

## Journal of New Music Research

A digital corpus for exploring the lute music of John Dowland (1563-1626)

<b>Submission ID</b>	248466798
<b>Article Type</b>	Research Article
<b>Keywords</b>	John Dowland, lute music, tablature, corpus building
<b>Authors</b>	Tim Crawford

For any queries please contact:

NNMR-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk

Note for Reviewers:

To submit your review please visit <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/NNMR>

## A digital corpus for exploring the lute music of John Dowland (1563-1626)

Tim Crawford

Goldsmiths University of London

t.crawford@gold.ac.uk

### Abstract

This article outlines a case for the building of a digital corpus of lute music of the period covering the sources of the works of John Dowland (1563-1626), made feasible by the existence of a large number of works in informal encodings by enthusiasts for distribution via the world wide web. Editorial work needs to be done on the basic texts, but the extra effort is likely to be less than that which would be demanded by a similarly comprehensive encoding initiative for keyboard music of the same period. Dowland's works are very widely spread in the manuscript and printed lute tablatures of his time, but relatively few pieces come from sources that are truly 'close' to the composer; most are transmitted in versions that sometimes vary significantly in detail. Dowland travelled widely in Europe before receiving his long-awaited English court appointment in 1612; several pieces exist solely in continental sources, and some of these are stylistically distinct from his early repertory. This article advocates the building of a corpus of relevant lute music which would allow a digital-humanities, computer-assisted approach to problems of attribution and style analysis.

### Keywords

John Dowland; lute music; tablature; corpus-building

## Introduction

In his review of two editions of early 17th-century keyboard music by Bull and Scheidemann, David Schulenberg writes:

How exactly might a new edition of this music reflect [the need to take account of variant versions in early sources which are of apparently equal authority]? One can imagine new formats, made possible by electronic music editing and web-style hypertext, in which it is no longer necessary to define and order repertoires by composer and genre, nor is it necessary to present a single Urtext—often as not, a creation of the editor—as the sole main text of the edition. Instead, from a database of readings a program might generate a particular text or group of texts corresponding to, say, a particular source, a particular title, or a particular attribution. Alternate versions of a piece might automatically be displayed simultaneously, for ready comparison, or elements of the text—just ornament signs, or just fingerings—might be shown as they appear in particular sources or from the hands of particular copyists. The result would be to substitute in place of the concrete monuments of a printed *Gestamtausgabe* a virtual representation of the historical reality of pieces that were in some cases recomposed every time they were recopied. (Schulenberg, 2005, para 7.3)

Schulenberg's comments summarise very well the potential advantages of a new kind of virtual 'complete works edition' enabled by digital technology, and in many respects his dream is beginning to become something close to reality. All the features which make traditional printed editions of 'complete works' of early-modern keyboard music unsatisfactory apply analogously to lute music, whose sources from the time are at least as abundant as those for keyboard instruments, and just as problematic in terms of the establishment of a fixed text.

1  
2  
3  
4 This article outlines a case for the building of a digital corpus of lute music of the period  
5  
6 covering the sources of the works of John Dowland (1563-1626), made feasible by the  
7  
8 existence of a large number of works in informal encodings by enthusiasts for distribution via  
9  
10 the world wide web. Naturally, given the different priorities of amateur performers and  
11  
12 musicologists, there would remain much editorial work to be done on the basic texts, but the  
13  
14 extra effort is likely to be less than that which would be demanded by a similarly  
15  
16 comprehensive encoding initiative (starting more or less from scratch) for keyboard music of  
17  
18 the same period.  
19  
20

21  
22 This initiative is motivated principally by the fact that the existing complete edition of *The*  
23  
24 *Collected Lute Music of John Dowland* (Poulton & Lam, 1974) demonstrates many of the  
25  
26 issues that surround the conventional 'complete works' concept for music of the early-  
27  
28 modern period.[1] In particular, it – however reluctantly – appears to take for granted the  
29  
30 notion of a fixed 'correct' text from which variants differ in major or minor detail. This is  
31  
32 despite the fact that there is plenty of evidence, albeit circumstantial, to suggest (as in  
33  
34 keyboard music) that this is an anachronism deriving from a 19th-century (perhaps even  
35  
36 Romantic) concept of the work of art, whereas early-modern composers and performers  
37  
38 (Dowland was both, of course) felt free to adapt their works in performance, and were  
39  
40 expected to do so.[2]  
41  
42

