A FLOOD OF TEARS
Melancholy as Style in English Music and Poetry circa 1600

by

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ABSTRACT

The Elizabethan interest in melancholy as a physio-psychological condition is well-documented. Melancholy may also be regarded as designating a musical style in England around the turn of the seventeenth century, a style which this thesis attempts to describe in terms of music and poetry. English secular vocal music of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods contains a fairly small but significant portion whose poetic texts focus on "dark" themes, such as death, night, tears, grief, and despair. Frequently, no cause is mentioned for the woe which the poet describes, and this lack of external cause points to melancholy as the source of the aggrieved state. Melancholy was believed to be internally caused by an over-abundance of one of the four humours (black bile) in the body. Traditionally regarded as the least desirable of the humours, melancholy was revalued as the result of the translation of Aristotle's Problemata by Florentine scholars around the turn of the sixteenth century, and became regarded as a condition which could produce genius and inspiration.

The revalued view of melancholy was introduced to England near the end of the sixteenth century, and gave rise to a style of poetry and music which reflects the Florentine revaluation. George Chapman's Shadow of Night (1594) appears to be the literary manifesto of the revalued melancholic, and a large proportion of melancholic poetry set to music in the period shows close thematic commonalities with Chapman's poem.

John Dowland was the leading composer of melancholic music in England at the turn of the seventeenth century, and his songs, particularly the song "Flow my tears" (1600), set a musical and poetic standard which was to be emulated and parodied extensively by his contemporaries. "Flow my tears" uses motivic material which is found throughout Dowland's melancholic compositions. A study of the music of Dowland's fellow composers reveals that the latter were keenly aware of the
melancholic significance of these musical motives, because they conspicuously employ them in their own melancholic compositions.

This thesis examines the use of these motives in Dowland's melancholic works, as well as in contemporaneous lute songs, madrigals, and instrumental compositions. A broad survey is undertaken of printed secular music (and to a lesser degree, of manuscript sources) in England between c. 1590 and c. 1620. Possible sources and antecedents to Dowland are investigated. It is revealed that the correspondence of specific poetic and musical devices results in a distinctive poetico-musical style which appears to trace a virtually direct line to Dowland. It is shown that this trend, which begins as a peripheral subcurrent, evolves during the period into a movement which deserves to be regarded as a musico-poetic style in its own right.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .......................... ii
Table of Contents ................ iv
List of Figures .................... vi
Acknowledgements ................ vii
Dedication ........................ viii

**Chapter One: Background**
- Introduction ........................ 1
- Genial Melancholy in Renaissance Europe .......... 3
- The Emergence of English Melancholic Poetry .... 5
- Melancholic Poetry in English Music .......... 15

**Chapter Two: John Dowland**
- Dowland's "Lachrymae" and Associated Motives .......... 19
  - First Book of Songs (1597) .......................... 26
  - Second Book of Songs (1600) ......................... 32
  - Third and Last Book of Songs (1603) ............... 43
- Robert Dowland, A Musical Banquet (1610) .......... 47
- A Pilgrim's Solace (1612) .......................... 49
- Consort Song as Lachrymae Antecedent ............ 52
- Consort Songs, Musica Britannica XXII .......... 53

**Chapter Three: Lute Songs by Dowland's Contemporaries**
- Robert Jones, First Book of Songs (1600) .......... 58
- Thomas Morley, First Book of Ayres (1600) .......... 60
- Philip Rosseter, Book of Ayres (1601) ............... 63
- Thomas Campion, Songs from Rosseter's Book (1601) .......... 66
- Jones, Second Book of Songs and Ayres (1601) .......... 68
- Jones, Ultimum Vale (1605) .......................... 70
- Tobias Hume, First Part of Ayres (1605) .......... 71
- Francis Pilkington, First Book of Songs (1605) .......... 72
- John Coprario, Funeral Tears (1606) .......... 74
- John Danyel, Songs for Lute, Viol, and Voice (1606) .......... 76
- William Corkine, Ayres to Sing and Play (1610) .......... 78
- John Attey, First Book of Ayres (1622) .......... 80

**Chapter Four: Madrigals by Dowland's Contemporaries**
- Thomas Morley, Canzonets or Short Little Songs (1593) .......... 82
- William Holborne, Ayres to Three Voices (1597) .......... 84
- George Kirbye, First Set of Madrigals (1597) .......... 85
John Wilbye, *First Set of Madrigals* (1598) 91
John Bennett, *Madrigals to Four Voices* (1599) 96
Richard Carlton, *Madrigals to Five Voices* (1601) 97
Thomas Bateson, *First Set of Madrigals* (1604) 98
Michael East, *Second Set of Madrigals* (1606) 101
Robert Jones, *First Set of Madrigals* (1607) 102
Henry Youll, *Canzonets to Three Voices* (1608) 104
Wilbye, *Second Set of Madrigals* (1609) 106
Orlando Gibbons, *First Set of Madrigals and Motets* (1612) 110
Francis Pilkington, *Madrigals and Pastorals* (1613) 113
John Ward, *Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources* 114
Ward, *First Set of Madrigals* (1613) 118
Bateson, *Second Set of Madrigals* (1618) 128
East, *Fourth Set of Books* (1618) 129
Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts* (1622) 130

Chapter Five: Instrumental Genres 134

Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, and Almains* (1599) 135
Fitzwilliam Virginal Book 138
Orlando Gibbons, *Keyboard Music, Musica Britannica* XX 139
Thomas Tomkins, *Consort Music, Musica Britannica* LIX 141

Chapter Six: Conclusion 142

Selected Bibliography 146

Musical Sources 146
Non-musical Sources 150

Appendix: List of Musical Examples 152
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Albrecht Dürer, *Melancolia I* (1514), engraving. 10
Figure 2. Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), frontispiece. 13
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DEDICATION

To the memory of my father Leon (1923-1992)
CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUND

Introduction.

In examining English secular vocal music of the period roughly spanning the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth, a small but significant portion is found to be focused on one or more of the following themes: darkness, night, death, sleep, hell, grief, pain, fear, despair, sorrow, tears, weeping, groaning, mourning, falling, exile, dread, shame, and a cluster of related textually derived ideas.

Although these are not new themes, these symptoms of general misery cannot be explained by any obvious external cause. Music in England before about 1590 often expressed grief, but usually in response to unrequited love, physical death, or some other kind of "real" misfortune. This latter genre of conventional musical mourning continues its own course, and to a degree, overlaps with the type which is the topic of this essay. The new brand of sorrow is distinctive not only for its use of vivid dark imagery, but also because it seems to be the representation of an existential Weltschmerz, the very ground of human (or at least the poet's) condition. Obviously, this trend would have the greatest impact upon the various forms of vocal composition, but even the purely instrumental genres were not immune (e.g., the famous "Lachrymae pavan" or Anthony Holborne's "Pavana ploravit," "Infernun," and "Image of melancholy").

The concept of melancholy is in fact the common thread of these themes, and the most obvious modern associations with the term "melancholy" are not very different from the commonly held notions around the turn of the seventeenth century, even though the latter were based on a theory of physiology which was even then becoming obsolete. All of the themes in the above list would be recognized today as belonging to
a melancholic disposition. These were and are still generally held to be negative attributes. Less well known is that from the late fifteenth century, through the sixteenth, and well into the seventeenth century, an alternative view of the melancholic humour was simultaneously current with the more conventional one, and appears to be the textual basis for the music which is the subject of this thesis. This alternative view is based on a philosophical trend which ran the course of the above-mentioned period and beyond; and this philosophy had close connections to the movements called Hermeticism, Neo-platonism, and even philosophies as occultic as Christian Cabalism.\footnote{Frances A. Yates, \textit{The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age} (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) gives an impressive overview of various occult movements which influenced Elizabethan philosophers.} This study is not concerned with such esoteric doctrines. Therefore the discussion of these movements will be extremely limited, and even then, confined to linking them with the musical material of this subject -- not with any deep investigation into their tenets or conclusions.

The purpose of this study is to trace briefly the origins of this music, to situate it in a musical and historical context, to examine the music and accompanying texts in some detail, and to follow the music's evolution within the roughly thirty years when it constituted a vital trend in English society. It will be seen that the music of this type formed a watershed in the compositions of John Dowland, whose songs, particularly "Flow my tears" (1600), became the inspiration for innumerable emulations, embellishments, references, and borrowings. It should also become clear that the adoption of this melancholic humour in music was not necessarily due to morose proclivities on the part of the poet or composer, but could also be a deliberately assumed persona, and was reflective of the contemporaneous intellectual trend of genial or inspired melancholy.

This melancholic music appears to constitute its own style or genre within the period. This style is not cultivated singlehandedly nor exclusively by anyone, although
John Dowland is clearly its most prominent exponent. The style has its own fairly unique characteristics both poetically and musically, which, largely because of the influence of Dowland, has identifiable musical characteristics in the same way that the corresponding poetry is distinctive. This current also had connections with cultural trends which are well described or alluded to (both sympathetically and derisively) in contemporaneous literature and drama. The position and significance of this music has never been treated in serious detail by scholars, perhaps because the trend was never set in its somewhat unique position by modern historians. Related themes have, however, been treated in studies of literature, drama, plastic arts, and occult philosophy. The present study will isolate this music on the basis of its distinctive features and discuss its evolution -- an evolution which gave birth to a remarkable English musico-poetic repertoire.

Genial Melancholy in Renaissance Europe.

The philosophy of the four humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile) is thought to have originated with the ancient Greeks. Hippocrates, in the 5th century B.C., explicated the theory of the humours, their attributes, their rulership by the planets, and the division of humankind into various categories depending on the predominance of one or more of these four humours in the body. Galen, in the 2nd century A.D., codified this philosophy in the form which was transmitted to Europe in the middle ages and thence to the Renaissance. Of the four humours, the melancholic (caused by black bile) was traditionally considered the least desirable, being associated with depression, lethargy, and general ill-temperedness, and ruled by the planet Saturn.

A revaluation of the melancholic humour became current in Renaissance thinking as a result of the translation of Aristotle's *Problemata*. This text was not
generally known to the mediaeval scholars, but became reasonably well-known in the Renaissance. Problem XXX, 1 asks the question:

Why is it that all those who have become eminent in philosophy or politics or poetry or the arts are clearly of an atrabilious [melancholic] temperament, and some of them to such an extent as to be affected by diseases caused by black bile, as is said to have happened to Heracles among the heroes?²

This problem implies that all heroes, artists, and creative types must be melancholic, and explains the connection by stating that an overabundance of black bile, which had hitherto been considered very disadvantageous, could under the right circumstances actually produce inspiration and heroism, even divinatory prognostication, in the melancholic type. It states further that in these cases, melancholia is not a disease, but a natural state which can be considered most advantageous.

This problem and its explanation were employed most prominently in the writings of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (14867-1535).³ From the writings of these two, the concept of genial, or inspired melancholy spread from Florence to the rest of Europe, including England, during the course of the sixteenth century. It should be noted that the aforementioned two authors were well known to be interested and involved in the contemporaneous currents of hermetic and neo-platonic philosophy. These movements were, and still are, considered occultic, and were thus viewed with suspicion, especially with the onset of the counter-reformation. This explains in part why such philosophies exist on the outside of mainstream philosophy to this day.⁴ Although the aim here is not to dwell on philosophical topics, except insofar as they illuminate the musical movement herein.

³ The two documents which apparently exerted the widest influence in the dissemination of the new revalued view of genial melancholy were Marsilio Ficino's De Triplici Vita (1501) and Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's De Occulta Philosophia (1561).
⁴ Frances A. Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age, 147ff.
described, this last note also helps to explain why the concept of genial melancholy as espoused by these two writers was also on the periphery of conventional orthodox points of view. Although relatively little modern commentary exists on this phenomenon, there is still enough to provide some detailed analysis, especially on Elizabethan and early Jacobean times, when melancholy and its related themes conspicuously made their way into poetry, drama, and most importantly for present purposes, music.

The Emergence of English Melancholic Poetry.

One important link between the Italian philosophical movement, and the appearance of blatantly melancholic themes in English poetry and music seems to be George Chapman's *The Shadow of Night* (1594). This poem has baffled many analysts with its abstruse imagery, but its significance is convincingly made plain by Yates:

*The Shadow of Night* opens by describing a 'humour of the night,' a sad and weeping humour, but devoted to abstruse studies. Many have been the attempts to unravel this most strange work. What is that darkness and that weeping humour by which the poet arrives at his moonlit visions? Bent on concealing, rather than revealing, his meaning Chapman nowhere uses the key word which would have set enquirers on the right track, the word 'melancholy.' The humour is a dark humour, a weeping humour, a humour of the night; these are surely all indirect ways of saying that it is a melancholy humour.

If the connection appears tenuous, compare parts of the first section of Chapman's *Shadow of Night, Hymnus in Noctem*, with some lyrics from what Rooley

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has called John Dowland's "songs of darkness." The correspondences illustrated here are not literal repetitions, nor even always exact paraphrases, but rather, close thematic commonalities.

Great Goddess to whose throne in Cynthian fires,  
This earthly altar endless fumes expires,  
Therefore, in fumes of sighs and fires of grief,  
To fearful chances thou sendst bold relief,  
Happy, thrice happy, type and nurse of death,  
Who breathless, feeds on nothing but our breath,  
In whom must virtue and her issue live,  
Or die for ever; now let humour give  
Seas to mine eyes, that I may quickly weep  
The shipwreck of the world: or let soft sleep  
(Binding my senses) lose my working soul.  

These opening lines of Chapman's dark work possess more than a passing resemblance to the poem/song of John Dowland, "Come, heavy sleep" from The First Book of Songs or Ayres (1597):

Come, heavy sleep, the Image of true Death;  
And close up these my weary weeping eyes,  
Whose spring of tears doth stop my vital breath,  
And tears my hart with sorrows sigh swol'n cries:  
Come and possess my tired thought-worn soul,  
That living dies, till thou on me be stole.

Come, shadow of my end and shape of rest,  
Allied to death, child to his black-faced night,  
Come thou and charm these rebels in my breast,  
Whose waking fancies do my mind affright.  
O come sweet sleep, come now or I die for ever:  
Come ere my last sleep comes, or come never.

The addressee in each case is associated with the themes of weeping, sleep,

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darkness, and the idea of relief found within this constellation of images. That Chapman addresses a goddess, and that Dowland beckons Sleep as an archetype of these clearly related themes, need not cause concern. These themes will be seen to intertwine and substitute for each other throughout this repertoire. Chapman says:

    To fearful chances thou sendest bold relief,  
    Happy, thrice happy, Type and nurse of death . . .

In Dowland’s song one finds:

    Come, shadow of my end and shape of rest . . .  
    Come thou and charm these rebels in my breast . . .

Each poet regards the common theme as a refuge from “fearful chances” and “rebels in my breast.” The comparison continues:

    Who breathless, feeds on nothing but our breath . . . (Chapman)  
    Whose spring of tears doth stop my vital breath . . . (Dowland)

    In whom must virtue and her issue live,  
    Or die for ever . . . (Chapman)  
    O come sweet sleep, come or I die for ever . . . (Dowland)

    . . . or let soft sleep  
    (Binding my senses) lose my working soul . . . (Chapman)  
    Come [sleep] and possess my tired thought-worn soul . . . (Dowland)

These similarities are surely beyond the realm of pure coincidence. It may not be fair to say that one of these men borrowed from another, but it does seem virtually
indisputable that these poems are thematically closely related.

Men's faces glitter, and their hearts are black,
But thou, (great Mistress of heaven's gloomy rack)
Art black in face, and glitterest in thy heart.
There is thy glory, riches, force, and Art.  

Compare this section of Chapman's poem with the first verse of Dowland's "I saw my Lady weep" from *The Second Book of Songs or Ayres* (1600):

I saw my Lady weep,
And sorrow proud to be advanced so:
In those fair eyes where all perfections keep,
Her face was full of woe,
But such a woe (believe me) as wins more hearts
Than mirth can do with her enticing parts.

In both cases, the central figure is a female, who although black-faced or woeful, is nevertheless richly endowed with the most virtuous qualities. In each case, the poet contrasts the "mirth" and "glittering faces" of ordinary people, with the "perfections," "glory," "riches," and "Art" which belong to the woeful, black-faced Lady. The female personification of all these related themes appears recurrently in related literature and art throughout the sixteenth century. Albrecht Dürer's 1514 engraving *Melancolia I* (Figure 1) is perhaps the most famous and studied of Renaissance representations of the "dark lady" in the plastic arts. The abode of this "queen of the night" is described by Chapman, as is the author's desire to dwell there:

Rich-taper'd sanctuary of the blest,
Palace of Ruth, made all of tears, and rest,
To thy black shades and desolation,
I consecrate my life; and living moan,
Where furies shall for ever fighting be,

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And adders hiss the world for hating me,
Foxes shall bark, and Night-ravens belch in groans,
And owls shall hollow my confusions:
There will I furnish up my funeral bed,
Strew'd with the bones and relics of the dead.\(^\text{11}\)

Compare these verses with the opening lines of Dowland's famous "Flow my tears,"
also from the Second Book: (1600):

Flow my tears fall from your springs,
   Exiled for ever: Let me mourn
   Where night's black bird her sad infamy sings,
   There let me live forlorn.

Although Chapman gives a fuller description of this wretched place than does Dowland, there can be hardly a doubt that it is the same location -- complete with a groaning night-bird.

Ye living spirits then, if any live
   Whom like extremes, do like affections give,
   Shun, shun this cruel light, and end your thrall,
   In these soft shades of sable funeral . . .\(^\text{12}\)

The last quatrain of "Flow my tears" reads thus:

Hark you shadows that in darkness dwell,
   Learn to contemn light,
Happy, happy they that in hell
   Feel not the world's despite.

\(^{11}\) George Chapman, *Hymnus in Noctem*, ll. 269-277.
\(^{12}\) Ibid., lines 288-290.
Figure 1. Albrecht Dürer, Melancolia I (1514), engraving
Compare another section of Chapman's work with a portion of John Dowland's "In darkness let me dwell," from Robert Dowland's *A Musical Banquet* (1610):

Thunder your wrongs, your miseries and hells,
And with the dismal accents of your knells,
Revive the dead, and make the living die . . .13

... My music, hellish jarring sounds to banish friendly sleep.
Thus wedded to my woes, and bedded to my Tomb,
O let me living, living die, till death do come.

Common to these texts is the reference to abrupt and unpleasant (yet musical) sounds which express the state of despair inherent in the common theme. But perhaps more striking is the paradoxical concept of death in life, which is the desired aim of both poets.

