my teares" tries to deter those who are not qualified to refrain from even attempting to attain divine knowledge. It is only possible to enjoy life in the material world in a state of ignorance of the previous paradisiac condition in complete rest and tranquillity; and more important, the coveted process is only for the select few.<sup>36</sup> The position of the melancholic musician, singing "Flow my teares" for example to the accompaniment of the lute, is profoundly tragic when compared to his correspondent: the rational and wise Apollo presiding over the nine Muses on Mount Parnassus, chanting divinely to the celestial lyre. Then man's unhappy earthly life becomes very noticeable.

<sup>33</sup> See especially Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, *The Fall of Adam from Paradise*, London 1629, p. 444 (repr. of *The Fall of Man; or, the Corruption of Nature*, London 1616). The idea is also mentioned in William Ingpen, *The Secrets of Numbers*, London 1624, p. 89. See also Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra*, London 1633, pp. 139, 148.

<sup>34</sup> William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scourge*, London 1633, p. 244; the "cinqua-pace" is the fifth step (jump) of the galliard; doves are the attributes of Venus; cranes could symbolise vigilance. Prynne seems to imply that "Flow my teares" is about the appraisal of Venus coelestis.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Tillyard (1943/1972) pp. 79-83.

<sup>36</sup> Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie*, London 1595, Katherine Duncan-Jones (ed.), *Sir Philip Sidney*, Oxford 1989, p. 249: "I conjure you all that [...] to believe, with me, that there are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused".

## Analysis

Analysing early music from around the turn of the sixteenth century has created a long series of important – and at times also controversial – discussions.<sup>37</sup> An approach based entirely on harmonic tonality has proven somewhat unsatisfactory as it does not necessarily explain a composer's possible pre-compositional framework. Though modal designations can be more revealing, such an approach can be rather problematic, too, and was so even in the Renaissance and early Baroque. Contemporary theorists and composers often disagreed in the classification of music according to the modal systems, depending on whether they employed the traditional 8-mode system with its roots based firmly in liturgical practice or the 12-mode system, including the Aeolian and Ionian modes, which Glarean proposed in 1547 mainly in order to remove the ambiguities and irregularities of the earlier system. Lechner, a pupil of Orlando di Lasso, maintained that his teacher adhered to the 8-mode system; yet theorists such as Hoffmann (1582), Raselius (1589), Calvisius (1600) and Nucius (1613) classified Lasso's music according to the 12-mode system.<sup>38</sup> During the early seventeenth century, the conservative and somewhat complex 8-mode system became more and more closely associated with liturgical music, whereas the 12-mode system became associated with secular (instrumental) music.<sup>39</sup> However, disagreements within a modal system also occur depending on the composer's or theorist's approach; that is, whether they only used the modes as a classification system, looking at the external characteristics (*range* of individual parts, and *final*, i.e., the lowest sounding pitch of the final chord), or as a compositional framework, studying the internal features (octave species, melodic patterns, hierarchy of cadences, etc.). The dispute around 1600 between Artusi and Giulio, Claudio Monteverdi's brother, is an excellent example; that is, whether Claudio's "Cruda Amarilli" belonged to the authentic Mixolydian mode 7 (range:  $g-g'$ , final: G) or the plagal Hypoionian mode 12 ( $g-g'$ , C).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See in particular the seminal writings of Carl Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, Robert O. Gjerdingen (trans.), Princeton 1990; Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, Ellen S. Beebe (trans.), New York 1988; Harold S. Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981) pp. 428-70.

<sup>38</sup> On Lasso's use of the 8-mode system, see Georg Reichert, "Martin Crucius und die Musik in Tübingen um 1590", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1953) pp. 210-12. Eucharius Hoffmann, *Doctrina de tonis seu modis musicis*, Greifswald 1582; Andreas Raselius, *Hexachordum seu quaestiones musicae poeticae*, Nuremberg 1589; Seth Calvisius, *Exercitationes musicae duae*, Leipzig 1600; and Johannes Nucius, *Musices poeticae sive de compositione cantus*, Neisse 1613.

<sup>39</sup> Calvisius, *Melopoïia seu melodiae condensae ratio*, Erfurt 1592, sig. H3<sup>r</sup>; Calvisius (1600) pp. 36-37; Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*, Venice 1605/repr. 1611, p. 39; and Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del transilvano dialogo*, Venice 1609/repr. 1622, lib. 3, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> On the controversies, see Tim Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music", Nancy K. Barker & Barbara Russano Hannings (eds.), *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, New York 1992, pp. 171-94; and Frans Wiering, "Internal and External Views of the Modes", Cristle Collins Judd (ed.), *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, New York & London 1998, pp. 90-91.