43  
44 As well as enabling the more convenient forms of distribution and presentation outlined by  
45  
46 Schulenberg, a digital edition of lute music confers an additional advantage over printed  
47  
48 forms. One strong reason for the relative neglect and misunderstanding of the importance of  
49  
50 lute music has been its special notation: lute tablature.[3] Tablature is often regarded as an  
51  
52 imperfect form of notation, intended for dilettante players unschooled in the subtleties of  
53  
54 mensural notation. But in fact it was used throughout the 16th to 18th centuries for notating  
55  
56 lute music, and by the most skilled and admired lutenists, including Dowland himself, whose  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 vocal and consort music gives ample evidence of his sophisticated knowledge of music  
5  
6 theory which he is sure to have applied in his lute music, too.[4] But tablature really only  
7  
8 makes full sense to a player of the instrument, since it conveys more than the mere notes; as a  
9  
10 sequence of instructions for performance, rather than a record of the abstract musical content,  
11  
12 of a work, it gives a degree of insight into the process of realising the music in sound on a  
13  
14 given instrument that staff notation cannot impart. While this is at the cost of a certain  
15  
16 ambiguity in the matter of the individual voices of the musical texture, in fact this is  
17  
18 something that is not always as clear in keyboard notation as some editors would wish it to  
19  
20 be.  
21  
22

23  
24 The upshot is that lute music really can't be isolated from its performance. This can be seen  
25  
26 in the fact that early-modern sources differ widely in the degree to which additional  
27  
28 markings – not just left and right-hand fingerings or ornament signs – were added to lute  
29  
30 tablatures from the early 16th century onward, apparently always in a didactic context. In  
31  
32 particular, marks showing the places where notes need to be held over to continue sounding  
33  
34 along with those that immediately follow, emphasise a general rule that a note played on a  
35  
36 certain string or course should be held until another note needs to be played on the same  
37  
38 string.[5] Thanks to the rapid decay of the sound of a plucked gut string, this causes much  
39  
40 less interference with the overall voice-leading than might be expected, especially in the lute  
41  
42 music of the finest players, such as Dowland himself.  
43  
44

45 Digital methods allow automated translations between the different tablature types as well as  
46  
47 staff notation in various styles, such as single-staff guitar notation, or keyboard transcription  
48  
49 on two staves. Another advantage of a digital approach is that criteria such as the scope (e.g.  
50  
51 in musical genres) and range (e.g. in source dating or geographical origin) can be adjusted to  
52  
53 provide an indefinite number of selections to suit the purposes of the user, which may be  
54  
55 scholarly (e.g. for structural or stylistic analysis, or for the gathering of examples for an  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 academic discourse) or practical (for professional or amateur performance) or simply to  
5  
6 collect items to be transcribed or arranged for other instruments.  
7

8  
9 Thus, in a digital paradigm there are probably many ways to compile a 'collected lute  
10  
11 works' – each of which essentially thus becomes a 'selected lute works' – but this requires a  
12  
13 rigorously-curated corpus from which to select. By 'rigorously-curated' is meant that each  
14  
15 item within the corpus needs to have been encoded digitally from its source in as detailed,  
16  
17 complete and accurate manner as possible without silent editorial interventions. So known  
18  
19 errors in the source should be recorded explicitly and any editorial corrections provided in the  
20  
21 form of annotations which should remain accessible throughout all subsequent editorial  
22  
23 processes. Also, the 'technical' signs, such as those to indicate note-holding mentioned  
24  
25 above, should be encoded as far as possible, as well as marginal comments about the music  
26  
27 and any other 'metadata'.  
28

29  
30 This is made possible by taking advantage of the possibilities for musical text-encoding  
31  
32 offered by the Music Encoding Initiative encoding standard (MEI).[6] In recent years, a  
33  
34 tablature-encoding MEI module has been developed and it will soon be incorporated in the  
35  
36 current version; the current version of the Verovio MEI-rendering program can display lute  
37  
38 tablature in its French, Italian and German forms from files in MEI.[7]  
39