These comparisons illustrate the commonality between Chapman's poem and the lyrics in Dowland's "dark" songs, none of which makes any direct reference to a source of the pain and woe which lies at the heart of these dark expressions. Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) accepted the notion articulated by de Laurens, and translated by Surphlet in *A Discourse on the Preservation of Sight* (1599) which describes the melancholic condition as "a kind of dotage without a fever, having for his ordinary companions, fear, and sadness, without any apparent occasion."14 Chapman however, implies in his work that there may be an ulterior goal and reason for this condition:

All you possessed with indepressed spirits,
Imbu'd with nimble, and aspiring wits,
Come consecrate with me, to sacred Night
Your whole endeavours, and detest the light.
Sweet Peace's richest crown is made of stars,
Most certain guide of honour'd mariners,

13 Ibid., lines 306-308.

No pen can any thing eternal write,
That is not steep'd in humour of the Night.\textsuperscript{15}

The melancholic condition thus appears to be associated with study and the creation of literary, or possibly, musical works. The reference to the writing of things "eternal" would seem to make this evident. It is also true that the most vigorous early proponents of this view of genial melancholy, Ficino and Agrippa, were themselves devoted scholars. If this connection seems far-fetched, one need only examine the frontispiece to Burton's textbook on the melancholic condition. The title plate includes pictures of various melancholic types, including the center-left figure, "Inamorato," standing in what resembles a library, and with a lute at his feet (Figure 2). Of this character, Burton writes:

4 Ith' under the Column there doth stand,  
\textit{Inamorato} with folded hand.  
Down hangs his head, terse and polite  
Some Ditty sure he doth endite.  
His lute and books about him lie,  
As symptoms of his vanity.  
If this do not enough disclose,  
To paint him, take thy self by th'nose.\textsuperscript{16}

This passage illustrates at least two points: (1) It shows that this melancholic type was directly associated with study and music (specifically and significantly, the lute). (2) It reveals that this melancholic character was generally the object of scorn, derision, and even sarcasm. Burton's work implies throughout that the condition is one to be avoided, and the author sees his task as the description of the dreaded affliction, its symptoms, and finally its cure. This latter view had long been the most current attitude, beginning with classical antiquity; the revaluation of melancholy occupied a niche.

\textsuperscript{15} George Chapman, \textit{Hymnus in Noctem} II. 370-377.  
\textsuperscript{16} Robert Burton, \textit{Anatomy of Melancholy}, Argument of the Frontispiece.
which was at the periphery of mainstream theory.

Figure 2. Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), frontispiece

![Figure 2. Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), frontispiece](image)

What can be said about poetry and music which is blatantly and unabashedly melancholic in content? Certainly, the themes in Chapman's poem and Dowland's "dark" lyrics are closely related, even if the possibility of one work being the direct source for the other is not necessary.

Chapman's first extant work is *The Shadow of Night* (1594), a title devised to cover the two allegorical poems: *Hymnus in Noctem* and *Hymnus in Cynthiam*. These two poems, which celebrate the intellect and lament worldly injustice and are probably the most difficult of Chapman's poems to interpret, appear at first sight to be the least timely. Perhaps it was because of their obscurity and consequent failure to win an audience that Chapman never again resorted to any quite such difficult use of allegory, though his *Eugenia* is a close rival to them. It may be, however, that even these two poems were written in response to a current interest. This has been the assumption in recent years of scholars who argue that Chapman was one of a group of men, including Raleigh and Marlowe, who were interested in pushing science and philosophy beyond the bounds of contemporary beliefs and decorum, a group bound together by a common curiosity, suspected of being atheists and hence condemned by their fellows, but mocked by Shakespeare in his *Love's Labour's Lost* as the "school of night." To those who feel sure that such an ascertainable group existed,
Chapman's *Shadow of Night* appears to be its poetic manifesto and hence a timely document.

Whether in fact such a "school of night" existed in such a conscious form as described here, is extraneous to the main idea. If it did exist, it might well be argued that John Dowland was its chief musical expositor, as was Chapman its main poetic voice. The question of a "school" notwithstanding, it should be admitted that to anyone who might have ascribed to this view of inspired melancholy, Chapman's *Hymnus in Noctem*, a "dark" song by Dowland, or Dürer's *Melancolia I* could be viewed as the ultimate synthesis of art and philosophy. What would be more integral than an artistic representation of a state or condition, which is itself considered one of the greatest enhancements to artistic endeavours?

It would seem clear from the foregoing that this attitude of melancholy which forms the basis of these poetic and musical texts is a deliberate position adopted by the artist. This assertion could be corroborated by the fact that the portion of Chapman's, Dowland's, or indeed, any other author's or musician's total output during the period in question is occupied only fractionally by works which are exclusively melancholic in character. For example, Rooley has isolated only 14 songs of Dowland's total 87, which are "of unrelieved, world-weary grief." A survey of other contemporaneous poets, musicians, and playwrights reveals a similarly small portion of works which are devoted to unalloyed melancholica. Rooley has also, upon documentary evidence, successfully refuted Poulton's assertion that Dowland was a morbid depressive by nature. He has argued, also convincingly, that this persona was assumed deliberately, and for philosophical reasons.

It is suggested that this melancholic current which is found in full-blown

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19 Ibid., 6.
manifestation in Chapman and Dowland, was in evidence in England by the late 1580s, and reached a point of critical mass by the middle of the 1590s. This current which originated in Florence with Ficino and Agrippa at the turn of the sixteenth century, was disseminated mainly by these two writers, along with their colleagues, and spread throughout Italy well into the mid-century. This philosophical trend was probably brought to England first in the late 1570s by Italian expatriates, as well as tourist travellers and diplomats of both countries. Later, English travellers to Italy returned home having “contracted the malady.”

There is a wealth of fascinating period literature and commentary concerning this phenomenon. This melancholic posturing was given an idiomatic set of musical symbols primarily by Dowland, whose “dark” works are suffused with common musical motifs and gestures apparently intended to convey the melancholic state. This study will examine the sources and antecedents of Dowland’s musical melancholy, *i.e.*, the work of earlier composers whose styles clearly affected the development of Dowland and his generation. It will also be shown that elements of this musical grammar, along with corresponding texts, were adopted and adapted unambiguously by musicians and poets of Dowland’s generation, and by the generation immediately following.

Melancholic poetry in English music.

Only the well-educated Elizabethan would have known much about the translation of Aristotle and its explanation by Ficino. However, the association of melancholy with genius and inspiration (as well as with its more negative symptoms) seems to have been generally assumed by Elizabethan and early Jacobean culture even well into the seventeenth century. This assumption is clearly behind the fashionability of the trend, and the artificiality and exaggeration of expression in

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melancholic poetry make a "biographical" reading of these morose sensibilities rather unlikely. Indeed, some of the imagery employed in these poems is so morbid and bizarre that it sometimes seems even humorous, so exaggerated is the conceit, as poets of the time apparently engage in a friendly competition to create the most elegantly grotesque effects possible. The Elizabethans obviously placed value on this type of expression, though probably not as much because the dark imagery expressed true sentiments, but more because it was accepted as the common currency of a fashionable trend.

Although the philosophical roots of the trend probably went largely unconsidered at the time, poets and composers of the period were well aware that the genre was at the cutting edge of then-modern fashion. Many composers of the period made some kind of contribution to the "dark" style. Some composers excelled in the style, although none ever surpassed Dowland as the most important leader of the trend. Most paid token homage to the new fashion by the inclusion of one or two fairly melancholic numbers in a book of madrigals or ayres, reserving the bulk of the volume for lighter music and texts. A perusal of virtually any English book of madrigals or ayres from the period can confirm this.

In using the term "fairly" melancholic, the implication is that the affliction was thought to have different degrees and manifestations, and these differences may be useful in determining exactly what constitutes a melancholic composition. To do this, the text of a vocal work usually provides an excellent starting point, as does occasionally the title of an instrumental piece. Melancholy in its purest form is internally caused, and the most characteristic examples of unattached melancholic poetry fulfil this condition by omitting reference to any precise external source of all the attendant woe.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, melancholy was considered to subsume

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several classifications under its generic banner, and this gave rise to that type known as the "love-melancholic" so often found in turn-of-the-century English plays.\textsuperscript{23} The love-melancholic, of course, chiefly reflects the throes of lovesickness (whether real or imagined) and is therefore not the pure melancholic type, even though many of the symptoms are ostensibly the same. Some of the music in question might arguably be classified as love-melancholy, but it is perhaps more instructive to note the extent to which the poetic and musical language of pure melancholy came to inform that of contemporaneous love-laments, as well as of funeral elegies.

As for the musical material itself, a study of the body of printed English music of c. 1590-1620 reveals definite patterns in the employment of certain specific musical devices within melancholic compositions. Two essential categories of musical devices can be identified:

(1) The "Lachrymae group" of themes, that cluster of themes which can be traced from, or at least were influenced by Dowland's "Lachrymae pavan" and "Flow my tears."

(2) The melodic "chromatic tetrachord." This is the six-note melodic ascent or descent by successive semitones.

Each of these categories was an important musical symbol for grief and each was explored and developed extensively by English composers of the period. The present study will investigate only the first of these categories, that is, the "Lachrymae" group. The chromatic tetrachord is not treated here for reasons of space.

Since poetry is an integral element of the compositions in question, the texts of songs will be discussed in conjunction with the music, rather than by themselves. This will give a clearer impression of the integrated avant-garde nature of much of this

genre, for many of the most mannered poetic conceits are set to some of the most daring musical innovations of the era. These traits in fact argue in favour of regarding the movement as an English brand of *mannerism*, as Maniates applies that term to Italian art and music.24

24 Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979) defines the basis of mannerism as preciosity, artificiality, and exaggeration of emotional expression.
Dowland's "Lachrymae" and associated motives.

Mies says that Dowland's "Flow my tears" (Second Book of Songs, 1600) "...proves to be the Lachrymae tune in its purest and clearest form." This is undoubtedly true, even though the first known printed rendition of the tune itself appeared first as the "Lachrymae pavan" in William Barley's A New Book of Tablature (1596), as a piece for solo lute. In fact, the intabulation was printed without the composer's permission, a transgression which Dowland did not fail to point out in the preface to his First Book of Songs (1597).26

Never at issue, however, was the authorship of the tune itself. The Lachrymae tune had been associated with Dowland from the beginning of its first printing by Barley, and very probably even before.27 As a tune unto itself, the Lachrymae theme had a more or less continuous popularity which is rare in the lore of Western music. Poulton cites no less than ten references to the Lachrymae tune from plays and documents of the period following its first printed appearance, including Prynne's Histriomastix (1633).28 There are undoubtedly many more.

The Lachrymae theme, so called, essentially comprises two closely related motives which are seen in the first two phrases of the voice part in the first measure of "Flow my tears." These are the melodic descent of a perfect fourth from a' to e', with the words "Flow my tears" and the melodic descent of a diminished fourth between c'' and g'##sharp, with the words "fall from your springs" (Ex. 1a).

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26 Dowland describes Barley's version as "false and unperfect."
28 Diana Poulton, John Dowland, 131.
These motives will be designated Lachrymae motives 1 and 2 (L1, L2). The motives will assume different rhythmic guises and slightly modified versions, but the basic composition of the melodic intervals of the motives remains essentially constant.

The bass part in the second half of the first measure reiterates L1 against the voice part’s statement of L2, forming a typical Phrygian cadence at the end of the measure. The use of this device certainly did not originate with Dowland, and there has been speculation on the possible source(s) of the Lachrymae tune. The motives themselves, especially L1, can be found in much Renaissance music of all types. What is distinctive about Dowland’s use of L1 is the manner in which the motive is given prominence as a main musical idea. In the work of earlier and other continental composers, L1 is not typically used as important theme material, although it is seen frequently as a common melodic gesture. L2 is seen rather rarely in earlier and non-English music. Even though the descending diminished fourth of L2 is nicely definitive of minor mode, the “impurity” of such an unwieldy interval might have seemed unattractive to more conservative tastes, even at the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century. By the end of the century, not only was the Lachrymae-type

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Phrygian cadence formula used extensively throughout England, but composers were also quite accustomed to using melodic leaps of a diminished fourth in similar harmonic contexts.

Leech-Wilkinson describes an intimate connection between the first two songs in Dowland's *Second Book of Songs* (1600): "Flow my tears" and "I saw my lady weep." It is suggested that the two songs were conceived as a pair, accounting for the fact that the already famous Lachrymae tune is preceded in the book by the beautiful but quite unusual "I saw my lady weep." Motivic commonalities between the two songs show a close thematic relationship between the two pieces, and these commonalities can also be identified in many of Dowland's works.

Examination of "Flow my tears" reveals that the two Lachrymae motives are fundamental to the structure of the song. In measures 4-6, the vocal line is essentially an extended and slightly ornamented version of L2, supporting "Where night's black bird her sad infamy sings." The bass part in the same measures is a version of L1, also slightly ornamented by the premature appearance of E on the last beat of measure 4 (Ex. 1b). The vocal part at the last two measures of the B section is an ornamented version of L2 with the words "of all joys have deprived" (Ex. 1c). The voice part of the first two measures of the C section begin with a retrograde of L2 in the voice part, immediately followed by the original form of L2, thus forming a melodic palindrome, to set the words "hark, you shadows that in darkness dwell." The original retrograde of the voice part is imitated at the half-bar by the tenor voice of the lute part (Ex. 1d). The third measure of the C section contains the Phrygian cadence with slightly altered versions of L1 and L2 in the bass and voice parts, respectively (Ex. 1e). This arrangement is repeated beginning at the end of the fourth measure of the C section.

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31 The Leech-Wilkinson article provides an excellent starting point for the analysis of common Lachrymae themes between pieces. These principles will be applied below not only to works by Dowland, but also to the works of other composers who used Lachrymae theme material.

32 All retrograde arrangements of L motives noted below will be designated L1R and L2R.
Ex. 1b. Dowland, "Flow my tears," mm. 4-5

Ex. 1c. Dowland, "Flow my tears," mm. 14-15

Ex. 1d. Dowland, "Flow my tears," mm. 16-17
for the words "they that in hell," but this time with the motives in very clear and unornamented versions in the bass and voice parts (Ex. 1f). Immediately after this cadence in E major, with g'-sharp in the voice part, there is a c" in the voice over a C major sonority. This leap of the diminished fourth in the voice part, and the juxtaposition of two major chords whose roots are related by a third (also seen before in Ex. 1b at the end of measure 5), reflects the characteristically Elizabethan fashion for false relations and bold dissonance, effects which become extremely pronounced in Dowland's later songs. The vocal line then gives a concluding ornamented statement of L2, beginning on the third beat of the penultimate measure; finally, the lute's alto line in the last measure leaps a diminished fourth and presents a last statement of L2 with the lower auxiliary of b (Ex. 1g).

Ex. 1e. Dowland, "Flow my tears," m. 18

Ex. 1f. Dowland, "Flow my tears," mm. 19-20
Flow my tears fall from your springs,
Exiled for ever: Let me mourn
Where nights black bird her sad infamy sings,
There let me live forlorn.

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

Never may my woes be relieved,
Since pity is fled,
And tears, and sighs, and groans my weary days
Of all joys have deprived.

From the highest spire of contentment,
My fortune is thrown
And fear, and grief, and pain for my desserts,
Are my hopes since hope is gone.

Hark you shadows that in darkness dwell,
Learn to contemn light,
Happy, happy they that in hell
Feel not the world's despite.
Although this text appeared in print for the first time in 1600, there is ample reason to conjecture that it may have been known for some time before its publication in Dowland's *Second Book*. It would appear that "Flow my tears" set an early standard both musically and textually for others interested in composing melancholic music. The two Lachrymae motives are intended to illustrate the swelling, bursting, and falling of tears, a favourite theme of Dowland's which was to be emulated and parodied extensively by his contemporaries. Indeed, *falling* is a much-employed image in melancholy poetry, and is an apt metaphor for the melancholic's perceived declining fortunes:

> From the highest spire of contentment,  
> My fortune is thrown. . .

World-weary despondency is a recurrent theme in many melancholic poems. The poet here not only shuns the mundane and pleasant, but goes further by stating a desire to assume deliberately the attitude of darkness and despair:

> There let me live forlorn. . .  
> Never may my woes be relieved. . .

Having considered "Flow my tears," the study will now proceed to an investigation of the uses of the Lachrymae motives in other Dowland songs of melancholy. The approach will be essentially chronological, *i.e.*, one which will examine representative pieces by Dowland according to their appearance in the successive publications of his songbooks. In the case of "Flow my tears," the motivic musical material has been discussed before the text in order to define the L motives which govern the category of Lachrymae-type compositions. All subsequent
investigations of pieces will examine first the text, then the use of L motives which support the text.


Would my conceit that first enforced my woe,
   Or else mine eyes which still the same increase,
Might be extinct, to end my sorrows so,
   Which now are such as nothing can release:
Whose life is death, whose sweet each change of sour,
   And eke whose hell reneweth every hour.

Each hour amidst the deep of hell I fry,
   Each hour I waste and wither where I sit,
But that sweet hour wherein I wish to die,
   My hope, alas, may not enjoy it yet,
Whose hope is such bereaved of the bliss,
   Which unto all save me allotted is.

To all save me is free to live or die,
   To all save me remaineth hap or hope,
But all perforce, I must abandon I,
   Sith Fortune still directs my hap a slope,
Wherefore to neither hap nor hope I trust,
   But to my thralls I yield, for so I must.

This poem is a superb example of typical melancholic style. The cause of the described condition is obviously internal and the imagery is appropriately sombre and morbid. There are many familiar themes, such as weeping (“mine eyes which still the same increase”), the desire for death (“that sweet hour wherein I wish to die”), declining fortunes (“Sith Fortune still directs my hap a slope”), and isolation (“To all save me is free to live or die”). Very few melancholic poems from the period manage to approach the sheer darkness of this one, but those that do can be equally effective.
Regarding the music to “Would my conceit,” Rooley has noted:

Dowland quotes extensively from a madrigal by Marenzio which was ‘Englished’ by Thomas Watson and published in 1590 under the title Alas, what a wretched life is this. This ‘Englished’ poem is a very free translation of the original Petrarch ballata Ahi, dispietata morte set by Marenzio.33

Ex. 2. Dowland, “Would my conceit that first enforced my woe,” First Book of Songs (1597), No 16, mm. 1-4


33 Anthony Rooley, “New Light on Dowland’s Songs of Darkness,” 7.
Dowland was a professed admirer of Marenzio, and further comparison of works by these two composers may well reveal a clearer pattern of influence from Marenzio to Dowland. In this madrigal it is already evident that Marenzio must be considered one of Dowland's sources in the formulation of what have been designated the Lachrymae motives. In comparing the opening strains of the original "Englished" version with Dowland's parody, Marenzio gives the motives in a simpler and more straightforward manner than Dowland (Ex. 2). For the words "what a wretched life is this" the bass gives a nearly unmodified statement of L1, only slightly altered by the f in the second half of the fourth measure (Ex. 3). The corresponding soprano text has a melody which is usefully understood as a telescoped statement of both Lachrymae motives if the descent from e'' to b' is seen as overlapping with the descent from c'' to g'-sharp. This descending minor sixth in minor mode is used repeatedly by Dowland and other composers in specifically melancholic contexts, and in the first four measures of the song, Dowland has modified Marenzio's original in a way which would have brought a knowing smile to a contemporary cognoscento.