Taking a general overview of Dowland's songs published between 1597 and 1603, it becomes apparent that they are more or less kept within the same vocal range – that is, *e'-e''*, sometimes including the range up to *g''*.<sup>41</sup> Thus Dowland employs the same ambitus independent of key signature (*cantus durus*, ♯, or *mollis*, ♭) and whether the final be E, F, A or G – details which otherwise are important elements in contemporary music theory. External modal signifiers such as ambitus and final will not, therefore, necessarily reveal the mode of Dowland's songs, and the distinction between authentic and plagal modes in terms of ambitus seems to have been amalgamated. This was part of a process in which the ambitus of a piece gradually lost its relevance for the distinction between authentic and plagal modes. Contemporary theorists began to argue that a modal designation – especially in instrumental music which could employ a much wider ambitus than vocal music – should instead rely on internal signifiers such as the melodic framework and the hierarchy of cadential degrees.<sup>42</sup>

Dowland's *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares* is not, apparently, arranged according to tonal types.<sup>43</sup> The only pieces with common external features are, indeed, the seven *Lachrimæ* pavans (see Table 1):<sup>44</sup> all employ the same clef combination (low clefs), same transpositional system (*cantus durus*) and the same final (A), and they can therefore be assigned to the same tonal type or modal category. But this classification reveals only that the external features are retained or that the overall framework is the same throughout pavans 1-7 – an observation which is not surprising as pavans 2-6 are based on pavan 1, in modern terms a theme with a set of variations.

The analysis will only address the *Lachrimæ* pavans and presupposes that they were consciously composed and arranged by Dowland in a sequential order: that is, the first seven pavans form one group connected by title (“tears”) and same tonal type. A classification according to one of the two modal systems is not the primary aim, though it may be the ultimate outcome of the analysis; rather, what is important to study is how specific details are developed or changed through the progression from pavan 1, *Lachrimæ Antiquæ*, to no. 7, *Lachrimæ Vere*. In order to expose possible internal changes, the following essen-

<sup>41</sup> John Dowland, *First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, London 1597; *Second Booke of Songes or Ayres*, London 1600; *Third and Last Booke of Songes or Aires*, London 1603.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Il secondo libro de ricercate*, Naples 1615, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> Employing an “etic methodology” Powers (1981) seeks to place polyphonic music into tonal types or modal categories by using the minimal, objective markers – final, transpositional system and high or low clef combinations. The external distinction between an authentic/plagal modal pair with same final and transposition is that the authentic mode, because of a higher ambitus, employs high clefs (G2-C2-C3-F3) whereas the plagal mode will use low clefs (C1-C3-C4-F4). Thus the untransposed (♯) authentic mode 1 will have final on D with the cleffing G2-C2-C3-F3; the untransposed (♯) plagal mode 2 will have D as final and the cleffing C1-C3-C4-F4. For an extensive discussion and the background for tonal types, see Siegfried Hermelink, *Dispositiones modorum. Die Tonarten in der Musik Palestrinas und seiner Zeitgenossen*, Tutzing 1960 (Habilitationsschrift); and Powers (1981).

<sup>44</sup> All the pavans are tripartite with each section repeated (AA-BB-CC).

tial elements – according to contemporary music theorists – are examined: melodic patterns of the initial phrases, including central intervals and notes; cadences and cadential degrees; furthermore, the bass part in the initial phrases is briefly examined.

### Initial Melodic Patterns and Central Intervals

The melodic structure of the exordium of pavan 1 (Ex. 1a, b. 1) emphasises first the stepwise descent of the perfect fourth,  $a'-e'$ , and perhaps even more strongly the following ascending leap of the minor sixth,  $e'-c''$ . Not only is this interval very audible but it describes also the upper limit of the ambitus of the cantus in the first section.<sup>45</sup> These two dominant intervals were associated with lament.<sup>46</sup> The descending fourth, which is found throughout the seven pavans though placed in different parts, shows no transformation in the first three pavans; however, in the four remaining pieces it is moved around finally ending up in the bassus of pavan 7. The interval, E-C, is very dominant in the first pavan – not only because it appears so clearly in the cantus, but it is also the first interval employed in the quintus. In addition, the importance of the initial phrase of the cantus, consisting of the descending fourth and the minor sixth leap, is emphasised by its reappearance in semibreves in the final phrase of the bassus (bb. 22-23).

Contrary to the descending fourth, the minor sixth of the first pavan seems to become more difficult to discern. In the second pavan (Ex. 1b), the distance between the two notes,  $e'$  and  $c''$ , is prolonged by ornamentation filling in six extra semibreves; in addition,  $c'$  does not occur in the quintus until bar 2, second semibreve. In the quintus of pavan 3 (Ex. 1c), the interval becomes part of the octave  $e-e'$ . In pavan 4 (Ex. 1d), the interval is not employed in the first section, but is rather found in the tenor in the middle section (b. 13). In the fifth pavan, it occurs briefly as a diminution (crochets) in the quintus (Ex. 1e, b. 1); the melodic features of the cantus, however, sketch the interval in augmentation, placing the  $c''$  on the third beat of the second bar, rather than on the fourth beat of the first bar as in pavan 1. The interval is concealed even more in pavans 6-7 (Exx. 1f-g). In the quintus of pavan 6 (b. 1), an extra note and a rest has been inserted between  $e$  and  $c'$ . In pavan 7 (bb. 1-2) the quintus outlines an ornamented descending minor sixth. At the same as the minor sixth leap fades away, it seems that the interval  $a'-c''$  gains in prominence.