40  
41 This is not the place for detailed discussion of the digital methods for search, comparison,  
42  
43 pattern-discovery and structural analysis that might be applied to encodings of individual  
44  
45 works or groups of works within a music corpus. Suffice it to say here that, because of the  
46  
47 inherent lack of specificity in voice-leading, in the case of lute music (encoded from  
48  
49 tablature) there are special challenges for automated analysis beyond those encountered, for  
50  
51 example, in polyphonic vocal music which may reliably be separated into voices; this is  
52  
53 likely to remain an open field for research for some time to come.  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

### *The moment*

Interest in Dowland's music has, if anything, increased in recent years.[8] Grapes (2020) lists c. 30 CDs recorded in the two decades since 2000 which were 'primarily or wholly devoted to Dowland's music' (not including reissues of older recordings). Grapes also lists over 100 relevant articles, books, etc., published during the same period on subjects relating to Dowland's life and his works in all genres and their performance.

The four-hundredth anniversary of Dowland's death falls in January 2026; perhaps not surprisingly rumours are spreading of several projected new 'Dowland complete lute music' editions. A 'catalogue raisonnée' of his music has been proposed (as a collaborative project) in the form of an online database[9]. Such resources will be welcome, but as far as the author is aware there is no parallel initiative to establish a digital corpus of encoded lute music of the type proposed in this article.

### *The lute works*

John Dowland never fulfilled the promise, made in the preface of *The First Booke*, to 'set forth the choisest of all my Lessons in print', nor did he publish the 'greater Worke, touching the Art of Lute-playing' mentioned in the preface to Robert Dowland's anthology *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (London, 1610). Had he done so, it would be easier to assess his 100-odd lute solos. (Holman & O'Dette, 2001)

Poulton (1972) lists and discusses 87 pieces for solo lute. Corrections and additions to the list were suggested in Ward 1977, and elsewhere. The later editions of Poulton & Lam (1974) include a total of 107 pieces, retaining several whose authenticity had been questioned by Ward and others; doubts about the less secure attributions are acknowledged in the edition. The works list in Grapes (2020) includes a further six pieces discovered or identified more recently.

1  
2  
3  
4 D1 – D108, D111 – D113[10]: lute solos  
5

6 D109 – D110, D114 – D123: consort music (LoST 1604)  
7

8 D124: 'Fuga' (a canon in mensural notation from an autograph album)  
9

10 D125 – D204: songs/ayres (mostly à 4, with accompaniments in lute tablature)  
11

12 D205 – D218: psalm-settings  
13  
14

15 But what, exactly, is the extent of 'Dowland's complete music for solo lute'? The list of 111  
16 works listed in Grapes (2020) is based on the one established by Poulton & Lam (1974), plus  
17 a few additional pieces; but amongst these are several versions of essentially the same work  
18 (sometimes in early and late versions) with different numbers, and not a few that barely meet  
19 good criteria for inclusion beyond a dubious early manuscript ascription or purely  
20 circumstantial evidence. Poulton & Lam (1974), as well as Poulton (1972), freely admit this  
21 as a problem, opting for inclusion, rather than outright exclusion, of works with shaky  
22 attribution, or even downright *opera dubia*. Nevertheless, some plausible works with a case  
23 for inclusion are indeed excluded, in most cases without comment.  
24  
25

26 There are good, conflicting reasons for both a narrowing and a broadening of the scope of a  
27 'complete' edition: the first, 'exclusive', approach would be to limit the works to those which  
28 might be solidly attributed to Dowland by a systematic application of a methodology such as  
29 that advocated (for collected works editions such as those in the *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*  
30 series) by Georg von Dadelsen (Dadelsen, 1967) based on the principle of 'closeness' to the  
31 composer. However, in the absence of a significant number of autograph copies, or a printed  
32 collection such as the one promised by Dowland in the preface to his *First Booke of Ayres*  
33 (1597), this would necessarily be based on somewhat unreliable – and thus probably highly  
34 subjective – editorial decisions to assess the many diverse sources of the music and their  
35 relative authority. On the other hand, another approach might be to cast the net wider to  
36 include all the lute works of the period that might be by Dowland, even when they are not so  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3  
4 ascribed, as long as they show some stylistic similarity to an editorial conception of his  
5  
6 'style'. [11]  
7