Come, heavy Sleep, the Image of true Death
And close up these my weary weeping eyes,
Whose spring of tears doth stop my vital breath,
    And tears my heart with sorrows sigh swol'n cries:
Come and posses my tired thought-worn soul,
That living dies, till thou on me be stole.

Come, shadow of my end and shape of rest,
    Allied to death, child to his black-faced night,
Come thou and charm these rebels in my breast,
    Whose waking fancies do my mind affright.
O come sweet sleep, come now or I die for ever:
Come ere my last sleep, comes or come never.
This poem gives voice to the typical melancholic obsession with sleep and death, so eloquently expressed by Shakespeare's Melancholy Dane -- Hamlet.\(^{34}\) It also suggests that some kind of relief is to be found within these themes, and the beckoning of sleep and death will be seen to recur again many times in melancholy vocal compositions of the period. The text expresses the melancholic's well-known fear (indeed, paranoia) which is internally caused.

Come thou and charm these rebels in my breast,  
Whose waking fancies do my mind affright.

The lute part gives a statement of L1 at the beginning of the song, but in major rather than minor mode, a technique which would be used by at least several of Dowland's emulators. Interestingly, this motive is found only in the lute's top voice and not in the alto part of the four-part vocal version. In measures 5-6, this situation is reversed -- the alto part gives exactly the same four-note descent with the words "the image of," but not the lute part (Ex. 4a). The tenor line in measures 14-15 gives a faithful version of L1 with the words "whose spring of tears" before finishing its octave descent (Ex. 4b). In measure 26, the third measure of the song's B section, a series of descending melodic fourth patterns is articulated, as if searching for an authentic statement of L1, which it finds in measure 28 (Ex. 4c). This phrase provides a conspicuous climax of the piece, and an observant listener might notice that the bass part of this phrase recalls the opening melodic contour of "Flow my tears" in a quite faithful rhythmic statement of the original L1.

Ex. 4a. Dowland, "Come, heavy sleep," *First Book of Songs* (1597), No. 20, mm. 1-6

Ex. 4b. Dowland, "Come, heavy sleep" mm. 13-15

Ex. 4c. Dowland, "Come, heavy sleep," mm. 26-29
Another noteworthy feature of "Come, heavy sleep" in the first measure of its B section is the striking and colourful shift from G major at the close of the A section, to B major at the beginning of the B section. This juxtaposition of chords related by unconventional intervals can be viewed as a typical feature of the style, since the imagery of melancholy clearly calls for musical effects which represent the anguished state of the melancholic. Just as striking in this segment is Dowland's adaptation of early Italian-style monodic declamation. This is not monody in the strict sense, of course, especially because the song is also conceived for four voices. Still, it shows a clear Italian influence, and confirms Dowland's cosmopolitan stature even at the comparatively early date of 1597.

Ex. 4d. Dowland, "Come, heavy sleep," mm. 9-10

There is one other melancholic composition in the First Book, no. 14, "All ye whom love or fortune hath betrayed." It also has references to the Lachrymae motives, but is more interesting and important as an early example of the use of the six-note chromatic tetrachord, and will therefore not be treated in this study.

Dowland's *Second Book* (1600) undoubtedly provides the largest proportion of melancholic pieces in any book of the period. Rooley lists six "songs of darkness" out of the 21 which belong to the *Second Book*; but that number should probably be expanded to 7, thus including No. 1 of the volume, "I saw my lady weep," which will be examined directly.


The enigmatic text to this song leads one to believe that it is a kind of hymn to Melancolia as personified in the black-faced, woeful lady described by Chapman and depicted by Dürer.

I saw my lady weep
And sorrow proud to be advanced so:
In those fair eyes, where all perfections keep,
Her face was full of woe,
But such a woe (believe me) as wins more hearts
Than mirth can do, with her enticing parts.

Sorrow was there made fair,
And passion wise, tears a delightful thing,
Silence beyond all speech a wisdom rare,
She made her sighs to sing,
And all things with so sweet a sadness move,
As made my heart at once both grieve and love.

O fairer then aught else,
The world can show, leave off in time to grief,
Enough, enough, your joyful looks excels,
Tears kill the heart, believe.
O strive not to be excellent in woe,
Which only breeds your beauty's overthrow.

The last stanza of this strange text seems to contradict the first two. It is as if the

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melancholic who worships this “queen of the night” has had a sudden change of humour, imploring her to stop her grieving and cheer up instead. Be that as it may, the first two stanzas are an excellent description of the female personification of Melancholy. Although this anthropomorphised Melancholy is normally depicted as black in face and sorrowful, here she is typically imbued with “all perfections.” The text reflects the characteristic paradoxical love of the accoutrements of the melancholic state.

Sorrow was there made fair,
And passion wise, tears a delightful thing.

Interestingly, Dowland dedicated the song “To the most famous, Anthony Holborne,” Dowland’s fellow lutenist and composer. This dedication is significant, because Holborne paid at least several pointed tributes to Dowland’s “Lachrymae pavan” in compositions for five-part consort and solo lute (see Chapter five, below). Holborne’s instrumental compositions are of the highest quality; Dowland and Holborne were obviously mutually influential of each other.

As for the song’s music, its motivic relationship to the “Lachrymae pavan” is evident from the opening measures. The bass part begins with a very clear statement of L1, from a to e, with the last note of the motive coinciding with the entry of the soprano part. The tenor voice of the lute part gives a somewhat elaborated version of L2 at the same time, thus forming the characteristic Phrygian cadence (Ex. 5a). The voice part goes on to give a version of L2 beginning in the fourth measure, for the words “saw my lady” (Ex. 5b). The bass states motive L1 in the second half of measure 10, this time transposed to the tonal centre of d, and descending to A (Ex. 5c). Perhaps the most interesting use of the Lachrymae motivic material is seen in the final measures. The soprano gives L1R for the words “with her enticing” before the final
cadence; the lute’s top line states the other possible L1R of the key; and the bass presents a straightforward descending statement of the same L motive (Ex. 5d).

Ex. 5a. Dowland, “I saw my lady weep,”
*Second Book of Songs* (1600), No. 1, mm. 1-3

Ex. 5b. Dowland, “I saw my lady weep,” m. 4

Ex. 5c. Dowland, “I saw my lady weep,” m. 10
Ex. 5d. Dowland, "I saw my lady weep," mm. 17-18

"Flow my tears," No. 2 in the *Second Book* has already been considered. There are five other purely melancholic songs in this volume, and rather than investigate each one in great detail, only the best examples which highlight the topic will be discussed.

Dowland, "Sorrow, stay," *Second Book*, No. 3

The text to "Sorrow, stay" is a typically atrabilious complaint:

Sorrow, stay, lend true repentant tears,  
To a woeful, wretched wight,  
Hence, despair with thy tormenting fears:  
O do not my poor heart affright,  
Pity, help now or never,  
Mark me not to endless pain,  
Alas, I am condemned ever,  
No hope, no help there doth remain,  
But down, down, down, down I fall,  
And arise I never shall.
Like “I saw my lady weep,” “Sorrow, stay” is through-composed, and like “Come heavy sleep,” it shows a declamatory influence from early Italian experiments in monody. In terms of the motivic relationship to the Lachrymae theme, see the madrigalesque pictorialism of measure 22, appropriately for the words “but down, down, down, down I fall” (Ex. 6). The voice part delineates essentially the same melodic pattern which was seen in the Englished version of Marenzio’s madrigal (Ex. 3, above). It is the same descending minor sixth from the fifth degree to the leading tone in minor mode, and a telescoped form of both Lachrymae motives. The bass part in this same section may likewise be understood as an elided form of two different statements of L1, whose initial notes are separated by a perfect fourth. The bass line in this measure, which descends from g to A would appear to be motive 1 stated first between y and d, overlapping with a second statement of the same motive between d and A. This passage, which is freely repeated 4 measures later, seems to be a prototype for a technique which would be used by a number of Dowland’s contemporaries, apparently in emulation of Dowland, and almost always as a musical symbol for grief. Two different versions of L1 are found in minor mode: one descending from the tonic to the dominant, the other descending from the dominant to the
supertonic. Only one version of L2 is found in Phrygian/minor mode, and it may be combined in a note-for-note descent with either version of L1 to form a Phrygian-type cadence. The two versions of L1 cannot be combined together note-for-note, because parallel fifths, or ungainly parallel fourths result. However, if the two versions of the L1 motive are sounded together but rhythmically syncopated, the resulting hidden fifths, which are quite tolerable, make possible a simultaneous statement of all three forms of the Lachrymae theme motives within a given key (See Ex. 31 below, “Gush forth, my tears”). Dowland has not used all three motives within the section described here simultaneously, possibly because both the soprano and the bass are extended versions of the various motives. In the work of other composers, the possibilities for Phrygian cadences formulas of this type are explored fairly extensively, and again, almost invariably as expressions of grief.


Die not before thy day, poor man condemned,
But lift thy low looks from the humble earth,
Kiss not despair and see sweet hope contemned:
The hag hath no delight, but moan for mirth.
O fie, poor fondling, fie, be willing,
To preserve thyself from killing:
Hope, thy keeper glad to free thee,
Bids thee go and will not see thee,
Hie thee quickly from thy wrong,
So she ends her willing song.

This text is rather unusual in that it is not an impassioned cry of anguish. Still, it expresses the same world-weary sentiment and dark imagery found in all characteristically melancholic poetry.

“Die not before thy day” contains several references to the Lachrymae motives. The most obvious, which could hardly have gone unnoticed at the time, is heard in the
voice part in measure 12-13, where there are two successive statements of L motive 1 with the words "O fie, poor fondling" (Ex. 7). Anyone familiar with the Lachrymae material could not fail to recognize this connection, especially since the first statement of L1 is immediately reiterated a fourth higher.

Ex. 7. Dowland, "Die not before thy day," Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 4, mm. 12-13

Dowland, "Mourn, day is with darkness fled," Second Book, No.5.

"Mourn, day is with darkness fled" completes the volume's opening group of melancholic songs. All five of these first songs have certain features in common. Each is conceived not in the usual four vocal parts as an alternative arrangement, but as a soprano-bass duet, with the lute behaving as a kind of primitive continuo. Dowland evidently reserved this texture for his most modern conceptions, since this arrangement is clearly reflective of the early Florentine monodic experiments which point in the direction of early opera. Three of the first five numbers are entirely through-composed (Nos. 1, 3, and 4), a high proportion considering that songs without internal repetitions and without more than one stanza of text are rather rare in Dowland’s output. Dowland would write more ayres in this quasi-monodic style, but no more within the Second Book after "Mourn, day is with darkness fled."
Mourn, mourn, day is with darkness fled,
What heaven then governs earth?
O none, but hell in heaven's stead,
Chokes with his mists our mirth.
Mourn, mourn, look now for no more day
Nor night, but that from hell,
Then all must as they may
In darkness learn to dwell.
But yet this change, must needs change our delight,
That thus the sun should harbour with the night.

This text is a paragon of the “dark” style, and seems even to exude a positively sinister undertone. The attitude of abject despair is particularly acute here. The image of dwelling in darkness is a recurrent theme in Dowland’s work. In “Flow my tears,” there is “Hark you shadows that in darkness dwell,” and later this study will examine the justly famous “In darkness let me dwell,” from Robert Dowland’s A Musical Banquet (1610). The use of this text in “Mourn” is also significant in its musical setting, as will become clear, but first examine the second half of measure 4, and measure 5 (Ex. 8a). For the words “none but hell in heaven’s stead” there are two consecutive statements of L1 in the voice part, not telescoped this time, but simply juxtaposed, and forming the same basic descending melodic contour which is found in “Sorrow, stay,” in the bass, with the words “but down, down, down, down, I fall” (Ex. 6, above).

Ex. 8a. Dowland, “Mourn, day is with darkness fled,” Second Book of Songs, No. 5, mm. 4-5
Ex. 8b. Dowland, “Mourn, day is with darkness fled,” m. 13

In measure 13, the text reads “may in darkness learn to dwell.” The voice part has a statement of L1R, immediately followed by the original form of the motive, thus forming an arching melodic palindrome before cadencing on d as the last note of the measure. Simultaneously, the top line of the lute outlines almost exactly the same melodic contour, but using L2 as its material, and creating a series of parallel thirds with the vocal line (Ex. 8b). This retrograde/palindrome technique has been encountered before, in “Flow my tears,” and not coincidentally, with the words “Hark you shadows that in darkness dwell” (Ex. 1d, above).


In “If floods of tears,” Dowland returns to the more conventional strophic, four-part arrangement.

If floods of tears could cleanse my follies past,
And smokes of sighs might sacrifice for sin,
If groaning cries might salve my fault at last,
Or endless moan, for error pardon win,
Then I would cry, weep, sigh, and ever moan,
Mine errors, faults, sins, follies past and gone.

I see my hopes must wither in their bud,
I see my favours are no lasting flowers,
I see that words will breed no better good,
Then loss of time and lightening but at hours,
Thus when I see then thus I say therefore,
That favours hopes and words, can blind no more.

Many familiar themes are present here. In the first stanza, the poet wishes to "cry, weep, sigh, and ever moan" for his "errors, faults, sins, follies past and gone." Although these all imply a sense of causality for the depressed state, they also express the typical melancholic remorse for a perceived blemished past. The second stanza is a kind of existential recognition of this wretched condition, wherein the poet declares the futility of "favours hopes and words" which now "can blind no more."

An examination of the music to this song reveals several melodic references to the Lachrymae material, but probably the most important and obvious one is found at the end of measure 3 through measure 4, where the soprano and bass give statements of Lachrymae motives 2 and 1 respectively, moving in parallel tenths to form the familiar Phrygian cadence with the words "sacrifice for sin" (Ex. 9).

Ex. 9. Dowland, “If floods of tears,” Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 11, mm. 3-4


Come, ye heavy states of night,
Do my father's spirit right,
Soundings baleful let me borrow
Burdening my song with sorrow,
Come, sorrow, come, her eyes that sings,
By thee are turned into springs.

Come, you virgins of the night,
That in dirges sad delight,
Quire my anthems, I do borrow
Gold nor pearl, but sounds of sorrow:
Come, sorrow come, her eyes that sings,
By thee are turned into springs.

It can be readily seen by now that these verses are typical of the genre; furthermore, they use the colourful metaphor for the eyes as the wellsprings of tears.

In the final two measures, there is another variation of the retrograde/palindrome technique (Ex. 10). The soprano, with the words “by thee are turned into springs,” gives a statement of L1R immediately followed by the original L1 form, in much the same manner as that found in “Mourn” (Ex. 8b, above) and “Flow my tears” (Ex. 1d, above) The alto voice and the top lute line also give the familiar L2R immediately followed by its original L2 form, but not so closely matching the soprano part as in “Mourn.”

Ex. 10. Dowland, “Come, ye heavy states of night,” Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 14, mm. 10-11

Dowland, "Flow not so fast ye fountains" *Third and Last Book*, No. 8

Flow not so fast ye fountains,
    What needeth all this haste,
Swell not above your mountains,
    Nor spend your time in waste,
Gentle springs, freshly your salt tears
Must still fall dropping from their spheres.

Weep they apace whom Reason,
    Or lingering time can ease:
My sorrow can no season,
    Nor aught besides appease.
Gentle springs, etc.

Time can abate the terror
    Of every common pain,
But common grief is error,
    True grief will still remain.
Gentle springs, etc.

Many typical melancholic themes are present here. The image of tears falling, fountain-like, is by now quite familiar. The poet describes his pitiful state as completely irreparable:

My sorrow can no season,
    Nor aught besides appease.

He also makes a distinction between ordinary grief and that type which belongs to the melancholic, indicating that the latter is permanent and irreversible:

But common grief is error,
    True grief will still remain.
The music to this song contains but one obvious reference to the Lachrymae material, but it is very telling. In measures 6 and 7, the soprano line has the words “must still fall dropping,” and the melody is a clear if slightly altered version of L1 (Ex. 11).

Ex. 11. Dowland, “Flow not so fast, ye fountains,” Third and Last Book of Songs (1603), No. 8, mm. 6-7

Dowland, “Lend your ears to my sorrow,” Third and Last Book, No. 11.

“Lend your ears to my sorrow” cannot be considered a manifestation of pure melancholy, because the text clearly suggests unrequited love. The poem is, however, suitably doleful for an expression of love-melancholy, and there are numerous faithful quotes of the Lachrymae motives. Within Dowland’s output, there are in fact several songs of unrequited love which use Lachrymae motivic material, but “Lend your ears to my sorrow” is by far the most exemplary of these, and will therefore be the only such Dowland song which will be examined in this study.

Lend your ears to my sorrow
Good people that have any pity:
For no eyes will I borrow
Mine own shall grace my doleful ditty:
Chant it, my voice though rude like to my riming,
And tell forth my grief which here in sad despair
Can find no ease of tormenting.
Once I liv'd, once I knew delight,
    No grief did shadow then my pleasure:
Graced with love, cheered by beauties sight,
    I joyed alone true heav'nly treasure,
O what a Heav'n is love firmly embraced,
    Such power alone can fix delight
In Fortune's bosom ever placed.

Cold as ice frozen is that heart,
    Where thought of love could no time enter:
Such of life reap the poorest part
    Whose weight cleaves to this earthly center,
Mutual joys in hearts truly united
    Do earth to heavenly state convert
Like heav'n still in itself delighted.

Ex. 12a. Dowland, “Lend your ears to my sorrow,” Third and Last Book (1603), No.11, m. 7-8

Ex. 12b. Dowland, “Lend your ears to my sorrow,” mm. 11-13
Ex. 12c. Dowland, "Lend your ears to my sorrow," mm. 14-16

The B section of the song begins with L1 in the tenor, simultaneously with L2 in the bass, both in the original rhythm of the opening phrase of "Flow my tears." The soprano enters at the half-bar with motive 1, and then descends through the familiar melodic minor sixth in the telescoped statement of both motives (Ex. 12a). Beginning at the last beat of measure 11, the tenor and bass state L2 and L1 respectively, forming the Phrygian cadence, while the soprano, at the beginning of measure 12, states L2 (Ex. 12b). In measure 14 to the beginning of 15, the tenor and bass both give various versions of the Lachrymae motives, and the alto gives a final statement of L2 in the ultimate measure, but transposed to produce a Picardie third with c'-sharp on the final chord (Ex. 12c). It is instructive to note that in the cases where Lachrymae material has been conspicuously employed, the corresponding texts have been "Chant it, my voice," "tell forth my grief," and "no ease of tormenting."