<sup>45</sup> The only other instance, in which the ascending minor sixth leap occurs, is in Dowland (1597) no. 16, though this song belongs to another tonal type (final: E, *cantus durus*).

<sup>46</sup> The descending fourth is found in numerous compositions of lament, cf. Ellen Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament", *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979) pp. 346-59; according to contemporary theorists the upward minor sixth leap expressed "great pain like lamenting" ("saltus per sextam mollem unicus [...] magnitudinem doloris exprimit, aptus ejulatus"), cf. Johannes Kepler, *Harmonices mundi*, Linz 1619, lib. 3, p. 75.

Ex. 1. Initial themes of the seven *Lachrima*. The music examples have been excerpted from the British Library copy. The text in Ex. 1a has been added from Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600), "Flow my teares".

C  
A  
B

[Flow my teares fall from your springs. Ex - ilde for e - uer: Let mee mourne where]

Ex. 1a. Pavan 1 (*Lachrima Antiqua*).

C  
A  
B

Ex. 1b. Pavan 2 (*Lachrima Antiqua Noua*).

C  
A  
B

Ex. 1c. Pavan 3 (*Lachrima Gementes*).



Musical score for Ex. 1d. Pavan 4 (Lachrima Tristes). The score is in 3/4 time and features three staves: C/A (Cello/Alto), Q (Violin), and T/B (Tenor/Bass). The C/A staff has a treble clef, the Q staff has a treble clef with a 158 key signature, and the T/B staff has a bass clef. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines.

Ex. 1d. Pavan 4 (*Lachrima Tristes*).

Musical score for Ex. 1e. Pavan 5 (Lachrima Coactæ). The score is in 4/4 time and features three staves: C/A (Cello/Alto), T/Q (Tenor/Violin), and B (Bass). The C/A staff has a treble clef, the T/Q staff has a treble clef with a 158 key signature, and the B staff has a bass clef. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines.

Ex. 1e. Pavan 5 (*Lachrima Coactæ*).

Musical score for Ex. 1f. Pavan 6 (Lachrima Amantis). The score is in 4/4 time and features three staves: C/A (Cello/Alto), T (Tenor), and Q/B (Violin/Bass). The C/A staff has a treble clef, the T staff has a treble clef with a 158 key signature, and the Q/B staff has a bass clef. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines.

Ex. 1f. Pavan 6 (*Lachrima Amantis*).

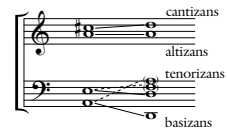
Musical score for Ex. 1g. Pavan 7 (Lachrima Veræ). The score is in 3/4 time and features three staves: C/A (Cello/Alto), T/Q (Tenor/Violin), and B (Bass). The C/A staff has a treble clef, the T/Q staff has a treble clef with a 158 key signature, and the B staff has a bass clef. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines.

Ex. 1g. Pavan 7 (*Lachrima Veræ*).

Cadences and Cadential Degrees<sup>47</sup>

The so-called Phrygian cadence (or *clausula in mi*), which theorists considered a normal procedure for ending on E, appears in abundance in the first pavan: the *clausula tenorizans* is placed in the lowest part descending from F to E while the *clausula cantizans*, placed in one of the upper parts according to importance, proceeds a whole tone upwards (D-E). During the late sixteenth century, this semiperfect cadence was usually immediately followed by a cadence on A (Ex. 1a, bb. 2-3).<sup>48</sup> It should be noted that in the lute-song version, Dowland has placed the text so that the punctuation follows the cadence on E; thus, since the cadence was interpreted as a rhetorical pause (a comma, e.g.), it would seem that the composer in this case has chosen to define the Phrygian cadence on E as more important than the following one on A.<sup>49</sup> An interesting pattern emerges when comparing the final cadence of the second section of all the seven *Lachrima* pavans. The Phrygian cadence, which is very audible in the first three pieces, changes character completely in pavans 4-7 (Exx. 2a-g). Similar to the melodic framework, Dowland slowly transforms the features of the Phrygian cadence and hence also diminishes the importance of this cadential form: in pavan 2 by the insertion of two extra semibreves, moving the final to a weaker beat (Ex. 2b); and in pavan 3 the composer has transposed the final in the bassus an octave up (Ex. 2c). In the fourth, the Phrygian cadence on E is avoided altogether by skipping the semitone between E and F (Ex. 2d); rather, Dowland has concealed the *clausula cantizans* in the altus three to two bars before the end, disguising it even more by ornamenting it (Ex. 2d, bb. 15-16). The *clausula tenorizans* has been placed in the

<sup>47</sup> The cadence is defined as two parts moving from an imperfect to a perfect consonance (most often an octave), not as a harmonic progression between two chords. One part descends a tone from the penultimate to the final note (if a semitone, the cadence is semiperfect), this is a *clausula tenorizans*. When it became popular to end with a full harmony, the *clausula tenorizans* would (in a four-part texture) proceed a tone upwards, hence including the third of the chord. The second part ascends a semitone from the penultimate to the final note and is named a *clausula cantizans*. The bassus, *clausula basizans*, is fitted to the tenor and cantus so the final note occurs a fifth above the tenor or an octave below. In compositions of four parts, a *clausula altizans* is formed above the tenor, ending on a fifth.



All cadential patterns (except *clausula basizans*) can be placed in whatever voice the composer wishes, depending on the importance of the cadence. However, to create the strongest emphasis and perfection, the three different *clausulae* (*cantizans*, *tenorizans*, and *basizans*) are placed in their respective parts (cantus, tenor, and bassus). Each mode is characterised by having a distinct set of possible cadential degrees, ordered in a hierarchy of importance, which is not necessarily the same in both modal systems or in the same pair of authentic/plagal modes. According to Pedro Cerone (*El melopeo y maestro. Tractado de música theorica y practica*, Naples 1613, p. 902), e.g., the authentic mode 9 (cantus: *a'-a''*, final: A) has principle cadences on *a'*, *e''*, *c''* and minor ones on *d''*, *f''*, *g''*; the plagal mode 10 (cantus: *e'-e''*, final: A) has principle cadences on *a'*, *e''*, and minor ones on *c''*, *d''*, *g'*.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. Calvisius (1592) sig. G8<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Phrygian cadences occur in bb. 2, 6, 11, 16, 20; cadences on A in bb. 8, 19, 25.

quintus, weakening it, however, by a syncopation (b. 15). Dowland suggests a weak Phrygian cadence on the fifth above E by placing *clausula cantizans* (a'-b') in the cantus and *tenorizans* in the tenor (c'-b').<sup>50</sup>

Ex. 2. End of second section of the seven *Lachrimæ*, transformation of the Phrygian cadence. The music examples have been excerpted from the British Library copy.

Ex. 2a. End of second section of pavan 1 (*Lachrimæ Antiquæ*).

Ex. 2b. End of second section of pavan 2 (*Lachrimæ Antiquæ Nouæ*).

Ex. 2c. End of second section of pavan 3 (*Lachrimæ Gementes*).

<sup>50</sup> Note that in this pavan the quintus is set below the tenor.

Ex. 2d. End of second section of pavan 4 (*Lachrimæ Tristes*).

Ex. 2e. End of second section of pavan 5 (*Lachrimæ Coactæ*).

Ex. 2f. End of second section of pavan 6 (*Lachrimæ Amantis*).

Ex. 2g. End of second section of pavan 7 (*Lachrimæ Vere*).

The final cadence of the second section of pavan 5 and pavan 6 (Exx. 2e-f) has changed character. A complete transformation has taken place with no references to the Phrygian cadence on E. Dowland has created a 'new' way to approach E by employing the *clausula basizans* in the lowest part, thus moving a fourth from B to E; at the same time, the *clausula cantizans* moves upwards a semitone (D<sup>#</sup>-E). The cadence of pavan 5 should be considered fairly strong as the voicings, *clausulae cantizans* and *basizans*, have been placed in their respective parts, whereas the *tenorizans* appears in the quintus. The cadence of pavan 6 would seem weaker as the important *clausula cantizans* has been moved to the altus; however, the composer has inserted two extra semibreves (b. 17), thus drawing attention to the new cadential form on E. By employing D<sup>#</sup> in the *clausula cantizans* and B in *basizans*, Dowland has avoided the Phrygian cadence in pavans 5-6, thus removing a very audible and special feature of the first three pavans. In effect, Dowland has normalised the cadence on E – a closure which was highly exceptional, and is seldom found in polyphonic music of the time. In the second section of pavan 7, the traditional Phrygian cadence appears again (Ex. 2g). In the final bars of the third section (bb. 22-23), however, Dowland once more employs the fourth relationship between B and E as a *clausula basizans* (Ex. 3).<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, he quickly changes the ascending semitone of the *clausula cantizans*, placed in the tenor, thereby weakening the cadence.

Ex. 3. End of third section of pavan 7 (*Lachrimæ Vere*), cadence preceding B – E – A.  
The music example has been excerpted from the British Library copy.