John Dowland, "In darkness let me dwell," *A Musical Banquet*, No. 10.

Before inspecting Dowland's final publication of 1612, consideration should be made of a song which was printed in a book compiled by Dowland's son, Robert, *A Musical Banquet* (1610). This anthology contains works by several composers, including Dowland senior's impressive No. 10, "In darkness let me dwell." This text was originally published in a lute song by the Italianized Englishman John Coprario, in *Funeral Tears* (1606), and contains two verses, of which Dowland uses only the first.

In darkness let me dwell, the ground shall sorrow be,
The roof despair to bar all cheerful light from me,
The walls of marble black that moistened still shall weep,
    My music hellish, jarring sounds to banish friendly sleep.
    Thus wedded to my woes and bedded to my tomb,
    O let me living die, till death do come.

The origin of the text is apparently unknown, but if Coprario was the author, Dowland certainly admired it enough to make good use of it. Again there is the stated desire for darkness and despair, the bold image of a castle wall weeping tears, and the oxymoronic concept of death in life. The description of the poet's music as "hellish, jarring sounds" recalls Chapman's *Hymnus in Noctem* (1594), line 288: "Thunder your wrongs, your miseries and hells" (11, above).

In spite of many interesting musical features of the song, this discussion will be confined essentially to Lachrymae references which are seen at the entry of the voice part and at the end of the composition. When the voice enters in measure 4, it states a slightly altered version of L1R before cadencing on g'-sharp with the title words (Ex. 13a). This arrangement is seen again in the final two measures of the song (Ex. 13b), with the same words, which are repeated according to the rhetorical device known as anadiplosis, where an opening verbal gesture is reiterated at the end of the
Certain remarkable features of this composition may be mentioned in passing: the influence from contemporaneous Italian declamatory style, the astonishing use of false relations and grinding dissonances, and the employment of the chromatic tetrachord.

Ex. 13a. John Dowland, “In darkness let me dwell,” in Robert Dowland, *A Musical Banquet* (1610), No. 10, mm. 4-6

Ex. 13b. Dowland, “In darkness let me dwell,” mm. 35-36

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Dowland’s last publication, *A Pilgrim's Solace* (1612) contains two superb examples of melancholic style, No. 9, “Go, nightly cares,” and No. 10, “From silent night.” Of these two, only No. 9 will concern this study, because “From silent night” is a study in the ascending and descending forms of the six-note chromatic tetrachord. Again, “Go, nightly cares” is entirely through-composed, and fairly lengthy by comparison to most of his other songs. Although there are no internal repetitions, two stanzas are given:

Go, nightly cares, the enemy to rest,
   Forbear awhile to vex my grieved sprite,
So long your weight hath lain upon my breast,
   That lo, I live of life bereaved quite,
O give me time to draw my weary breath,
Or let me die as I desire the death.
Welcome sweet death, O life, no life, a hell,
Then thus and thus, I bid the world farewell.

False world farewell the enemy to rest,
   Now do thy worst, I do not weigh thy spite:
Free from thy cares I live forever blest,
   Enjoying peace and heavenly true delight.
Delight, whom woes nor sorrows shall amate,
Nor fears or tears disturb her happy state.
And thus I leave thy hopes, thy joys untrue,
And thus, and thus vain world, again adieu.

This text expresses the typical melancholic paradox of opposites which nevertheless exist together: “. . . lo, I live of life bereaved quite.” The poet’s rejection of the mundane world, again typical of melancholy, would seem to be the gateway to true felicity.

Dowland has returned here to his quasi-monodic arrangement, with soprano, lute, bass viol, and also an obbligato soprano melodic instrument, probably intended also for viol. When Dowland used this format previously, his bass parts were supplied
with text, but here, it is strictly instrumental, thus making solo song the only possible rendition of the piece. Musically, there are several references to Lachrymae, but the most important ones are found at the beginning and at the end of the composition. When the voice part enters at the second half of measure 3, it immediately states L1, but with the first note transposed down an octave from the usual arrangement, thus necessitating a leap of a minor seventh. This strange leap is anticipated by the bass line which gives two elided statements of L1 motives in the first four measures (Ex. 14a). The song has many interesting musical devices which will not be treated for the sake of brevity, but in turning to the final measures of the song, with the words “thus I bid the world farewell,” there is a clear statement of L1 (Ex. 14b).

Ex. 14a. Dowland, “Go, nightly cares,” A Pilgrim’s Solace (1612), No. 9, mm. 1-5

Ex. 14b. Dowland, “Go, nightly cares,” mm. 66-70
Dowland, "In this trembling shadow cast," *A Pilgrim's Solace*, No. 20.

One sacred song from *A Pilgrim's Solace*, No. 20, "In this trembling shadow cast," is notable for its employment of L motives in a very different context than any thus far encountered. Wells argues that Dowland's attitude toward melancholy is more or less conventional for the period, and that this text represents the poet's desire to banish the dreaded affliction. The first stanza reads:

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In this trembling shadow, cast
   From these boughs which Thy winds shake,
Far from human troubles placed,
   Songs to the Lord would I make.
Darkness from my mind then take,
   For Thy rites none may begin
For Thy rites none may begin
Till they feel Thy light within.
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This text gives an impression of sincere piety, but in examining the music to the song, a biting irony is confronted. The singer asks for relief from mental darkness, but set to musical motives which Dowland usually systematically employs in the setting of melancholic poetry. In measures 13-14, supporting the words "Darkness from my mind then take," L1 is seen in the vocal part and L2 in the bass, to form the Phrygian cadence; in measure 14, it is the reverse -- that is, L2 in the voice part, L1 (slightly altered) in the bass (Ex. 15).

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Ex. 15. Dowland, "In this trembling shadow cast," *A Pilgrim’s Solace* (1612), No. 20, mm. 13-14

This concludes the investigation of Dowland’s vocal compositions, but it is worthwhile to mention that Dowland’s *Lachrymae or Seven Tears* (1604), (a volume which consists of music for a consort of five viols plus lute) contains seven pavans, of which each is based on the original “Lachrymae pavan” both formally and in harmonic/melodic content. These admirably display Dowland’s skill as a composer of concerted instrumental music. They also show Dowland’s fondness for the musical gestures as melancholic emblems, since text is not included, but only the titles and motives. Naturally, the connection of these pieces to “Flow my tears” is overt and obvious.

Consort song as Lachrymae antecedent.

Before turning to an investigation of melancholic compositions by Dowland’s contemporaries, it should be noted that some theories have been raised concerning a possible source for Dowland’s Lachrymae. Along with these theories, it is useful to add to the list of possible sources that native English form of vocal composition which was eclipsed by the introduction of the madrigal -- the consort song. Two anonymous examples from *Musica Britannica* XXII, *Consort Songs* should suffice to establish a possible connection to Dowland and to his generation of composers of melancholic music.

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Anon., "O death, rock me asleep," Consort Songs, No. 1.

The first of these examples, "O Death, rock me asleep" lacks attribution, but was first copied into British Museum, Add. MSS 30480-4, which form a set of part-books compiled between 1560 and 1590, thus placing it squarely within the time frame when genial melancholy was first gaining popularity in England.

O Death, rock me asleep,
    Bring me to quiet rest;
Let pass my weary guiltless ghost
    Out of my careful breast.
Toll on the passing bell.
Ring out the doleful knell,
Let the sound my death tell.
    Death doth draw nigh.
    Sound my death dolefully:
    For now I die, for now I die.

Farewell my pleasures past:
    My pains alone, alone
In prison strong, who can express:
    Alas they are so strong.
My dolours will not suffer strength
My life for to prolong,
Lest my woe work his cruel hope
    That I must taste
    This misery,
    This misery, this misery.

This text appears to be an excellent early example of melancholic poetry. Typically, no reference is made to any specific reason for such abject despair. Many familiar themes are present: the desire for death, the sounding of the death-knell, remorse for a lost past, and imprisonment and isolation.
This musical setting contains many melodic gestures which can be construed as Lachrymae-type motives. The opening entries of the first and second tenor viols are statements of L1, the second tenor slightly modified by the half-note d at the end of the first measure; the first tenor giving a clear statement of L1 for its first four notes before its abrupt leap back to the original note d'. In the second measure, the momentary clash of b-flat in the first tenor viol with f'-sharp in the treble viol is a foretaste of the bolder uses of dissonance found in compositions toward the turn of the century. In measures 3-4 the bass viol imitates the entry of the second tenor (Ex. 16a). In the second half of measure 5 the vocal line states the diminished fourth motive of L2 with the words "rock me asleep," creating a Phrygian cadence against the first tenor viol's statement of L1 (Ex. 16b) In measure 26 the voice and treble viol form the parallel motion typical of the combination of both Lachrymae themes, before cadencing on c' with the words "Let the sound my death tell" (Ex. 16c). In measures 29 and 30 the voice part gives another clear statement of L2 with the words "Death doth draw nigh" (Ex. 16d). Other references to the Lachrymae themes are seen in this piece, but these should suffice to point to a possible link to Dowland.
Anon., "Alas, alack, my heart is woe," Consort Songs, No. 2.

Another consort song which might be considered an antecedent of Lachrymae is the anonymously composed "Alas, alack, my heart is woe" from the same Musica Britannica collection. This song is from Christ Church, Oxford, Music MSS 984-988, which is a set of partbooks written by Robert Dow between 1581 and 1588. Again, the period in which it was written coincides with England's initial introduction to genial melancholy, and the text is typical of the style.
Alas, alack, my heart is woe;
I pine, I waste in seas of pain.
Good ladies, all your tunes bestow
To mourn with him whom fates constrain.
I sigh, I sob, I sink in grief:
I fain would die; Death yield relief!

Once more, the source of the poet’s agony is undisclosed. The themes of mourning, the desire for music to accompany the poet’s suffering, sighing and sobbing, sinking in grief, and the wish for death -- all these indicate strongly that this poem is a manifestation of melancholy.

Musically, there are again several references to Lachrymae material. The treble and second tenor viol form the familiar Phrygian cadence in the opening two measures; the entry of the vocal line in the third measure “Alas, alack” imitates the treble viol’s statement of L2. In measure 6 there is the rather unusual leap of a diminished fourth in the treble viol, immediately followed by a statement of L2 (Ex. 17). There are other examples in this piece which might be regarded as Lachrymae material, but this opening group is the clearest.

Ex. 17. Anon., “Alas, alack, my heart is woe,” Consort Songs, No. 2, mm. 1-7
Other speculations concerning possible sources for the Lachrymae tune include examples of French chanson and Italian madrigal, and considering Dowland's extensive travels, these must be addressed. However, from these examples of English consort song, it is evident that native English forms should also be considered as possible early influences on Dowland.
Dowland was chiefly a composer of lute songs, having essentially singlehandedly created the English genre. Compositions of this type existed in Italy, France, and even Spain before Dowland, who may have drawn from these sources in his own compositions. But the lute song or ayre of the type first seen in Dowland's *First Book*, with its alternative arrangement as a four-part vocal composition, has come to be regarded as a distinctively English genre. It was therefore natural that other composers of this genre would rely (although certainly not exclusively) on the work of Dowland in their own songs. This study will proceed with a chronological investigation of various melancholic songs by composers of the lute ayre which show an influence from Dowland and the Lachrymae style.

Robert Jones, *First Book of Songs and Ayres* (1600).


Lie down poor heart and die awhile for grief.
   Think not this world will ever do thee good.
Fortune forewarns thou look to thy relief,
   And sorrow sucks upon thy living blood.
Then this is all can help thee of this hell,
Lie down and die, and and then thou shalt do well.

Day gives his light but to thy labour's toil;
   And night her rest but to thy weary bones.
Thy fairest fortune follows with a foil,
   And laughing ends but with their aftergroans.
And this is all can help thee of this hell,
Lie down and die, and then thou shalt do well.

Patience doth pine, and pity ease no pain;
   Time wears the thoughts, but nothing helps the mind.
Dead and alive, alive and dead again,
   These are the fits that thou art like to find.
And this is all can help thee of this hell,
Lie down and die, and then thou shalt do well.

This piece is characteristic of melancholic poetry in its utter rejection of the world. These themes recur repeatedly in similar songs: the enigmatic succession of both joy and grief with their opposites ("Thy fairest fortune follows with a foil / And laughing ends but with their aftergroans"), and the oxymoronic state of the melancholic ("Dead and alive, alive and dead again"). What is normally considered solace is here alliteratively declared useless ("Patience doth pine, and pity ease no pain"), and death is seen as the only means by which "thou shalt do well."

"Lie down, poor heart" is probably one of the earliest examples of a lute song wherein the composer appears to employ the Lachrymae themes deliberately. In measures 5-9 we see the retrograde-palindrome technique which was employed by Dowland. The tenor voice of the lute in measure 5 gives the first statement of the retrograde of L1 followed by the original motive, thus forming the arching palindrome before reaching a cadence on g. This is imitated an octave down by the bass in the second half of the measure. In measure 6 the voice takes the same imitative entry, this time an octave higher than the tenor, then continues to form the telescoped combination of both Lachrymae themes in its descent, then cadencing on g' with the words "Think not this world will ever do thee good." When the voice part reaches its cadence on g' in measure 9, the tenor and bass voices of the lute immediately state L2 and L1 respectively, to form the familiar Phrygian cadence (Ex. 18). Other references to Lachrymae motives are seen in this song, but none so systematically manipulated as in these several measures.
Another early example of a Dowland parody is "I saw my Lady weeping," No. 5 from Thomas Morley's *First Book of Ayres* (1600). This song is, in fact, a very close parody of Dowland's "I saw my Lady weep" (Ex. 5, above). Leech-Wilkinson has suggested that Morley was acquainted with Dowland's setting and must have played it or heard it performed before it was published. Indeed, in comparing Morley's setting to Dowland's, it is clear that although there are textual and musical variants, it is inconceivable that they are not from a common source (probably Dowland). These differences

... are all explicable if it is assumed that Morley had the chance to hear or play Dowland's setting in the manuscript with only the first stanza underlaid, and later wrote his own setting by memory without a copy available for reference, half recalling Dowland's music and making simple errors in his memory of the text. Precisely such an opportunity would have been available to him as holder of the patent for music printing. He would have seen the the collection [of Dowland's Second Book] in manuscript when his permission was sought for its publication.40

The text to "I saw my Lady weeping" provides an interesting comparison to the Dowland prototype both in its variants from Dowland's and also in the fact that the Morley version contains but one stanza whereas the Dowland comprises three. These

differences strongly support the view that Morley largely borrowed the idea of the song from Dowland, a practice which was not uncommon at the time, but seldom so blatant as in this case.

I saw my lady weeping,
   And Sorrow proud to be advanced so
In those fair eyes where all perfection kept.
   Her face was full of woe,
But such a woe, believe me, as wins men's
   Than mirth can do with her enticing parts.

Morley was obviously aware of the motivic relationships between the two first songs in Dowland's Second Book, "Flow my tears" and "I saw my lady weep" because he clearly incorporates Lachrymae material into his version of "I saw my lady weeping." The opening measures of this piece contain a plethora of Lachrymae references. These include an ornamented version of L1 in the upper voice of the lute, a combination of straightforward and palindromic versions of L1 in the lute’s top two voices in measures 3-5, the Phrygian cadence between the vocal line and the lute’s tenor line with the words “saw my lady weep(ing),” and a statement of both motives in the lute’s top two voices beginning in measure 5 (Ex. 19). Not surprisingly, this song abounds with Lachrymae references. Many more can be found, some less faithful than others -- Morley here seems somewhat obsessed with similar descending four-note sequences, even if they do not always exactly match L1 in intervallic structure.
Ex. 19. Thomas Morley, "I saw my lady weeping," First Book of Ayres (1600), No. 5, mm. 1-8


Come, sorrow, come, sit down and mourn with me;
Hang down thy head upon thy baleful breast,
That God and man and all the world may see
Our heavy hearts do live in quiet rest.
Enfold thine arms and wring thy wretched hands
To show the state wherein poor sorrow stands.

Cry not outright, for that were children's guise,
But let thy tears fall trickling down thy face,
And weep so long until thy blubbered eyes
May see (in sum) the depth of thy disgrace.
O shake thy head, but not a word but mum;
The heart once dead, the tongue is stroken dumb.

And let our fare be dishes of despite,
To break our hearts and not our fasts withal,
Then let us sup with sorrow-sops at night,
And bitter sauce, all of a broken gall.
Thus let us live, till heav'ns may rue to see
The doleful doom ordained for thee and me.
This poem is surely one of the darkest and most characteristic expressions of pure melancholy to be found in the period literature. It catalogs the physical gestures of melancholy: hung head, folded arms, and wrung hands. Particularly evocative is the metaphor of agony as nourishment to the melancholic: “dishes of despite,” “sorrowsops,” and “bitter sauce, all of a broken gall.”

In measures 12-20, Morley fittingly uses L motives to support the words “Hang down thy head upon thy baleful breast.” These motives are prominently featured in the vocal line and in the outer voices of the lute part (Ex. 20). This song is also an example of the early employment of the ascending chromatic tetrachord, but will not concern this study as such. Even so, this Morley example must be regarded as one of the most characteristic specimens of melancholy, both poetically and musically.

Ex. 20. Morley, “Come, sorrow, come,” First Book of Ayres (1600), No. 12, mm. 12-20

Philip Rosseter, Book of Ayres (1601).

Rosseter, “No grave for woe,” Book of Ayres, No. 3.

No grave for woe, yet earth my watery tears devours;
Sighs want air, and burnt desires kind pity’s showers;
Stars hold their fatal course, my joys preventing;
The earth, the sea, the air, the fire, the heavens vow my tormenting.
Yet still I live and waste my weary days in heavy groans,
And with woeful tunes adorn despairing moans;
Night still prepares a more displeasing morrow;
My day is night, my life is death, and all but sense of sorrow.

Rhetorically, this set of melancholic verses is a miniature tour de force. The poet has invoked the ancient four elements of earth, water, air, and fire, as well as the heavens, to describe his pitiable state in the first stanza. In the second, he gives voice to the familiar paradoxical reversal of day and night, life and death, all accompanied by "woeful tunes" and "despairing moans."