When considering Dowland's use of different cadential degrees, the middle sections clearly show a transformation (Table 2). The first three pavans, however, are static in terms of cadential developments. The fourth pavan is the piece in which experiments begin to appear as new cadences on C, G, E and B are tried out; in addition, the cadences – and especially the Phrygian – employed in the previous three pieces, have become somewhat weak in the fourth pavan. Pavans 5 and 6 display determined use of new ways of cadencing on E: in comparison with the

<sup>51</sup> The cadence is evaded (*fuggita*) and proceeds to *c'* instead of *e'*. B, employed in a *clausula basizans* to E or as the root of a B major chord, is only found six times in the books of airs (cf. note 41): (1597) nos. 15, 20; (1600) nos. 1, 2, 21; (1603) no. 1.

previous pavans, the cadence on E in the fifth is prolonged by extensive chromatic alterations – even employing the rare A<sup>#</sup>. In consequence of the displacement of the cadential voicings in pavan 6, cadences become weak and unimportant until the final one, precisely formed on E, is reached.<sup>52</sup> Pavan 7, on the other hand, ends the transformation by using some of the cadential methods of pavans 1-4; that is, the cadence on G is borrowed from no. 4, the cadence on C from nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, and the final Phrygian cadence of the second section from nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Pavan	Cadences	Accidentals
1	E* C (D)	C <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup>
2	E* C	F <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup>
3	E* C (A)	F <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup>
4	C G (A) (E) (B*) (E*)	F <sup>#</sup> C <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup> D <sup>#</sup> B <sup>b</sup>
5	E B A (D)	F <sup>#</sup> C <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup> D <sup>#</sup> A <sup>#</sup> B <sup>b</sup>
6	E (A) (B)	F <sup>#</sup> C <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup> D <sup>#</sup> B <sup>b</sup>
7	E* C G (D)	F <sup>#</sup> G <sup>#</sup> B <sup>b</sup>

Brackets indicate a weaker cadence, either because of the placement of the voicings (see note 47) or because of the length of the cadence.

\* indicates a Phrygian cadence.

Table 2. Pavans 1-7: cadences and accidentals in the second sections.

Comparing the end of the first sections of the *Lachrimæ* pavans, the placement of the cadential voicings reveals a similar pattern (Table 3). Pavans 1, 2 and 3 are static; in pavan 4, the placement of the *clausula altizans* – the less important of the *clausulae* – is moved from quintus to altus. Pavan 5 has the same voicings as pavans 1-3; but in pavan 6, the *clausula tenorizans* is moved to the quintus, and back to the tenor in pavan 7. The final cadence of all the third sections is retained with the same voicings throughout the seven pavans. In no. 4, however, the fifth degree above the final is not used – instead the third (C<sup>#</sup>) is doubled thus omitting the *altizans*. As in the case of other details, this also draws attention to the fourth pavan as the centre of the seven pavans.

### The Bassus

The initial phrase of the bassus of pavans 1-6 also changes character. In pavans 1-3 it begins with a closed, circular or static movement, starting on A and returning to A (Exx. 1a-c). Again, pavan 4 is exceptional, since the bassus has a four-bar long descending line (Ex. 1d), which turns into an ascending line in both pavans 5 and 6 (Exx. 1e-f). The initial phrase of the last pavan, however, is the stepwise

<sup>52</sup> On cadential voicings see note 47.

Pavan	1			2			3			4			5			6			7		
Section	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Cantus	c		c	c		c	c		c	c		c	c	c	c	c		c	c		c
Altus		c			c			c		a						a	c		a	c	
Tenor	t	a	t	t	a	t	t	a	t	t		t	t	a	t		a	t	t	a	t
Quintus	a		a	a		a	a		a				a	t	a	t	t	a			a
Bassus	b	t	b	b	t	b	b	t	b	b		b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	t	b

c: *clausula cantizans*  
a: *clausula altizans*  
t: *clausula tenorizans*  
b: *clausula basizans*

Table 3. Cadences at end of sections of pavans 1-7, placement of the cadential voicings, clausulae cantizans, tenorizans, basizans and altizans.

descending fourth which otherwise is found only in the upper parts of the previous pavans. Thus Dowland has created a mirror image in the seventh and last of the *Lachrimæ* pavans. The composer has opened with a device which, when transferred to the bass, implies a Phrygian cadence on E (Ex. 1g).

### Music Analysis: Conclusion

Though the external signifiers – final, transpositional system and clef combination – suggest a static outer form of pavans 1-7, an analysis of some of the significant internal elements indicates that fundamental changes truly take place, especially during pavans 4, 5 and 6; pavans 2 and 3, however, are kept within the framework of the first pavan. Tables 2 and 3 indicate that pavan 4 is the central piece in which interesting developments begin to appear: there is no emphasis on the minor sixth, *e'-c''*, as in the first three pavans and especially as in the first pavan; rather, it is the interval, *a'-c''*, which seems to be stressed. In addition, cadential degrees other than those employed in the previous pavans are implied and emphasised in pavan 4, and in the middle section of the pavan use is suddenly made of new accidentals (*D#*, *Bb*). That pavan 4 is the centre, is also indicated in the overall hierarchical structure of the collection (Table 1). Some details, such as the cadential hierarchy, the use of additional chromatic alterations in the middle sections of pavans 5 and 6 and the changes in the melodic framework, are continuously developed. It is evident, nevertheless, that pavan 7 halts this development and returns to employing elements exploited in the first three pieces.