Some vocal compositions which are clearly melancholic in nature emulate aspects of Dowland's songs, but not always in a completely faithful manner regarding the exact intervallic disposition of the Lachrymae motives. This was the case in the Morley's "I saw my lady weeping" (Ex. 19, above), where non-Lachrymae four-note descents are used (as well as authentic L motives), and it is also true of "No grave for woe" from Philip Rosseter's Book of Ayres (1601). The song opens with a simple statement of L1 in the top voice of the lute, then the bass imitates the descending four-note pattern, but not according to the intervallic structure of either L motive (Ex. 21a). Measures 4 and 5 give several melodic gestures in various voice parts which are tantalizingly similar to L motives. The only one which can be considered a true Lachrymae-type theme might be the vocal line over these two measures, presenting a somewhat elaborated descent between d" and f'-sharp, which is the familiar elision of both L motives with the words "Sighs want air, and burnt desires kind pity's showers." The next measure (6) with the words "Stars hold their fatal course" presents a contrapuntal texture which is strongly reminiscent of the section in Dowland's "Sorrow, stay" with the words "but down, down, down I fall" (Ex. 6, above). However, in this Rosseter example, there is no clear reference to a true Lachrymae motive in spite of the text-painting which accompanies the sombre words (Ex. 21b). In the final two
measures of the song there is a faithful if somewhat elaborated Lachrymae-style Phrygian cadence between the voice and the lute's top voice, before the final cadence, with the telling words "vow my tormenting" (Ex. 21c). In this case the lute line presents L2 with the lower auxiliary of e'.

Ex. 21a. Philip Rosseter, "No grave for woe," Book of Ayres (1601), No. 3, mm.1-2

Ex. 21b. Rosseter, "No grave for woe," mm. 4-6
Thomas Campion, *Songs from Rosseter's Book of Ayres* (1601)


Thomas Campion is generally considered the most important (certainly one of the most prolific) lute song composer after Dowland. In spite of the relatively large volume of Campion’s output in the genre, there appear to be at most two songs which express the doleful attitude of the melancholic. The one song whose status is debatable, “Follow thy fair sun,” No. 4 from *Songs from Rosseter’s Book of Ayres* (1601) is in any case an example of the use of the chromatic tetrachord, and will therefore not be treated. No. 9 from the same collection “The cypress curtain of the night” is poetically one of the boldest examples of melancholia from the entire period.

The cypress curtain of the night is spread,
And over all a silent dew is cast.
The weaker cares by sleep are conquered,
But I alone with hideous grief aghast
In spite of Morpheus’ charms, a watch do keep
Over mine eyes to banish careless sleep.

Yet oft my trembling eyes through faintness close;
And then the map of hell before me stands,
Which ghosts do see, and I am one of those
Ordain’d to pine in sorrow’s endless bands,
Since from my wretched soul all hopes are reft,
And now no cause of life to me is left.
Grief, seize my soul, for that will still endure
When my crazed body is consum'd and gone;
Bear it to thy black den, there keep it sure,
Where thou ten thousand souls dost tire upon;
Yet all do not afford such food to thee
As this poor one, the worser part of me.

This vivid text begins by evoking the themes of night and darkness so common in melancholic poetry, but the poet is not permitted the “careless” luxury of sleep, since he is “alone with hideous grief aghast.” Instead, his “trembling eyes through faintness close” whereupon visions of the denizens of the underworld are revealed, as is the knowledge that the poet shares the same gruesome fate as these wretched dwellers. As usual, death would appear to be the only logical recourse for the poor soul since “now no cause of life to me is left.” Grief becomes personified, endowed with the capacity to imprison the poet’s immortal soul in its “black den” where the poet will “afford such food” alone to this personification of grief, that his innumerable cohabitants were as nothing by comparison.

This song employs L motives at the end of the piece, in a manner reminiscent of Dowland’s “I saw my lady weep” (Ex. 5d, above). L1 supports the words “mine eyes to banish careless sleep” while the bass part of the lute simultaneously presents L1R before the final cadence. L2 is also presented in the lute’s top line (Ex. 22). Overall, Campion seems to have been rather unconcerned with the musical symbolism of melancholy, because he clearly uses Lachrymae motives in pieces which textually are not at all melancholic in character. Although “The cypress curtain of the night” is a brilliant example of the style, it is apparently his only song of which the text is a manifestation of pure melancholy. It may be that the melancholy style and its association with its typical musical symbols was never of great interest to Campion.

Jones, "Come sorrow, come" *First and Second Book*, No. 21.

Come sorrow, come sweet scale,
   By the which we ascend to the heavenly place
Where virtue sitteth smiling,
   To see how some look pale
With fear to behold thy ill-favour'd face,
   Vain shows their sense beguiling,
For mirth hath no assurance
Nor warranty of durance.

Hence pleasures fly, sweet bait,
   On the which they may justly be said to be fools,
That surfeit by much tasting,
   Like thieves you lie in wait.
Most subtly how to prepare silly souls
For sorrows everlasting.
Wise griefs have joyful turnings,
Nice pleasures end in mournings.

The author of this poem was obviously aware of the new revaluation of genial melancholy, since sorrow is described as the means "By the which we ascend to the heavenly place / Where virtue sitteth smiling." Mirth and pleasure are seen as fleeting
and fruitless, inevitably making way “fór sorrows everlasting.” The last lines of the poem present a brilliant paradox: “Wise griefs have joyful turnings / Nice pleasures end in mournings.” This type of enigmatic expression is common in melancholic poetry; it reflects not only the oxymoronic state of the melancholic, but may also be seen more simply as an expression of the general Renaissance love of paradox.

“Come sorrow, come” contains very clear statements of Lachrymae motives in its opening measures. These include the L1 motive for the vocal entry as well as an elided statement of all three possible motives of the key in measures 4-7 with the words “Come sorrow, come sweet scale.” The vocal bass line gives the familiar palindromic arrangement of L1 in the first four measures of the song (Ex. 23).

Ex. 23. Robert Jones, “Come sorrow, come,” Second Book of Songs and Ayres (1601) No. 21, mm. 1-7


Fly from the world, O fly, thou poor distressed,
Where thy diseased sense infects thy soul,
And where thy thoughts do multiply unrest,
Troubling with wishes what they straight control.
O world, O world, betrayer of the mind,
O thoughts, O thoughts that guide us being blind.

Come therefore care, conduct me to my end,
And steer this shipwrecked carcass to the grave:
My sighs a strong and steadfast wind will lend,
Tears wet the sails, repentance from rocks save.
Hail death, hail death, the land I do descry,
Strike sail, go soul, rest follows them that die.

Again, the poet voices the wish for death as the means to escape the futility of the mundane world. Even the interior world of thoughts is spurned as a blind path. The second stanza elaborates the metaphor of a sea voyage as life’s journey, the wind and rain as sighs and tears, and death as the final port of call.

“Fly from the world” contains several clear statements of L1 in its opening measures. The motive is seen first in the top line of the lute in measure 2, and in the vocal line and the bass line of the lute in measure 3 (Ex. 24). The practice of quoting “Flow my tears” overtly in the first measures of a piece was to become a fairly common feature of melancholic music; it was undoubtedly recognized as a tribute to Dowland, and would have been understood as a key to the significance of a composition, even in purely instrumental music.
Ex. 24. Robert Jones, “Fly from the world,” *Ultimum Vale* (1605), No. 14, mm. 1-4

Tobias Hume, *First Part of Ayres* (1605).


What greater grief than no relief in deepest woe?
Death is no friend that will not end such heart’s sorrow.
Help, I do cry; no help is nigh, but wind and air
Which to and fro do toss and blow all to despair.

Sith then despair I must, yet may not die;
No man unhappier lives on earth than I.

’Tis I that feel the scornful heel of dismal hate,
My gain is lost, my loss dear cost, repentance late.
So I must moan, bemoaned of none, O bitter gall!
Death be my friend with speed to end and quiet all.

But if thou linger in despair to leave me,
I’ll kill despair with hope, and so deceive thee.

This poem expresses many familiar melancholic themes: misery, isolation, the desire for death, and remorse for a tarnished past. The final lines of the poem present a curious and clever twist which typifies the paradoxical attitude of the melancholic: “But if thou linger in despair to leave me / I’ll kill despair with hope and so deceive thee.”

The poet, apparently unwilling or unable to put an end to himself, invites death to come quickly; then as an afterthought, adds that if the end is too slow in coming, he will
foil the grim reaper by adopting the attitude of hope!

The opening measures of "What greater grief" offer an unabashed quote from "Flow my tears." The two L motives are seen in succession in the beginning of the song with the words "What greater grief than no relief" (Ex. 25).

Ex. 25. Tobias Hume, "What greater grief," The First Part of Ayres (1605), No. 19, mm. 1-3

Francis Pilkington, First Book of Songs (1605).


In a melancholic context, "Sound, woeful plaints" is worthy of note not for its music but specifically for its text. Lachrymae motives of sorts can perhaps be recognized in this piece, but it does not appear that the composer made deliberate and systematic use of these melodic cells in conjunction with text in the way which is customary in songs of this type. The piece is dedicated "For his unfortunate friend William Harwood;" therefore it was written as a funeral elegy. Interestingly, there is no direct reference in the song to the death which the poem commemorates, nor to any precise cause of the poet's sad condition, making the text quite indistinguishable from pure melancholia.
Sound, woeful plaints in hills and woods.
  Fly, my cries,
  To the skies
  Melt mine eyes,
  And heart languish.
Not for the want of friends or goods,
  Make I moan,
  Though alone,
  Thus I groan
  By soul's anguish.
Time, friends, chance, goods, might again recover.
Black woes, sad grief o'er my life do hover.
  Since my loss is with despair,
  No blest star to me shine fair,
    All my mirth turn to mourning,
  Heart, lament, for hope is gone:
Music leave, I'll learn to moan,
    Sorrows the sa[n]ds adorning.

Ay me, my days of bliss are done,
  Sorrowing
  Must I sing,
  Nothing can
  Relieve me:
Eclipsed is my glorious sun
  And mischance
  Doth advance
  Horror's lance,
  Still to grieve me.
Poor heart, ill hap hath all joy bereft thee:
Gone's the sole good which the Fates had left me.
  Whose estate is like to mine?
  Fortune doth my weal repine,
    Envying my one pleasure.
  Patience must me assure,
  Other plaster cannot cure;
    Therefore in this my treasure.

Since this song is a funeral piece, it is reasonable to assume that the references to "the sole good which the Fates had left me" and "my one pleasure" signify the poet's departed friend. If it were not known that the song was written to commemorate a death, however, this text could qualify as an expression of internally caused
melancholy; the characteristically dark imagery of this text clearly shows the degree to which the language and concepts of pure melancholia came to influence more conventional expressions of grief in response to death.

John Coprario, *Funeral Tears* (1606).

Coprario, "In darkness let me dwell," *Funeral Tears*, No. 4.

John Coprario’s *Funeral Tears* (1606) contains the original text of "In darkness let me dwell," which was later used in Dowland’s famous setting of several years later (Ex. 13, above). Coprario’s book commemorates the death of the Earl of Devonshire, hence the title. Most of the songs are thus specifically funeral elegies, but No. 4, "In darkness let me dwell" might also be considered a classic example of pure melancholic poetry.

In darkness let me dwell, the ground shall sorrow be,
The roof despair, to bar all cheerful light from me,
The walls of marble black that moistened still shall weep,
My music hellish jarring sounds to banish friendly sleep.
   Thus wedded to my woes, and bedded to my tomb,
   O let me dying live till death do come.41

My dainties grief shall be, and tears my poisoned wine,
My sighs the air, through which my panting heart shall pine,
My robes my mind shall suit exceeding blackest night,
My study shall be tragic thoughts, sad fancy to delight.
   Pale ghosts and frightful shades shall my acquaintance be:
   O thus my hapless joy, I haste to thee.

This text is surely one of the best examples of melancholic style, which is undoubtedly at least partly why Dowland also chose to set it (although he used only the first stanza). The poet uses very colourful metaphors to describe this pathetic state: the ground as sorrow, the roof as despair, grief as food, and tears as poisoned wine. The description

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41 Whereas the Coprario version gives “let me dying live,” Dowland’s has “let me living die.”
of a castle wall weeping tears, music as "hellish jarring sounds," and malevolent spirits as the poet's confederates -- these all lend an air of unremitting tragic pathos to this sombre text. As usual, we see the familiar death wish, couched once again in the typical paradoxical manner: "O let me dying live, till death do come."

Ex. 26. John Coprario, "In darkness let me dwell," *Funeral Tears* (1606), No. 4, mm. 1-5

Musically, this song is a parody of Dowland's "I saw my lady weep." The overall construction of Coprario's song is not nearly as free and flexible as its Dowland model, but in comparing the opening measures of each song, the connection becomes clear. The pitches of the vocal entries in each piece are identical, and the rhythms are nearly so. Harmonically, the initial measures of each song are also closely related, and the words "darkness let me dwell" give a straightforward statement of L2 (Ex. 26) which is seen in the Dowland model with the words "saw my lady" (Ex. 5, above). Dowland obviously returned the tribute which Coprario had made to him by using the latter's text, thereby bringing full circle the offering of musical and poetic salutes.
This poem epitomizes the melancholic regard for worldly pleasures as futile and transient. The senses are scorned because their objects are unworthy of attention. "Glory, honour, joys, delights, contents" are compared with "sorrow, grief, affliction, and despair," indicating that the former are hollow and useless, while the latter "are the things that are sure." Here again is the typical paradoxical rejection of pleasure, which "makes grief to tyrannize us worse," whereas "griefs, distrusts, remorse, I see, must domineer the heart."
"Eyes, look no more," is a very close parody of "Flow my tears" both in melodic patterns and in overall harmonic scheme. Dowland's "Flow my tears" is a three-part pavan in A minor; the first section begins and ends in the tonic; the second begins in the relative major key of C and ends with a Phrygian cadence in the dominant of E major; the last section begins on a dominant bass pedal beneath imitative entries in the vocal and top line of the lute part -- Danyel has adhered to all of these formats in his "Eyes, look no more." At the beginning of the piece, the top voice of the lute gives L1 in the exact pattern of pitches and rhythms of the opening title words of "Flow my tears." In measure 2 the tenor voice of the lute part gives a clear statement of L1 (Ex. 27a). In measures 8-9 the voice part states L2 with the words "Ears, hear no more" (Ex. 27b). In measures 23-25, there is the now ubiquitous Phrygian cadence, with a simple statement of L1 in the bass and an ornamented version of L2 in the vocal line (Ex. 27c). In measures 43-44 another Phrygian-type cadence is formed between the vocal line and the lute's top voice before the final cadence in the tonic, with the words "domineer the heart" (Ex. 27d). There are other references to Lachrymae in this song, but the ones indicated here are the most significant.
William Corkine, *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute and Bass Viol* (1610).


Sink down, proud thoughts, your mounting hopes must now descend,
Come grief and care, hence joys your triumph now must end,
Heavens now will smile no more, my light is shaded,
I pine without redress, my life, my spirits like flowers are faded.

O time, conceal my woe, in mine own tears drown my distress,
Griefs none should know, when none their anguish can redress,
Pale Death hath pierced my blood, and forth it streameth,
I sleep, and in my trance, my head, my heart of sorrow dreameth.

This poem reads like a veritable list of melancholic themes. By 1610, when this song
was published, poetic expressions of melancholy appear to have reached a level of development which gave the genre a unique niche in contemporary musical fashion. What began as a subcurrent within mainstream musical culture becomes a recognizable style in its own right, to which nearly every important English composer of the period paid at least some small tribute. By the beginning of the second decade of the seventeenth century, interest in melancholy and its artistic manifestations was probably in decline. *A Pilgrim's Solace* (1612) was Dowland's last publication, and with the compositional departure of melancholy's musical champion, it seems that the style was on the wane.

"Sink down, proud thoughts" opens with an obvious reference to Dowland's *Lachrymae* with the title words. Immediately following, there is the long melodic descent which accompanies the words "your mounting hopes must now descend," where L2 is used as the last four notes of the phrase (Ex. 28). By now, many similar musico-poetic expressions have been encountered, which describe what is commonly termed "that sinking feeling" -- the falling of tears, the decline of fortunes, a downcast demeanour.

Ex. 28. William Corkine, "Sink down, proud thoughts," *Ayres to Sing and Play* (1610), No. 1, mm. 1-3
John Attey, *First Book of Ayres* (1622).\(^{42}\)

Attey, "Vain hope, adieu," *First Book of Ayres*, No. 11.

Vain hope, adieu,
Thou life-consuming moth,
Which frets my soul in pieces with delay.
For storms of fortune drench me like a flood,
Whilst rancours, frost, nip Merit in the bud.

My well-spun threads
Will make no cloth,
To shroud me from the tempest of decay.
For storms of fortune drench me like a flood,
Whilst rancours, frost, nip Merit in the bud.

This song is perhaps one of the latest examples of melancholic poetry set to music. The imagery here is not as developed as that which is typical of specimens from the first decade of the century. Still, the attitude of despair is painted with characteristic images of descending fortunes and the loss of youth by time's "tempest of decay."

Ex. 29. John Attey, "Vain hope, adieu," *First Book of Ayres* (1622), No. 11, mm. 1-2

"Vain hope, adieu," despite its late date, shows in its opening measures that the Lachrymae motives and their association with melancholic poetry had not yet gone

\(^{42}\) This collection has the distinction of being the last in the line of English lute song books which begins with the publication of Dowland's *First Book* (1597). Basso continuo vocal accompaniment was in its ascendancy early in the seventeenth century with the onset of the Baroque.
completely out of vogue. The first measure gives the Phrygian cadence, rhythmically offset between the outer parts, L2 in the voice part, and an elision of two successive L1 motives centred on G in the bass (Ex. 29).

This concludes the investigation of the employment of Lachrymae motives with melancholic poetry in the work of lute song composers. The study turns now to a consideration of the same devices in the English madrigal of the same period.
English madrigal composers were clearly aware of Dowland and his melancholy style, because, as in the genre of lute song, a similar relationship is seen between melancholic poetry and melodic/harmonic patterns which are derived from Lachrymae. Many pieces are to be found in the English madrigal school which may be studied in the light of melancholy, more than can be treated in minute detail in this thesis. As in previous chapters, the study will proceed essentially chronologically, emphasising only the most exemplary illustrative material.

Thomas Morley, *Canzonets or Little Short Songs to Three Voices* (1593).

Morley, "Farewell, disdainful," *Canzonets or Little Short Songs*, No. 10.

The text of this Morley piece must be considered a more or less typical manifestation of love-melancholy:

Farewell, disdainful, since no love avails me:
O bitter anguish! what discord grief assails me!
Needs must I part, yet parting pleaseth thee,
Therefore, unkind, adieu! there is no remedy.
O come again, return thee.
No no, false love, thy flames no more shall burn thee
No no, be still, content thee.
When I am gone perhaps thou will repent thee.

"Farewell, disdainful" appears to be a very early Lachrymae parody. During the period which is the focus of this study, Phrygian cadence formulas used as the opening strains of vocal compositions (normally set to doleful words) are fairly frequently found, and there can be little doubt that most of these were devised and understood as tributes to "Flow my tears." Both forms of the L motives are stated in the
top two voices, forming the Phrygian cadence in this Morley example, with the title words (Ex. 30). What makes this example somewhat puzzling is the early date of the piece's publication -- a full three years before the first printed appearance of the "Lachrymae pavan" in Barley's *A New Book of Tablature*.