How are these melodic and cadential transformations, which slowly and subtly take place during the seven *Lachrimæ*, to be interpreted? Many details suggest that the first pavan should be classified as a mode 3 piece: the minor sixth, *e'-c''*,

is the *repercussio*<sup>53</sup> of mode 3, and the Phrygian cadence is the most important cadence of modes 3 and 4. Though the final of these two modes is E, it is very common to find pieces ending on A instead – A is the co-final and appears as a consequence of the Phrygian cadence. In addition, the same initial melodic construct can be found in polyphonic music which contemporary theorists designated as being in mode 3. Thus Lasso's motet, "In me transierunt" (1562) which was seen as a text-book example of mode 3, shows very similar characteristic features as Dowland's *Lachrimae Antiquae*.<sup>54</sup> Lasso employs the same melodic pattern as Dowland does in the first bars of the quintus.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, Lasso makes extensive use of the Phrygian cadence and his bass-line is similar to the one Dowland employs in the second pavan. It is possible to categorise the first three pavans as being in mode 3 of the octenary system; however, the characteristic elements of mode 3, giving the pieces their archaic form, are slowly transformed indicating that Dowland is consciously playing with the traditional features of the 8-mode system. In the fourth pavan, for example, the composer suggests a weak Phrygian cadence on the fifth above E (Ex. 2d, cantus-tenor). In the 8-mode system, B was used extremely seldom as part of a *clausula basizans* (B-E), and if employed, it was certainly as a transitional cadence.<sup>56</sup> Even according to the 12-mode system, in which the B theoretically was considered a regular cadential degree, theorists argue that because of its harshness cadences on A and C preferably should be employed.<sup>57</sup>

Many of the alterations can therefore be characterised as extending the boundaries of the octenary system – at times even going beyond it. Does this consequently indicate that Dowland's compositional construct was not the traditional 8-mode system, but rather the 12-mode system according to which A and C are proper finals and not merely co-finals? Some elements would seem to adhere better to Glarean's 12 modes: the external signifiers, that is the final, range and octave species (cantus: *e'-a'-e''*) suggest mode 10 (see also note 47). The melodic structure of pavans 4-7 would seem to confirm this classification.<sup>58</sup> It is also in these pavans that the minor sixth leap (the traditional *repercussio*) is avoided. The pitch C has become a cadential degree rather than part of the interval E-C – this

<sup>53</sup> *Repercussio* is the interval of repercussion, that is the interval between the final and a secondary focal note. The *repercussio* is often part of the melodic framework, and the notes are usually employed as cadential degrees.

<sup>54</sup> Orlando di Lasso, *Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum*, Nuremberg 1562, F.X. Haberl (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso: Sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig 1908, vol. 9, pp. 49-52. On modal designations of Lasso's piece, see e.g. Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, Rostock 1606, p. 73; Hoffmann (1582) sig. D5<sup>r</sup>; Raselius (1589) sig. G7<sup>v</sup>; Calvisius (1600) p. 51; and Nucius (1613) sig. I4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> For modern discussions on the melodic patterns of modes 3 and 4, see in particular Meier (1988) pp. 226-34; and Bernhard Meier, *Alte Tonarten. Dargestellt an der Instrumentalmusik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel 1992, pp. 72-86.

<sup>56</sup> This development was already implied in pavan 4 in which the second section begins with a brief cadence on E, employing the *clausula basizans* (bb. 9-10).

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Calvisius (1592) sig. H4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> On the melodic patterns of modes 11 and 12, see Meier (1992) pp. 86-95, 135-40.



also agrees with the dodecachordal system. It is only because of the internal features (*repercussio*, Phrygian cadence, e.g.) that pavans 1-3 are not so easily classified as mode 10. Though it would be highly original, it is also possible that the composer has utilised both modal systems: the traditional and conservative 8-mode system for pavans 1-3, and for the remaining four pavans Dowland has employed the more modern 12-mode system. This would also be in accordance with the allegorical interpretation.

The confusion was presumably just as great for Dowland's contemporaries as it is for us today. Especially modes 3 and 4 created many obstacles and disagreements among theorists trying to classify music by studying internal characteristics. The close relationship between modes 3, 4 and modes 9, 10 is very much accentuated by theorists adhering to the 12-mode system.<sup>59</sup> It is also possible that Dowland merely used a tonal category (final: A, low clefs and *cantus durus*) as his basis, and on this chose to create a framework employing characteristic features associated with the traditional Phrygian modes. Within the tonal category, these features have slowly changed to such an extent that the link with the original framework, as found in pavan 1, has vanished; however, it is partly established in the seventh pavan where both new and old devices are found. While Dowland experiments with the internal features, it does not interfere with an overall classification of the *Lachrimæ* to a specific tonal category. Whatever classification system Dowland might have adhered to, the conclusion remains that significant, internal characteristics are, indeed, slowly changing from pavan 1 to 7.