This presents some interesting problems of chronology, problems which can only be raised here, but not necessarily answered. How long before the first printed publication of the Lachrymae pavan was the lute solo, or perhaps even the song, already known in musical circles? This Phrygian cadence pattern, whose raised third in the final chord of the formula is not assumed by *musica ficta*, but written in, is a fairly new and somehow distinctively English motif, at least toward the end of the Renaissance. This formula was eventually adopted all over Europe, and seems to trace a more or less direct line from the "Lachrymae pavan" and "Flow my tears." Does this Morley canzonet help corroborate the theory of Dowland's early influence? In the light of the numerous Lachrymae parodies from the period which begin with just such cadential patterns, it is tempting to believe so. Morley, a truly gifted composer, was nevertheless more a follower than a trendsetter; he apparently emulated and even virtually pirated a Dowland song before the latter was printed in 1600.43

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43 Morley's "I saw my lady weeping" (Ex. 19, above) has been compared with Dowland's "I saw my lady weep" (Ex. 5, above), 60f., above.
William Holborne, *Ayres to Three Voices* (1597).

W. Holborne, "Gush forth, my tears," *Ayres to Three Voices*, No. 5.

"Gush forth, my tears" is a specimen of love-melancholy, to judge by its text:

Gush forth, my tears, and stay the burning either  
Of my poor heart, or her eyes, choose you whether.  
O peevish fond desire,  
For, out alas, my sighs still blow the fire.

The flowing of tears and the heaving of sighs described here are themes common to melancholia and lovesickness. In examining the opening strains of the piece, the relationship to Lachrymae is clear. This opening provides an excellent example of how all three L motives possible within a given minor key may be combined to produce the typical Phrygian cadence. This is accomplished by presenting the two versions of the L1 motives (one which descends from the tonic, the other from the dominant) by syncopating their descents, thus producing hidden fifths rather than parallel fifths as Holborne has done in "Gush forth" (Ex. 31).

Ex. 31. William Holborne, "Gush forth my tears," *Ayres to Three Voices* (1597), No. 5, mm. 1-4
George Kirbye, *First Set of Madrigals* (1597).

Kirbye, “Ah, sweet, alas, when first I saw,” *First Set of Madrigals*, No. 7.

Ah, sweet, alas, when first I saw those eyes,
Those eyes so rich with crystal majesty,
Their wounding beauty ‘gan to tyrannize
And made my eyes bleed tears full piteously.
I felt the wound yet feared I not the deed,
Till, ah, I found my tears did inward bleed.

This poet has clearly borrowed some of the peculiarly sombre elements of pure melancholia. The ghastly image of eyes being made to “bleed tears full piteously” is a metaphor which would probably not have been devised before Chapman’s *Shadow of Night* (1594) seems to have paved the way for the much of the frightfully dark poetry which was to follow.

Kirbye’s *First Set of Madrigals* contains several pieces which show him making use of the Lachrymae material. No. 7, “Ah sweet, alas, when first I saw” gives at least half a dozen faithful statements of various L motives in various parts, as well as several four-note descent patterns which correspond rhythmically but not intervallically with L1, in the first eighteen measures (Ex. 32). These are all clear references to “Flow my tears,” but apparently the association of these motives with the pure melancholic text, which has come to be regarded as the norm, was not yet as current as it would later become. Perhaps some poets and composers simply chose not to use the newer poetry, that of the type wherein a precise source of grief and woe is unspecified. This Kirbye madrigal concerns unrequited love, but it shows an early stage in the evolution of the adoption of Lachrymae motives into love-laments.
Ex. 32. George Kirbye, “Ah, sweet, alas, when first I saw,” *First set of Madrigals* (1597), No. 7, mm. 1-18
Kirbye, "Mourn now, my soul," First Set of Madrigals, No. 8.

"Mourn now, my soul" from the same First Set uses even more extensive employment of the imagery which is characteristic of pure melancholy:

Mourn now, my soul, with anguish of my pains;
   Crossed are my joys which hope did ever give;
Dry are mine eyes with shedding tears in vain;
   Dead is my heart which never more can live.
Hard are my torments, living thus in grief,
Harder her heart that yieldeth no relief.

Only the last line of the poem reveals that lost love lies at the bottom of this jeremiad. The rest of the text could easily be typical pure melancholy, with its "anguish of my pains," eyes dry from "shedding tears in vain," and "hard... torments living thus in grief."

Lachrymae motivic material is used pervasively between measures 28 and 39, in all voices, accompanying the words "Dry are mine eyes with shedding tears in vain" (Ex. 33).

Ex. 33. George Kirbye, "Mourn now, my soul," First Set of Madrigals (1597), No. 8, mm. 28-39

"Sorrow consumes me" and "O heavens, what shall I do?" in the same Kirbye volume form a two-part set, and here, the melancholic mood is clearly internally caused:

(The first part.)

Sorrow consumes me, and instead of rest
With folded arms I sadly sit and weep;
And if I wink it is for fear to see
The fearful dreams' effects that trouble me.

The poet describes winking "for fear to see / The fearful dreams' effects which trouble me," which recalls Campion's "The cypress curtain of the night" (66f., above):

But I alone with hideous grief aghast,
In spite of Morpheus' charms a watch do keep
O'er mine eyes to banish careless sleep.

Yet oft my trembling eyes through faintness close,
And then the map of hell before me stands...
In each case, the poet, deprived of sleep, winks with the fear and dread of ghostly dreams and visions, which amplify the state of despair.

No. 12 of this Kirbye pair does not appear to contain obvious Lachrymae material in spite of its text. No. 13 however, conspicuously does, but before examining its music, first consider the poem:

(The second part.)

O heavens, what shall I do? Alas, must I,
   Must I myself be murderer of myself?
   Must I myself be forced to ope the way
   Whereat my soul in wounds may sally forth?
Hard is my hap! and thus in grief I die.

Although many melancholic poems express the desire for death, this text might be regarded as an outright contemplation of suicide. One is reminded again of Hamlet's most famous soliloquy, in which he soberly considers ending his own life, to flee to that "undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns." On the other hand, this poem may be regarded more simply as a metaphor for the desire to escape the dreaded melancholic condition.

In measure 25 until the end of the piece, many different statements of various L motives are found: some in imitation, some elided together, some palindromic, and some combined to produce the usual Phrygian cadence formula, variously with the words "Whereat my soul in wounds may sally forth? / Hard is my hap! and thus in grief I die" (Ex. 34).

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Ex. 34. George Kirbye, "O heavens, what shall I do?" First Set of Madrigals (1597), No. 13, mm. 25-44
John Wilbye, *First Set of Madrigals* (1598).

John Wilbye is generally considered the finest of the English madrigal composers, and his *First Set of Madrigals* (1598) reveals that he was, like many of his contemporaries, well abreast of the new melancholic fashion.


Weep, O mine eyes, and cease not
Your spring tides, out alas, methinks increase not.
    O when begin you,
To swell so high that I may drown me in you?

The poet fears that the tide of his tears is in flow rather than ebb, and he anticipates the point whereat he will finally be inundated and drowned in the rising flood.

“Weep, O mine eyes” was to be set a year later by John Bennett, and as one would expect, both were to use Lachrymae motives in the service of a text which concerns the outpouring of tears and grief. In measures 4-7 of the Wilbye setting, with the words “Weep O mine eyes and cease not,” the composer has employed the elision of both L motives in the cantus, and the L2 motive in the altus, followed by the leap of a diminished fourth before the section’s cadence (Ex. 35). This arrangement is reiterated exactly in measures 21-24, since measures 18 ff. essentially repeat the opening section.

Ex. 35. John Wilbye, “Weep, O mine eyes,” *First Set of Madrigals* (1598) No. 4, mm. 4-7
Wilbye, “When shall my wretched life,” First Set of Madrigals, No. 25.

“When shall my wretched life,” offers a typically characteristic text:

When shall my wretched life give place to death?
That my sad cares may be enforced to leave me.
Come saddest shadow, stop my vital breath,
For I am thine, then let not care bereave me
Of thy sad thrall, but with thy fatal dart
Kill care and me, while care lies at my heart.

Once again, the desire for death is the central theme of this poem. “Come saddest shadow, stop my vital breath” recalls Dowland’s lyrics from “Come heavy sleep” (28, above) where can be found “Come shadow of my end and shape of rest . . . Whose spring of tears doth stop my vital breath.”

In measures 59ff., both L1 motives are used, syncopated between the bassus and sextus parts to avoid parallel fifths, with the words “Kill care and me.” In the altus part, where a straightforward statement of L2 could be expected, Wilbye instead brings the line up to b on the last note, cleverly placing the g-sharp in the tenor’s interjection, which provides the third in the Phrygian cadence. This gesture is reproduced several times, seamlessly overlapping, with motivic material in different voice parts, offering an artful tribute to Lachrymae (Ex. 36).

Ex. 36. John Wilbye, “When shall my wretched life,” First Set of Madrigals (1598), No. 25, mm. 59-84
Ex. 36, cont.

L1

Kill care, and me, While care lies at my heart.

L2

Kill care, and me, While care lies at my heart.

L1

 Kill care, and me, While care lies at my heart.

L2

Kill care, and me, While care lies at my heart.

L1

While care lies at my heart.
Wilbye, "Of joys and pleasing pains," and "My throat is sore," *First Set of Madrigals*, Nos. 26 and 27.

(The first part.)

Of joys and pleasing pains I late went singing,

O joys with pains, O pains with joys consenting,

And little thought as then of now repenting,

But now think of my then sweet bitter stinging.

All day long I my hands alas go wringing.

The baleful notes of which my sad tormenting,

Are ruth, and moan, frights, sobs, and loud lamenting

From hills and dales in my dull ears still ringing.

(The second part.)

My throat is sore, my voice is hoarse from skriking,

My rests are sighs deep from the heart-root fetched.

My song runs all on sharps, and with oft striking

Time on my breast, I shrink with hands outstretched.

Thus still and still I sing and ne'er am linning,

For still the close points to my first beginning.

The first part of this set begins by describing the oxymoronic state which is the world of the melancholic: pain and joy, past and present, and a "sweet bitter stinging." These are accompanied by the usual accoutrements of the melancholic state: "ruth and moan, frights, sobs, and loud lamenting." The second part employs musical puns with the ambiguous terms "rests" and "sharps" which are of course word-painted, and also expresses the venerable enigma in which "my end is my beginning and my beginning is my end."

"Of joys and pleasing pains," does not contain strong Lachrymae references, but "My throat is sore" definitely does. A cluster of L motives is stated briefly but clearly in measures 47-50, in the top three voices, with the words "Alas go wringing" (Ex. 37a). Later, in measures 64-70, the now common Lachrymae-type Phrygian cadence is

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45 This strange word appears to be a variant of "shrieking."

46 *Shorter OED* defines "lin" as "to cease; leave off; desist from."
created by L1 in the bassus against L2 in the sextus with the words “loud lamenting.” Immediately after, the altus gives L1 with the same words (Ex. 37b).

Ex. 37a. John Wilbye, “Of joys and pleasing pains,” First Set of Madrigals (1598), No. 26, mm. 47-50

Ex. 37b. Wilbye, “Of joys and pleasing pains,” mm. 64-70
John Bennett, *Madrigals to Four Voices* (1599).


"Weep, O mine eyes" is the same text set in Wilbye's *First Set of Madrigals* of the previous year. This poem has already been discussed (91, above), and needs no further treatment. The employment of Lachrymae motives is pervasive at the beginning of the piece. Each voice part begins with the clear statement of an L motive, including a palindromic arrangement in the altus part (Ex. 38).

Ex. 38. John Bennett, "Weep, O mine eyes," *Madrigals to Four Voices* (1599), No. 13, mm. 1-9
Richard Carlton, *Madrigals to Five Voices* (1601).


“Sound saddest notes” is the first of a bipartite set which is subtitled: “An Elegy in memorial of that honourable Knight sir John Shelton.” The funerary nature of the piece clearly makes it suitable for the adoption of melancholic poetic themes, recalling the Orphic archetype of doleful music as a response to tragic death:

Sound, saddest notes with rueful moaning;
   Tune every strain with tears and weeping;
Conclude each close with sighs and moaning;
   Sing but your song, no music keeping
Save direful sound of dismal word:
Shelton is slain with fatal sword.

Beginning in measure 20, the altus part gives a straightforward statement of L1 with the words “conclude each close,” supported by a non-Lachrymae four-note descent in the bass. Immediately following, the top three voices present the Phrygian cadence formula which employs all three L motives simultaneously (Ex. 39). By the turn of the seventeenth century, these various Lachrymae melodic and harmonic devices seem to have become standard musical ciphers for grief and sadness.

Ex. 39. Richard Carlton, “Sound, saddest notes,” *Madrigals to Five Voices* (1601), No. 11, mm. 20-24
Thomas Bateson, *First Set of Madrigals* (1604).

Bateson, “Whither so fast?” *First Set of Madrigals*, No. 7.

The title of this piece might suggest chagrin at the departure of a loved one, hence love-melancholy, but the full text does not exactly bear this out, even though L motives are featured with key phrases of text:

Whither so fast? see how the kindly flowers  
Perfume the air, and all to make thee stay.  
The climbing woodbind clipping all these bowers,  
Clips thee likewise, for fear thou pass away.  
Fortune, our friend, our foe will not gainsay.  
Stay but awhile, Phoebe no telltale is:  
She her Endymion, I’ll my Phoebe kiss.

It must be noted, in fairness, that some composers used the Lachrymae material prominently, but in setting texts which can hardly be called melancholic, even of the love variety. This appears to be the case in “Whither so fast.” The opening two measures give statements of all three L motives in the upper three voices with the title words (Ex. 40a). This formula had become virtually synonymous with the Lachrymae style and its usual melancholic texts, but here there is merely a suggestion of discontent, not of a melancholic complaint. A similar situation obtains in measures 28-30 with the words “stay but awhile” (Ex. 40b).

Ex. 40a. Thomas Bateson, “Whither so fast?” *First Set of Madrigals* (1604), No. 7, mm. 1-2
Bateson, "Alas, where is my love?" *First Set of Madrigals*, No. 18.

This text, especially the section in the corresponding Example, shows the language and imagery of melancholy adopted in the love lament:

Alas, where is my love, where is my sweeting,
That hath stolen away my heart? God send us meeting!
That renewing my lament with friendly greeting,
She may release my smart and all my weeping.
But if my sight she fly
Till heartless I die,
My grieved ghost with shrieks and dreadful crying,
Always about her flying,
Shall murmur out complaining
To be revenged of all her deep disdaining.

This poem is clearly an expression of love-melancholy, and in measures 38ff. the various L motives are employed, appropriately to set the words "Till heartless I die / My grieved ghost with shrieks and dreadful crying" (Ex. 41).
Ex. 41. Thomas Bateson, “Alas, where is my love,” *First Set of Madrigals* (1604), No. 18, mm. 37-54


“Since tears could not obtain” is the second part of a two-part set. This piece is a straightforward love lament, but less of the sombre melancholic imagery encountered in most other amorous complaints is present here:

Since tears could not obtain  
Of her some small compassion,  
Despair bid me refrain  
Sad tears and lamentation.  
And though I still did see her deep disdaining,  
Yet left I weeping, but my love still remaining.

In other love laments, Lachrymae motives are often used to enhance key words or phrases of text, and that is the case in this madrigal. Beginning in measure 53, various L motives are employed to set the words “and lamentation” (Ex. 42).

Ex. 42. Michael East, “Since tears could not obtain,” *Second Set of Madrigals* (1606), No. 8, mm. 52-59
Robert Jones, *First Set of Madrigals* (1607).


"Come, doleful owl" is one of the few pieces from the period in which the word "melancholy" is actually mentioned, and must be considered a paragon of the poetic style:

Come doleful owl, the messenger of woe,
Melancholy's bird, companion of despair,
Sorrow's best friend and mirth's professed foe,
The chief discourser that delights sad care.
O come, poor owl, and tell thy woes to me,
Which having heard, I'll do the like for thee.

This piece could be regarded as a study in the various possible L motives, and contains so many obvious Lachrymae references, that for brevity's sake, only those found at the beginning and end of the piece will be illustrated. It opens with the familiar Phrygian cadence between the cantus and quintus parts. It also features the palindromic arrangement of L1 in the tenor entry, as well as retrograde statements of L1 in the altus entry and in the cantus part in measures 5-6 with the words "doleful owl." Each entering part gives some form of L motive (Ex. 43a). Internally, a varied assortment of Lachrymae motives support key-words and phrases of text, e.g., "melancholy's bird" and "companion of despair." The closing measures present L motives in each voice part with the words "I'll do the like for thee" (Ex. 43b). Many more L motives are employed in this piece, but these examples should serve to support the idea, encountered above in this study of his lute songbooks, that Robert Jones was keenly aware of Lachrymae motivic material, and of its melancholic significance.
Ex. 43a. Robert Jones, "Come doleful owl," First Set of Madrigals (1607), No. 13, mm. 1-9

Ex. 43b. Jones, "Come doleful owl," mm. 79-83
Henry Youll, *Canzonets to Three Voices* (1608).

Youll, "Slow, slow, fresh fount," *Canzonets to Three Voices*, No. 8.

"Slow, slow, fresh fount" is a beautiful specimen of poetic melancholy by Ben Jonson:

> Slow, slow, fresh fount; keep time with my salt tears.
> Yet slower yet. O faintly, gentle springs,
> List to the heavy part the music bears;
> Woe weeps out her divisions when she sings.
> Droop, herbs and flowers.
> Fall, grief, in showers.
> Our beauties are not ours.
> O I should still,
> Like melting snow upon some craggy hill,
> Drop, drop, O drop,
> Since Nature's pride is now a withered daffodil.

This text strongly recalls that of "Flow not so fast ye fountains" (43, above) from Dowland's *Third and Last Book* (1603). Much of the imagery is shared by these two poems. In each, the fountain of tears is beckoned to diminish; there is the image of water spilling over and running down a mountainous peak; the poet describes "gentle springs" and "salt tears" -- developing the common metaphor of the eyes as wellsprings of tears. The version by Jonson is clearly superior to that used by Dowland, but each expresses the "droop" or "dropping" which is the melancholic's general downward inclination, accompanied by the similar falling of tears.

In the music to a text such as that by Jonson, it is not surprising to see Lachrymae material featured. In the second measure, the cantus voice starts the retrograde-palindrome technique which apparently originally derives from Dowland's "Flow my tears" with the words "hark you shadows that in darkness dwell" (Ex. 1d, above), but instead of descending from a' to g'-sharp as usual for the end of the phrase, the line cleverly goes on to state instead L1, descending through g'-natural to
Phrygian cadences are formed by the combination of L1 and L2 in the upper two voices in measures 23-24 for the words "faintly, gentle springs" (Ex. 44b) and measures 35-36 with the words "the heavy part the music bears" (Ex. 44c). The section for the words "Drop, drop, O drop" neatly dovetails various statements of Lachrymae in all three parts so that in measures 77-78, the three possible L motives are presented simultaneously, in the usual syncopated manner, before the bass goes on to descend to d' (Ex. 44d). The opportunity for word-painting here is nicely exploited.

Ex. 44a. Henry Youll, "Slow, slow, fresh fount," *Canzonets to Three Voices* (1608), No. 8, mm. 1-7
Ex. 44b. Youll “Slow, slow, fresh fount,” mm. 23-24
Ex. 44c. Youll, “Slow, slow fresh fount,” mm. 35-36

Ex. 44d. Youll, “Slow, slow, fresh fount,” mm. 76-80


In John Wilbye's *Second Set of Madrigals* (1609), the composer again uses melancholic poetry, with references to the Lachrymae complex of motives, again in a variety of ways.


Weep, weep, mine eyes, my heart can take no rest;
Weep, weep, my heart, mine eyes shall ne'er be blest;
Weep eyes, weep heart, and both this accent cry:
A thousand deaths I die, I die.
Cruel Fortune, to die I fear not,
Death, now do thy worst, I fear not!
I hope when I am dead in Elysian plain
To meet, and there with joy we'll love again.
This poem is typically melancholic, albeit with a curious final twist. Exactly whom the poet hopes to rejoin in the afterworld is not clear, perhaps the personifications of Fortune, Death, or even the unrequiting object of his affections.

"Weep, weep, mine eyes" has the tenor part with the original L1 motive of "Flow my tears" both melodically and rhythmically, for the opening words "Weep, weep" (Ex. 45). Other four-note descents in this rhythm (some L1 motives, some not) are used in the first twenty measures.

Ex. 45. John Wilbye, "Weep, weep, mine eyes," Second Set of Madrigals (1609), No. 23, mm. 1-2

Wilbye, "O wretched man," Second Set of Madrigals, No. 27.

This text is a truly atrabilious complaint, wherein is seen the familiar rejection of the world as vain, fruitless, and troublesome:

O wretched man, why lovest thou earthly life,
   Which nought enjoys but cares and endless trouble?
What pleasure here breeds but a world of grief?
   What hour's ease that anguish doth not double?
No earthly joys but have their discontents.
Then loathe that life which causeth such laments.

The opening of "O wretched man" gives clear statements of L1 in the entries of
the quintus, tenor, and altus parts. The quintus presents the elided version of both L motives with the title words (Ex. 46). This was undoubtedly enough to establish the melancholic disposition of this piece, since although other references to L motives can be seen in the rest of the composition, Wilbye later develops musical ideas in this madrigal which are not directly linked to "Flow my tears."

Ex. 46. John Wilbye, "O wretched man," Second Set of Madrigals (1609), No. 27, mm. 1-8

Wilbye, "Draw on, sweet night," Second Set of Madrigals, No. 31.

In poetic terms, "Draw on, sweet night" represents something of a textbook case:

Draw on sweet night! best friend unto those cares
That do arise from painful melancholy;
My life so ill, through want of comfort fares,
That unto thee I consecrate it wholly.

Sweet night draw on! My griefs when they be told
To shades and darkness, find some ease from paining,
And while thou all in silence dost enfold,
I then shall have best time for my complaining.

The poet invokes the familiar themes of night, darkness, and grief so common in the style, and actually uses the word "melancholy," as do a very small handful of authors of
similar texts by other composers. Chapman, in his *Shadow of Night* (1594) never uses the term, although it is clear that melancholy lies at the heart of the work. The first stanza of Wilbye's poem above recalls Chapman's words (11, above):

_Come consecrate with me to sacred night
Your whole endeavours, and detest the light._

In each of the Chapman and Wilbye texts, the poet dedicates his all to the melancholic archetype of Night.

It has been seen that Wilbye used the Lachrymae material with skill and resourcefulness. Seldom content simply to reiterate the Lachrymae material, Wilbye has here transposed the descending four-note patterns of the Lachrymae complex from minor mode to major (Ex. 47). There is no doubt that the source of this motivic material, which pervades this piece, is "Flow my tears," and the alteration of L1 to major mode is not unprecedented. The opening strains of Dowland's "Come heavy sleep" present the original L1 motive exactly, but in major mode (Ex. 4, above).

Ex. 47. John Wilbye, "Draw on sweet night," *Second Set of Madrigals* (1609), No. 31, mm. 1-4

![Ex. 47. John Wilbye, "Draw on sweet night," *Second Set of Madrigals* (1609), No. 31, mm. 1-4](image)
Orlando Gibbons, *First Set of Madrigals and Motets* (1612).


Gibbons' First *Set of Madrigals and Motets* (1612) makes use of a poem, which, although strictly speaking would appear to be a manifestation of lovesickness, is still couched within the language and imagery of pure melancholy. Nos. 7, “How art thou thralled,” and 8, “Farewell all joys,” of this book, which form a pair, read as follows:

(The first part.)

How art thou thralled, O poor despised creature?  
Sith by creation Nature made thee free.  
O traitorous eyes, to gaze so on her feature  
That quits with scorn thy dear lost liberty.

(The second part.)

Farewell all joys, O hell,  
Now restless cares my pillow:  
Sweet myrtle shades, farewell;  
Now come sad cypress and forlorn loves' willow.  
She smiles, she laughs, she joys at my tormenting.  
Break then, poor heart, tossed on Despair's black billow  
O let me die lamenting.

Gibbons apparently never used the Lachrymae material with the systematic consistency, nor with the frequency of say, Jones or Wilbye, but he clearly understood its meaning, and we can find some telling references in this pair of pieces. In No. 7, the cantus gives a statement of L2 in measures 2-3, with the title words (Ex. 48). This would have sent an instantly recognizable signal to virtually any listener of the period that grief is the main business of the piece, even if the title were not known. Measures 40-47 of No. 8 present a constellation of four-note descents with the words “Break
then, poor heart” (Ex. 49). Some of these statements recall Lachrymae motives and others do not, but the significance of these musical gestures accompanying these dolorous words is clear enough.

Ex. 48. Orlando Gibbons, “How art thou thrallèd,” First Set of Madrigals and Motets (1612), No. 7, mm. 1-3

Ex. 49. Orlando Gibbons, “Farewell all joys,” First Set of Madrigals and Motets (1612), No. 8, mm. 39-47

Gibbons, “Nay, let me weep,” “Ne’er let the Sun,” and “Yet if that age,” First Set of Madrigals and Motets, Nos. 17, 18, and 19.

Nos. 17, 18, and 19 of the same Gibbons book form a musical triptych and are clearly a funeral elegy although they are not indicated as such. L motives and Phrygian cadence formulas are employed, but sparingly and not particularly
significantly. What is more interesting is the text, which presents a classic case of how textual features of pure melancholy had been assimilated into elegiac poems:

(The first part.)
Nay let me weep, though others' tears be spent,
Though all eyes dried be, let mine be wet.
Unto thy grave I'll pay this yearly rent,
Thy lifeless corse demands of me this debt.
I owe more tears than ever corse did crave;
I'll pay more tears than e'er was paid to grave.

(The second part.)
Ne'er let the Sun with his deceiving light
Seek to make glad these watery eyes of mine.
My sorrow suits with melancholy night.
  I joy in dole, in languishment I pine.
My dearest friend is set, he was my Sun,
With whom my mirth, my joy, and all is done.

(The third part.)
Yet if that age had frosted o'er his head,
  Or if his face had furrowed been with years,
I would not so bemoan that he is dead,
  I might have been more niggard of my tears.
But O the Sun new-rose is gone to bed,
And lilies in their spring-time hang their head.

The text reveals that the unidentified deceased was male and young. Premature death is certainly cause for mourning, and the poet has adopted some characteristic features of melancholic poetry. "My sorrow suits with melancholy night" explicitly connects the reaction to death with the black humour. Observed again is the melancholic's paradoxical love of grief ("I joy in dole"). The images of the setting sun and the drooping flowers are also typical of the melancholic's downward orientation.
Francis Pilkington, *Madrigals and Pastorals of 3, 4, and 5 Parts* (1613).

Pilkington, “Pour forth, mine eyes,” *Madrigals and Pastorals*, No. 3.

The distinction between pure melancholy and love-melancholy is often blurred around the turn of the seventeenth century, and “Pour forth, mine eyes” from the second decade of the 1600s illustrates this tendency. The title certainly suggests that this madrigal is firmly rooted in the melancholic tradition, but again, this poem is a lover’s complaint which adopts some of the trappings of melancholic verse:

Pour forth, mine eyes, the fountains of your tears
Break heart, and die, for now no hope appears.
Hope, upon which before my thoughts were fed,
Hath left me quite forlorn and from me fled.
Yet see, she smiles; O see, some hope appears.
Hold heart, and live; mine eyes, cease off your tears.

Eyes pouring, fountain-like, the tragic departure of hope, the heart which is broken and dead -- these textual themes occur many times. Interesting in this piece is the sudden, hopeful change of mood brought on by the smile of the woman who is the object of the poet’s affections. This abrupt turn of events is reminiscent of the last stanza of Dowland’s “I saw my lady weep” (32, above) wherein the poet first admires the doleful demeanour of the grieving lady, then suddenly declares:

Enough, enough, your joyful looks excels,
Tears kill the heart, believe,
O strive not to be excellent in woe . . .

The title of the Pilkington madrigal leads one to imagine that it might be a Lachrymae parody, and it is exactly that. The opening measures give each of the three voice parts clear statements of assorted L motives, in a blatant tribute to “Flow my tears” (Ex. 50).
Ex. 50. Francis Pilkington, “Pour forth, mine eyes,” *Madrigals and Pastorals of 3, 4, and 5 Parts* (1613), No. 3, mm. 1-8

John Ward, *Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources*.

As a madrigalist, John Ward presents an interesting case in that he probably uses more references to Lachrymae material proportionally in his extant madrigals than do any other composers of the genre. Ward also wrote sacred and instrumental music, and published but one madrigal collection, the *First Set of Madrigals* (1613), although a small collection of other madrigals survives in manuscript. Ward gives the impression of a composer who is fascinated by the use of the Lachrymae motives. He employs them in opening gestures of pieces in the manner of many other Lachrymae parodies, as well as internally and in endings, but with a variety of texts -- some truly melancholic; others, rather less. In Ward's case, it seems that the use of Lachrymae material had been completely assimilated into his brilliant technique, but had not always completely retained its original textual associations.
Ward, “Cruel unkind, O stay thy flying,” Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources, No. 1.

The first three prices in Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources are Lachrymae parodies. The text is to “Cruel unkind” concerns unrequited love, but is suitably tormented:

Cruel unkind, O stay thy flying,
Lest with thy flight thou cause me dying.
Pity the wretch that for thy love doth languish,
With cruel pain and undeserved anguish.

This madrigal opens in the fashion of a plethora of other such “Flow my tears” tributes, with the pervasive use of L motives and Phrygian cadential patterns. (Ex. 51).

Ex. 51. John Ward, “Cruel unkind, O stay thy flying,” Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources, No. 1, mm. 1-8

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Ward, "Down in a dale a nymph sat weeping," Madrigals and Elegies, No. 2.

The first line of text provides a lachrymose textual association, but the rest of the poem is quite uncharacteristic in that it concerns not unrequited, but fulfilled love:

Down in a dale a nymph sat weeping;
A lovely swain lay by her sleeping.
She jogged and jogged to have him wake
He hunched and punched and nothing spake.
She gave him twenty and twenty kisses,
Besides her sighs and amorous wishes,
Till Echo from her plaints did chide him
Which made him wake and run; to hide him
In a pleasant thicket by, after him the nymph did hie,
And for his churlishness before,
He pleased her so she cried no more.

The use of this lusty pastoral text in a piece which is clearly a Lachrymae parody would tend to indicate that the use of a pure melancholic, or even a love-melancholic text with these motives was not necessarily of great importance to Ward.

The opening of "Down in a dale," is replete with both L motives (and a few non-Lachryme four-note descents in the characteristic rhythm), unmistakably pointing to the Lachrymae pavan as its ultimate source (Ex. 52).

Ex. 52. John Ward, "Down in a dale a nymph sat weeping," Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources, No. 2, mm. 1-7
Ward, "My breast I'll set upon a silver stream," *Madrigals and Elegies*, No. 3.

My breast I'll set upon a silver stream,
   And swim unto Elysium's fields;
There, in Ambrosian trees, I'll write a theme
   Of all the woeful sighs my sorrow yields.
A heavy, sad, and swan-like song sing I
To ease my heart awhile before I die.

The myth of the dying swan fits neatly into the parameters of melancholic expression; the desire for death being expressed through music has become one of the most recurrent textual themes in melancholic poetry. Doleful song, after a life of mute silence, fittingly signifies the death of the legendary bird. There are several uses of the L motives in this piece, but the opening strains, with the title words, are the most characteristic (Ex. 53).
Ex. 53. John Ward, "My breast I'll set upon a silver stream," *Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources*, No. 3, mm. 1-9

John Ward, *First Set of Madrigals* (1613).

Ward, "Oft have I tendered," *First Set of Madrigals*, No. 20.

This text is one of the few to employ the word "melancholy," but clearly here it is more precisely love-melancholy:

Oft have I tendered tributary tears,
Mixed with grief and melancholy fears;
And sometimes frolic hope, sad woes beguiling,
Hath shined on my desires. O but from smiling,
Of late she changed, my sorrow not resenting,
Bade me despair, sigh, groan, and die lamenting.
Ex. 54a. John Ward, "Oft have I tendered," *First Set of Madrigals* (1613) No. 20, mm. 1-12.
"Oft have have I tendered" shows the composer somewhat obsessed with the L1 motive and other four-note melodic descent patterns with the same rhythm in the beginning of the piece (Ex. 54a). In measures 28ff. there are numerous uses of L motives, as well as other melodically related descending fourths, appropriately with the words "and melancholy fears." A colourful clash between f-natural and f-sharp is found in measure 31 (Ex. 54b). From measure 93 to the end of the piece, there is a veritable polyphonic outpouring of Lachrymae motives and closely related descending melodic patterns with the words "groan and die lamenting" (Ex. 54c).

Ex. 54b. Ward, "Oft have I tendered," mm. 27-38

As love-melancholic poetry, "Out from the vale" is typically indebted to the language and imagery of its pure counterpart:

Out from the vale of deep despair  
With mournful tunes I fill the air,  
To satisfy my restless ghost,  
Which Daphne's cruelty hath lost.  
O'er hills and dales in her dull ears  
I'll send my notes with bitter tears.

"Out from the vale," features Lachrymae material significantly, in this case at the end of the piece, beginning in measure 73ff. with the words "I'll send my notes with bitter tears" (Ex. 55). Again, there is a pervasive use of L motives (including palindromes) as well as other four-note descent patterns, producing the striking and descriptive cascading effect. Also featured is that distinctively English dissonance created by the simultaneous sounding of natural and chromatically altered forms of a note, in this instance f^4 and f-sharp (very similar to that found in Ex. 54b, above) in measure 79 -- "bitter notes" indeed.

Ex. 55. John Ward, "Out from the vale," *First Set of Madrigals* (1613), No. 21, mm. 73-79
Ward, "If the deep sighs," and "There's not a grove," *First Set of Madrigals*, Nos. 23 and 24.

"If the deep sighs" and "There's not a grove" in the same Ward collection, form a pair, setting a pair of poems by Michael Drayton:

*(The first part.)*

If the deep sighs of an afflicted breast
    O'erwhelmed with sorrow, or the 'rected eyes
Of a poor wretch with miseries oppressed,
    For whose complaints tears never could suffice,
Have not the power your deities to move;
Who shall e'er look for succour from above?
From whom too long I tarried for relief,
Now ask for death, which only ends my grief.

*(The second part.)*

There's not a grove that wonders not my woe,
    Nor not a river weeps not at my tale;
I hear the echoes (wandering to and fro),
    Resound my grief through every hill and dale.
The birds, the beasts, yet in their simple kind,
Lament for me. No pity else I find.
And tears I find do bring no other good,
But, as new showers, increase the rising flood.

Although there is no direct reference, this tale of woe could easily be that of Orpheus, whose musical grief evoked the pity of the forces of Nature, including "echoes . . . birds and beasts." On the other hand, this may simply be a specimen of melancholy pure and simple, precisely because no direct cause of the wretched condition is overtly stated. Many familiar themes are present here, perhaps most characteristically, the final two lines which describe once again a "flood of tears."

Both of these pieces are filled with tantalizing references to Lachrymae motives, which Ward had clearly incorporated into his basic technique. The most faithful of
these are to be found in No. 23, measures 46ff. with the words "for whose complaints tears never could suffice," where are found numerous statements in various voice parts, of both L motives, sometimes in parallel motion in pairs to create the Phrygian cadence, at other times overlapping in close imitation (Ex. 56). In No. 24, the most telling use of the Lachrymae material is found at the end of the piece, with the fitting words "increase the rising flood," where the profusion of L motives illustrates the falling of tears in a cascade of descending fourths (Ex. 57).

Ex. 56. John Ward, "If the deep sighs," *First Set of Madrigals* (1613), No. 23, mm. 46-61
Ex. 56, cont.

Ex. 57. John Ward, “There’s not a grove,” First Set of Madrigals (1613), No. 24, mm. 150-156


Because of Ward’s extensive assimilation of the Lachrymae material into his style, his music has occupied a proportionately large section of this study. One more example, “Weep forth your tears,” from the First Set, will suffice to show Ward as a most important exponent of the Lachrymae style. This piece, subtitled “In memory of Prince Henry”\(^\text{48}\) is of course a funeral composition, but yet again tragic death

\(^{48}\) Henry, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of James I, died in 1612.
becomes an opportunity to express the dark and dolorous sentiments of melancholy:

Weep forth your tears and do lament. He's dead,  
Who, living, was of all the world beloved.  
Let dolorous lamenting still be spread  
Through all the earth, that all hearts may be moved  
To sigh and plain,  
Since Death Prince Henry hath slain.  
O had he lived our hopes had still increased;  
But he is dead, and all our joys deceased.

The title of this elegy is a virtually sure sign of the type of musical material which will accompany it, and the opening strains of the piece do not disappoint expectations. Again, Ward has used both L motives, and other similar four-note descent patterns to set the opening phrase of text “Weep forth your tears and do lament” in yet another salute to Dowland's "Flow my tears" (Ex. 58).

Ex. 58. John Ward, “Weep forth your tears,” First Set of Madrigals (1613), No. 28, mm 1-19
Ex. 58, cont.

Weep forth your tears, and do
and do lament, weep forth your tears,
and do lament, weep forth your tears,
and do lament, weep forth your tears, and
do lament, weep forth your tears, and

Weep, weep, weep, weep
and do lament, weep.

Lament, lament, weep, weep
and do lament, lament.