### Synthesis: Text, Symbolism and Music

The music analysis suggests that the first three *Lachrimæ* form one, nearly static group. These pavans would fit mode 3 of the traditional 8-mode system or are kept within an archaic framework of mode 10 of Glarean's 12-mode system. The introductory bars of the bassus outlines a closed or 'circular' movement. No unusual musical devices are employed. Also the titles (and interpreting them in terms of number symbolism) indicate that the three pavans can be seen as constituting one group – an allegory of the celestial world in which the first pavan is "the fontaine of all vertue and power".<sup>60</sup> The number one was indivisible and considered the source of all numbers (but not a number itself) and associated with the divine creator;<sup>61</sup> this symbolism relates to *Lachrimæ Antiquæ* (old/original tears), the archetype of the following *Lachrimæ*.<sup>62</sup> The second pavan, *Lachrimæ Antiquæ Novæ* (new old/original tears), is the first creation based on the original

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Venice 1558/repr. 1573, lib. iv, cap. 22-23, pp. 401-2, 416; Calvisius (1592) sig. H4<sup>r</sup>; and Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico pratico*, Bologna 1673, pp. 138, 140 (ex.).

<sup>60</sup> Ingpen (1624) p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> Ingpen (1624) p. 12; and Agrippa (1531/1651) vol. 2, p. 174.

<sup>62</sup> The Latin terms have been translated using Thomas Thomas, *Dictionarium linguae latinae et anglicanae*, London 1587.

and marks the beginning of division and development.<sup>63</sup> The third pavan, *Lachrimæ Gementes* (groaning tears), is the first of two to have a title unambiguously indicating lament. The second and third pavans, approaching the fourth, move further away from the original source of the celestial world.

Similarly, pavans 4, 5 and 6 make up another group, representing the elemental or material world. The number four symbolised the “perpetuall fountain” of nature and production, and was considered highly significant as it embodied the material world (four winds, four seasons, four temperaments, four elements, e.g.).<sup>64</sup> Many details found in the fourth pavan, *Lachrimæ Tristes* (grave or bitter tears), have changed character: the confrontation between new and traditional methods of approaching a cadence on E is evident; the *repercussio* is avoided; and for the first time, the bass line reveals a determined descending octave (Ex. 1d), perhaps symbolising man’s fall from the celestial world to the terrestrial. What at first sight would seem to be a mistake might be intentional: the clefs of the tenor and quintus of pavan 4 have been exchanged (Table 1) as well as the ambitus of the two parts. But the melodic material of the initial phrase of the tenor and quintus is the same as in the first three pavans. In spite of the change of clef, the *clausula tenorizans* is still found in the tenor as in pavans 1-3, and 5 (see Table 3), and not in the quintus, as one might expect if the parts were misplaced.<sup>65</sup> This detail is obvious for those placed around a table reading the music for the first time, and it seems that Dowland thus has been able to draw attention to pavan 4, presumably provoking a minor delay between pavans 3 and 4.

From a music-analytical point of view, pavans 5 and 6 can be seen as a dynamic development of ideas sown in the fourth pavan. Pavan 5, *Lachrimæ Coactæ* (i.e. to prove, to mix),<sup>66</sup> is interesting, because both number and title refer to an alchemical process of mixing two opposite forces – feminine and masculine (2+3), for instance.<sup>67</sup> Five was dedicated to the god Mercury; and mercury as a metal was an important ingredient in the alchemical process of finding the Philosophers’ Stone.<sup>68</sup> It is apparent that Dowland is experimenting in pavan 5 (Table 2):

<sup>63</sup> Ingpen (1624) p. 13; and Agrippa (1531/1651) vol. 2, pp. 174-76.

<sup>64</sup> Ingpen (1624) p. 30; and Agrippa (1531/1651) vol. 2, pp. 183-87.

<sup>65</sup> Richard Rastall, “Spatial Effects in English Instrumental Consort Music, c. 1560-1605”, *Early Music* 25 (1997) pp. 282-83, argues that the reversal of the clefs is probably an error.

<sup>66</sup> Holman (1999) p. 56, believes that the title, *Lachrimæ Coactæ*, “‘enforced tears’ or perhaps ‘insincere tears’ or even ‘crocodile tears’ suggests a connection with one of the most striking melancholy types: the revenger or malcontent”. However, when reading Thomas (1587), one arrives at a different conclusion: “*Coactus*: Assembled, gathered, growne together, constrained, forced, compelled, wrought”; “*Cogo ex Con & Ago*: To gather, to assemble, to bring together: to make thicke: to close or knit together: also, to constraine, to driue in, to make to goe in by force, to compell or force: to restraine, to conclude & inferre necessarilie: to proue by strong argument: to set or bring in order, to milke a beast”.

<sup>67</sup> Ingpen (1624) p. 39; and Agrippa (1531/1651) vol. 2, p. 188. A common alchemical interpretation of “solve et coagula” was the loss and transformation of form; Roger Bacon, *The Mirror of Alchimy*, London 1597, p. 32, explains: “This solution and congelation [...] are the solution of the bodie, and the congelation of the Spirite, and they are two, yet haue but one operation”.

<sup>68</sup> That is, seeking the knowledge to attain the primal state of being as Adam and Eve in Paradise.

he has employed six different accidentals in the middle section in comparison with five in both pavan 4 and 6; in addition, no obvious use of the archaic elements – the *repercussio* and the Phrygian cadence – are found. After bringing together opposite forces, the sixth pavan appears: the number is the most perfect in nature as  $1+2+3$  equals  $1 \times 2 \times 3$ ; God created the World in six days, and it is also the number of redemption;<sup>69</sup> six was dedicated to the goddess of love, Venus, and the title of the sixth pavan is *Lachrimæ Amantis* (the lover's tears). Love, the desire of divine beauty (*Venus coelestis*), was an important part of the process in regaining divine knowledge and the former position in Paradise. In *Lachrimæ* 5 and 6 the initial phrase of the bass has become an ascending line (Exx. 1e-f), which could be interpreted as man's awakening desire to return to his former position. Comparing the second sections of pavans 1-3 with 4-6 (Table 2), it becomes evident that Dowland is experimenting with the cadential degrees and the use of accidentals, thereby emphasising the grouping of the pavans. The B, which was highly irregular as a cadential degree in the 8-mode system and very seldom used in polyphonic music, gains more and more prominence through pavans 4, 5, and 6 (the elemental world).

In pavan 7, *Lachrimæ Veræ* (true tears), Dowland changes direction, employing elements which are in accordance with both modal systems. The descending fourth, which is very audible in the first pavan, where it is found in the highest part, occurs also in the seventh, but transferred to the lowest part (Ex. 1g). In the second section of *Lachrimæ Veræ*, Dowland returns to the original use of the Phrygian cadence; yet he does not avoid exploitation of the B in order to form a cadence on E (Ex. 3). Thus the composer has successfully combined the use of old and new procedures within the same piece. While *Lachrimæ Antiquæ* is the original source and foundation of the following pavans, *Lachrimæ Veræ* is the synthesis of pavans 1-6. This process could be compared with Agrippa's comment that seven symbolises that the "soul joins the body" – that is, the celestial and the elemental worlds are coalesced, and together with the opposition experienced (original tears and tears of lament) they become ultimately a complete entity expressed through the seventh pavan, "the true tears".<sup>70</sup>

The circle has now been completed as described in the poem "Flow my teares". Is that what Dowland wished to portray in the music? That is, by employing a development of specific internal characteristics, the composer has sought to illustrate (or rather to make audible) the common and highly popular Elizabethan notion of the Fall of man – a concept which for the Elizabethan intellectual conveyed the whole meaning of life. From a state of complete tranquillity in the celestial spheres (pavans 1-3: near-static, archaic), man was expelled (pavan 4: irregular characteristics begin to appear) and through a painful learning process (pavans 5-6: full-blown experiments), it was possible to regain the previous state

<sup>69</sup> Ingpen (1624) p. 44; and Agrippa (1531/1651) vol. 2, p. 191.

<sup>70</sup> For different conclusions, see Pinto (1997) p. 61; and Holman (1999) p. 60.

of happiness (pavan 7: the coalescence of old and new devices). It is *Lachrimæ Antiquæ*, the old/original tears, which through a slow process are metamorphosed into *Lachrimæ Veræ*, the true, uncorrupted tears. It is tempting to suggest that this is what Dowland refers to when stating in the dedication to Queen Anne:

Vouchsafe then (worthy Goddess) your Gracious protection to these showers of Harmonie, least if you frowne on them, they bee Metamorphosed into true teares.<sup>71</sup>

## RESUMÉ

I 1604 udgav John Dowland *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares*. Samlingen, der består af 21 instrumentale dansesatser, heriblandt de syv berømte tårepavaner, er dedikeret til dronning Anne, Christian IV's søster. Nærværende artikel søger at belyse samlingens overordnede struktur med inddragelsen af tidens allegoriske og symbolske begreber.

Samlingens mest originale satser – de syv *Lachrimæ*-pavaner, som specielt fremhæves i titlen – er genstand for en nærmere analyse, der består af to dele: 1) da den første pavane *Lachrimæ Antiquæ* er et arrangement af hhv. Dowlands lutsolo "Lachrimæ Pavan" og hans lutsang "Flow my teares", er en fortolkning af digtet sammenholdt med andre digte fra perioden, ligesom den elisabethanske filosofi og æstetik er inddraget; 2) den musikalske analyse tager sit udgangspunkt i samtidens musikteoretiske begreber. Hele analysen sammenstilles med de enkelte pavaners latinske titler og plads i samlingen.

Således afdækkes det, hvordan Dowland måske har søgt at illustrere den umådeligt populære filosofiske forestilling om menneskets higen efter at opnå samme lyksalige tilstand som Adam og Eva før uddrivelsen fra Paradiset.

<sup>71</sup> Dowland (1604) sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.