Lament, lament, weep, weep
and do lament, lament, weep.

Lament, lament, weep, weep
and do lament, lament, weep, weep.

Weep, weep, do, do, do
Weep, weep, do, do, do
Weep, weep, do, do, do
Weep, weep, do, do, do


By the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, the English madrigal had passed its zenith and was in the twilight of its life. Even so, in Thomas Bateson’s *Second Set of Madrigals* (1618) neither melancholic poetry nor its association with the Lachrymae motivic material had yet gone out of fashion. “Sadness sit down” shows that Bateson’s understanding of melancholic poetry and its musical associations was more in keeping with the aesthetic of pure melancholy than his earlier attempts (98-100, Exs. 40 and 41, above) from the *First Set* of 1604:

Sadness, sit down, on my soul feed,
   Tear up, thoughts, tomb a numbed heart.
Make wounds to speak and scars to bleed,
   On withered strings tune springing smart.
And leave this farewell for posterity.
Life is a death where sorrow cannot die.

The typical expression of agony and heartbreak, the musical reference (“On withered strings tune springing smart”), and the oxymoronic paradox (“Life is a death”) -- these are all textual themes which are characteristic in melancholic poetry. This association is made even plainer by the music of the opening measures, with the title words, which indicate that Lachrymae is its ultimate source (Ex. 59).

Ex. 59. Thomas Bateson, “Sadness, sit down,” *Second Set of Madrigals* (1618), No. 16, mm. 1-3

East, “Weep not, dear love,” *Fourth Set of Books*, No. 23

“Weep not, dear love” presents an interesting poetic example, one which is somewhat difficult to categorize:

Weep not, dear love, but joy; I am a-dying.
O cease this crying.
For tears and sighs and moaning
No ways can help; but Death will end my groaning.

The poet addresses his love, but the rest of the text seems to fit neatly into the pure melancholic classification. No reason is given for “my groaning;” death is the desired state, and its approach is cause for joy.

The first seventeen measures of this madrigal use the Lachrymae motivic material to produce the oft-seen Phrygian cadence in various vocal parts (Ex. 60a). We see another example of the formulaic use of the L motives in measures 24-29 with the words “O cease this crying” (Ex. 60b).

Ex. 60a. Michael East, “Weep not, dear love,” *Fourth Set of Books* (1618), No. 23, mm. 1-13
Ex. 60b. East, "Weep not, dear love," mm. 24-29

Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts* (1622).

Tomkins, "O let me live" and "O let me die," *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts*, Nos. 7 and 8.

Thomas Tomkins' *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts* is the last collection of madrigals which will occupy this study, and it is certainly one of the last books in the genre which must be regarded stylistically as pre-Baroque. Even at this late date, melancholic poetic fashion was still current, as was its association with motivic
material derived from Lachrymae. Although the poetry in the pair of Nos. 7, “O let me live for true love,” and 8, “O let me die for true love,” cannot be regarded as completely melancholic, they are both Lachrymae parodies. Even more significantly, they are dedicated “To Doctor Dowland” and “To Master John Danyel” respectively. Although Danyel apparently left only one book of lute songs, it is now regarded as the most sophisticated, and of the finest quality after the collections of Dowland -- an opinion which was apparently shared by at least one of Danyel’s own contemporaries. Although these pieces are clearly Lachrymae tributes, the poetry of the first part of the pair is decidedly unmelancholic:

(The first part.)

O let me live for true love.
   Fa la la.
O let me live, yet let me live no longer
   Than that my life may make my love the stronger.
     O let me live for true love.
       Fa la la.

(The second part.)

O let me die for true love.
   Fa la la.
O let not Hope or old Time come to end my woe.
     O let me die for true love.
       Fa la la.

The second part is poetically much more in keeping with the melancholic style which is usually associated with Lachrymae material, but the effect is somewhat mitigated by the anomalous inclusion of “Fa la la.”

No. 7 opens with a reference to “Flow my tears” which had become so common, but in measure 3 the altus voice gives c'-natural, rather than the c'-sharp which would form L2 and the Phrygian cadence (Ex. 61). In No. 8, another altered arrangement of L motives is seen, where the final note in the four-note sequence
ascends, rather than descending, in the top three voices beginning in measure 14, with the words "O let me die" (Ex. 62).

Ex. 61. Thomas Tomkins, "O let me live for true love," *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts* (1622), No. 7, mm. 1-3

Ex. 62. Thomas Tomkins, "O let me die for true love," *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts* (1622), No. 8, mm. 1-4

Tomkins, "Was ever wretch tormented," *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts*, No. 21.

A much more characteristic example of melancholic poetic style is seen in No. 21, of the same Tomkins collection, "Was ever wretch tormented:"

*Was ever wretch tormented  
  In midst of heaven retiring?*  
*Was ever soul contented  
  In midst of hellish firing?*  
Yet I with flames requited,  
Am in my hell delighted.
And in my heavens languish
With pining grief and anguish.

This text is one of the best descriptions of the melancholic's world of inverted contradiction. Nothing is what it seems, but is rather its own opposite; heaven is a place where the poet finds only "pining grief and anguish," whereas hell is the preferred residence and a source of delight.

The final seven measures of the piece give L motives to each of the voice parts, to accompany the closing line of text (Ex. 63).

Ex. 63. Thomas Tomkins, "Was ever wretch tormented," Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts (1622), No. 21, mm. 104-110

This study of the Lachrymae motivic material coupled with melancholic poetry in English vocal music is now concluded. From prototypes in consort song, through the parallel developments of lute song and madrigal, it is clear that melancholic vocal music constitutes a style in its own right, which evolved in the hands of England's best composers from the 1590s until its latest examples of the early 1620s.
It is clear from the study of English vocal music that Dowland's "Flow my tears" and its musical language captivated the imaginations of Dowland's contemporaries. This fascination is also in evidence in the composition of instrumental pieces. Although it may be problematic to designate music without lyrics as melancholic, certain pieces of instrumental music in England at the turn of the seventeenth century show an unmistakable influence from Dowland's "Lachrymae pavan." Dowland's own reworking of the original tune into *Lachrymae, or Seven Tears* has been discussed (52, above). This chapter will very briefly examine some representative examples of Lachrymae parodies in English instrumental music.

Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains, and Other Short Airs* (1599).

Anthony Holborne presents an interesting case as a Lachrymae-style composer. *Pavans, Galliards, Almains, and Other Short Airs*, for five-part consort, contains Lachrymae parodies, and most of these parodies have titles which indicate that Holborne was aware of the connection of the Lachrymae motives to the fashionable trend of melancholy. Printed music for consort is quite rare in England at the turn of the seventeenth century, and it is likely that Holborne's 1599 publication provided some inspiration for Dowland's *Lachrymae or Seven Tears* (1604). Dowland was at any rate sufficiently impressed by *Pavans, Galliards, and Almains* to dedicate "I saw my lady weep" (Ex. 5, above) of the *Second Book* (1600) "To the most famous, Anthony Holborne."
Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains, and Other Short Airs* (1599).


As with virtually all instrumental parodies of the "Lachrymae pavan," Holborne's pieces begin with quotes of the opening of the original prototype. This is the case in Nos. 7, 21, 23, 27, and 49: "Pavan," "Infernum," "Spero," "Image of melancholy," and "Ploravit" (Exs. 64-68). Nos. 23 and 27 give the opening L1 motive transposed to major mode much in the manner of Dowland's "Come, heavy sleep" and Wilbye's "Draw on, sweet night" (Exs. 4 and 45, above).

Ex. 64. Anthony Holborne, "Pavan," *Pavans, Galliards, Almains and Other Short Airs* (1599), No. 7, m. 1

Ex. 65. A. Holborne, "Infernum," *Pavans, Galliards, and Almains*, No. 21, mm. 1-2
Ex. 66. A. Holborne, “Spero,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains, No. 23, mm. 1-2

Ex. 67. A. Holborne, “Image of melancholy,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains, No. 27, m. 1

Ex. 68. A. Holborne, “Pavana ploravit,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains, No. 49, mm. 1-2


Holborne also wrote compositions for lute solo which survive in manuscript. Some of these have the same descriptive titles as items from his 1599 publication, and are essentially solo instrument arrangements of the same pieces. All three Lachrymae parodies for lute solo in *Music for Lute and Bandora* naturally also begin with referential quotes of the original "Lachrymae pavan" These, in order, are originally found in Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd. 2.11, Ms. Dd. 5.78.3, and Glasgow University Library, Euing Ms. R.d. 43 (Exs. 69-71).

Ex. 69. Anthony Holborne, "Pavana ploravit," *Music for Lute and Bandora*, No. 16, m.1

Ex. 70. A. Holborne, "Internum," *Music for Lute and Bandora*, No. 17, m.1

Ex. 71. A. Holborne, "Image of melancholy," *Music for Lute and Bandora*, No. 21, m.1
Other obvious salutes to the "Lachrymae pavan" are found in keyboard pieces which motivically and formally follow Dowland's original lute solo. Sometimes the parodies are openly referred to as Lachrymae pieces, sometimes not, but the typical keyboard composition follows Dowland's prototype in that each is a tripartite pavan, wherein each section is made up of a fairly straightforward statement of the melodic material, followed by a highly ornamented reprise.

_Fitzwilliam Virginal Book._


Three examples of Lachrymae keyboard parodies are found in the _Fitzwilliam Virginal Book_. William Byrd composed a setting entitled "Pavana Lachrymae;" Thomas Morley has a piece entitled simply "Pavana" (but is clearly a Lachrymae piece); and Giles Farnaby has a version entitled "Lachrymae Pavan." Each gives the opening phrase in the original rhythm derived from Dowland's prototype (Exs. 72-74). The composition dates of these pieces have apparently never been exactly determined, but it is certainly safe to assume that they were all composed within the time frame which is the focus of this study.

Orlando Gibbons wrote a keyboard piece (New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5612) which has been dated as originating between 1620-1660, although the style of the piece itself would tend to indicate the earlier part of this period. Though entitled simply "Pavan," its opening measures reveal that it is clearly another Lachrymae parody (Ex. 75).

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Thomas Tomkins, *Consort Music, Musica Britannica* LIX.


Thomas Tomkins composed a pavan for five-part consort which is found in a manuscript compiled by Francis Tregian, Lbl 3665, and has been dated to c. 1615.\(^50\) Although the simple "Pavan IX" title gives no indication, the plethora of L1 motives, with other similar descending fourth patterns in the same rhythm within the first section, makes it virtually inconceivable that it is not inspired by Lachrymae (Ex. 76).

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These instrumental examples probably represent only a portion of English instrumental music which used Dowland's Lachrymae as both model and inspiration. There are also similar examples from the continent which are not of concern here since they are not English in origin, even though they are certainly worthy of study.
Dowland and his melancholic emblem Lachrymae had so captivated the imaginations of his contemporaries that English music from the period abounds with references, parodies, tributes, emulations, and salutes to "Flow my tears." Musically and poetically, melancholy may be regarded as marking a distinct periodic style which seems to trace a more or less direct line to Dowland, whose "Lachrymae Pavan" and "Flow my tears" exerted a large and momentous influence upon the poets and composers whose careers flourished during the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods.

The early sixteenth-century Florentine revaluation of the melancholic humour appears to be the philosophical source of English melancholy. This movement, which spanned beyond the first half of the century in Italy, was eventually transplanted to England, where George Chapman apparently made his Shadow of Night (1594) the virtual manifesto of the "new" melancholic. The language and imagery of Chapman's work bears a close relationship to the melancholic poetic themes employed by Dowland and his fellow composers. Themes of pure melancholy recur throughout the literature: the female personification of Melancholy, the obsession with death and darkness, the downward falling of tears and fortunes, paradox and oxymoron, and abject grief and despair, to name but a few.

In the context of melancholy, a study of English secular music of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean eras usefully begins with an investigation of Dowland's "Flow my tears" and the characteristic employment of the L motives in Dowland's other melancholic songs. Dowland's use of this motivic material may be employed as a starting point for the investigation of the use of these same motives in the melancholic works of Dowland's colleagues. A large proportion of Dowland's
contemporaries were evidently keenly aware of Dowland's work, and used the Lachrymae motives in the service of setting melancholic texts. Some composers appear to be well-informed of the philosophical underpinnings of melancholic style. Both Robert Jones and John Wilbye not only use texts which reveal an understanding of this philosophical background, but also both employ L motives in ways which clearly display their grasp of these motives as melancholic musical signifiers. John Ward evidently used more Lachrymae motivic material in his madrigals than any other composer in the genre, but not always in a pure melancholic context. In the realm of instrumental music, Anthony Holborne wrote Lachrymae parodies whose titles clearly show his awareness of the melancholic significance of the L motives. Among the more than twenty composers and roughly forty music books studied here, Jones, Ward, Wilbye, and A. Holborne are probably the most important exponents of the Lachrymae style after Dowland. Throughout the works surveyed, Lachrymae motivic material is most typically employed at the beginnings and endings of pieces, as well as internally to set key words or phrases of text. Retrogrades of the L motives, palindromic arrangements, and alterations of the original four-note motives, are also employed.

Possible antecedents to Dowland may be found in French chansons, Italian madrigals, and English consort songs. Although none of these genres provides a definitive source for Dowland's use of the L motives, all may usefully be addressed as possibilities. As for antecedents to Chapman's Shadow of Night, the situation is much more difficult. This bizarre poem seems to appear suddenly, in full-blown manifestation, as if out of nowhere.

Although the revalued pure melancholy which began in Florence with Ficino and Agrippa von Nettesheim is in evidence in the poetry chosen by Dowland and his contemporaries, the distinction between pure melancholy and love-melancholy quickly blurs as the style evolves. Even if it is possible to isolate manifestations of pure melancholy on the basis of poetic texts wherein no external cause for the condition is
named, many poets and composers apparently make no distinction at all between pure melancholy and its lovelorn counterpart. Both love-laments and funeral elegies in England adopt the dark language and imagery of pure melancholy around the turn of the seventeenth century, as a result of the general interest in the condition and its relationship to non-melancholic grief. This adaptation of melancholic imagery in love-laments and funeral elegies can even be noticed in compositions which do not obviously employ Lachrymae motivic material. (This development is characteristically English, and is not seen in nearly the same degree anywhere else in Europe at the same time.)

The evolution of melancholic style can be traced from Dowland's likely precursors, through Dowland, and into Dowland's fellow composers in the parallel developments of lute song, madrigal, and to a lesser degree, instrumental music. In vocal music at least, melancholic style may be regarded as an English brand of mannerism. Maniates has discussed Italian culture and music in the light of mannerism and much of the criteria applied to Italian music may also be applied to English melancholic compositions. If artificiality, preciosity, and exaggeration of emotional expression are viewed as a basis of mannerism, then much English melancholic music should be described as manneristic, since many of the poems used in melancholic compositions strongly exhibit these traits. This is also a reason to conjecture that the sentiments expressed in the same poetry are not at all necessarily autobiographical. Mannerism also strives to achieve musical effects which are unusual, surprising, and even shocking. In characteristically melancholic compositions, many devices are exploited which at the time were undoubtedly regarded as unconventional: grinding dissonances, forbidden leaps, false relations, and the juxtaposition of chordal sonorities related by unusual intervals. Although the chromatic tetrachord does not concern this thesis, a study of its use in English vocal

51 Maria Rika Maniates, Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630.
music of the same period strongly supports these conclusions.

Dowland has always been recognized as a gifted and original composer who was well-esteemed by his own contemporaries. He was also much more than that. Certainly no other English composer of Dowland's generation was nearly as well-travelled, hence cosmopolitan, as he. By virtue of this cosmopolitan stature, as well as of his natural talent and imagination, probably no other English composer of the epoch cast such a long and broad musical, poetic, and even philosophical, shadow of influence across England (and well beyond) at the end of the Renaissance.
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Chapter Two: John Dowland

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6. __________, "Sorrow, stay," Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 3, m. 22
7. __________, "Die not before thy day," Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 4, mm. 12-13
8a. __________, "Mourn, day is with darkness fled," Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 5, mm. 4-5
8b. __________, "Mourn, day is with darkness fled," m. 13
9. __________, "If floods of tears," Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 11, mm. 3-4
10. __________, "Come, ye heavy states of night," Second Book of Songs (1600), No. 14, mm. 10-11
11. __________, "Flow not so fast, ye fountains," Third and Last Book of Songs (1603), No. 8, mm. 6-7
12a. __________, "Lend your ears to my sorrow," Third and Last Book of Songs (1603), No. 11, mm. 7-8
12b. __________, "Lend your ears to my sorrow," mm. 11-13
12c. __________, "Lend your ears to my sorrow," mm. 14-16
13a. __________, "In darkness let me dwell," in Robert Dowland, A Musical Banquet (1610), No. 10, mm. 4-6
13b. __________, "In darkness let me dwell," mm. 35-36
14a. __________, "Go, nightly cares," A Pilgrim's Solace (1612), No. 9, mm. 1-5
14b. __________, "Go, nightly cares," mm. 66-70
15. __________, "In this trembling shadow cast," A Pilgrim's Solace (1612), No. 20, mm. 13-14
16a. Anon., "O Death, rock me asleep," Consort Songs, Musica Britannica XXII, No. 1, mm. 1-4
16b. _____, "O Death, rock me asleep," Consort Songs, Musica Britannica XXII, No. 1, mm. 25-26
Chapter Three: Lute Songs by Dowland’s Contemporaries

18. Robert Jones, “Lie down, poor heart,” First Book of Songs (1600), No. 6, mm. 5-9

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21a. Philip Rosseter, “No grave for woe,” Book of Ayres (1601), No. 3, mm. 1-2

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27c. "Eyes, look no more," mm. 23-25  
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Chapter Four: Madrigals by Dowland's Contemporaries

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43b. __________, “Come, doleful owl,” mm. 79-83

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44d. __________, “Slow, slow, fresh fount,” mm. 76-80


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54b. "Oft have I tendered," mm. 27-38

54c. "Oft have I tendered," mm. 86-109

55. "Out from the vale," First Set of Madrigals (1613), No. 21, mm. 73-79

56. "If the deep sighs," First Set of Madrigals (1613), No. 23, mm. 46-61

57. "There's not a grove," First Set of Madrigals (1613), No. 24, mm. 150-156

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63. "Was ever wretch tormented," Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts (1622), No. 21, mm. 104-110
Chapter Five: Instrumental Genres

64. Anthony Holborne, “Pavan,” Pavans, Galliards, Almains and Other Short Airs (1599), No. 7, m. 1

65. __________, “Internum,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains (1599), No. 21, mm. 1-2

66. __________, “Spero,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains (1599), No. 23, mm. 1-2

67. __________, “Image of melancholy,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains (1599), No. 23, mm. 1-2

68. __________, “Pavana ploravit,” Pavans, Galliards, and Almains (1599), No. 49, mm. 1-2

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