8  
9 The 'exclusive' approach is one taken in a little-known PhD dissertation written at Berkeley  
10  
11 in the 1990s under the supervision of some star names in musicology of the early-modern  
12  
13 period such as Philip Brett, Richard Crocker, Daniel Heartz, Anthony Newcomb and Joseph  
14  
15 Kerman. David Tayler's 'The Solo Lute Music of John Dowland' (Tayler, 1992) restricts the  
16  
17 number of unassailably 'authentic' solo works by John Dowland to fewer than twenty (even  
18  
19 admitting a few not included by Poulton & Lam).  
20

21  
22 According to Tayler:  
23

24  
25 There are nearly a hundred sources for Dowland's solo lute music; less than ten have  
26  
27 any direct connection with Dowland himself and only four of these may be said to  
28  
29 contain authoritative texts. (Taylor, 1992, online edition, p. 10) The vast majority of  
30  
31 works attributed to Dowland, whether the attribution dates from the present or the  
32  
33 past, are drawn from prints and mss. that are not connected with Dowland. The pieces  
34  
35 in these sources are in a wide variety of styles and tend to bear the stamp of the editor,  
36  
37 collector or player who compiled them. The task, which has never been clearly  
38  
39 understood, and therefore not yet accomplished, is to separate the authoritative texts  
40  
41 from the nonauthoritative, and then to construct the canon as accurately and  
42  
43 perceptively as possible. It will be appreciated that this task is not undertaken simply  
44  
45 out of an idealization of 'Dowland' as a master composer: without discrimination of  
46  
47 the kind I am arguing for, neither the social situation of lute-playing and composing at  
48  
49 the time nor Dowland's place in and contribution to it can begin to be fully  
50  
51 understood. (Taylor, 1992, online edition, p. 13)  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Tayler, evidently aiming towards a 'complete works' edition of the conventional type,  
5  
6 identifies a group of four authoritative sources, which provides a 'core repertory' on which  
7  
8 Dowland's compositional style may be modelled (according to an indefinite number of  
9  
10 internal criteria), since it does not depend on any stylistic judgement for inclusion of works.  
11  
12 In principle, this style-model could be used to assess the closeness of less-authoritative  
13  
14 categories to 'Dowland's style'. Tayler further reasonably points out that, for judging the  
15  
16 authenticity of works with nonauthoritative texts, we need to accommodate the vocal and  
17  
18 consort works in our model.  
19  
20

### 21 22 ***Tayler's core repertory***

23  
24  
25  
26 Four printed sources of solo lute music can be directly connected with John Dowland:  
27

28  
29 *The First Booke of Songes* (1597): one piece, 'A Galliard for two to plaie vpon one  
30  
31 Lute';  
32

33  
34  
35 *The Second Booke of Songes* (1600): one pavan, without divisions, for lute and bass  
36  
37 viol, 'Dowland's adew for Master Oliuer Cromwell';  
38

39  
40  
41 Robert Dowland (John's son), *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612): one solo piece, 'A  
42  
43 Galliard to Lachrimae';  
44

45  
46 *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares* (1604): nine pieces  
47

48  
49  
50 The last of these sources needs some explanation. *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares*, figured in  
51  
52 *seaven passionate pauans, with diuers other pauans, galiards and almands, set forth for the*  
53  
54 *Lute, Viols, or Violons, in fiue parts* contains 21 consort works in all. Lute parts for nine of  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 these Tayler argues may be regarded as solo 'lute-lessons' (Dowland's own term) although  
5  
6 they were rejected by Poulton and Lam.[12] These are (all without divisions):  
7  
8  
9

10 The first three of the seven pavans based on the 'Lachrimae' theme ('Lachrimae  
11 Antiquae', 'Lachrimae Antiquae novae' and 'Lachrimae Gementes');

12  
13  
14  
15 Three pavans following the Lachrimae sequence ('Semper Dowland semper  
16 Dolens', 'Sir Henry Vmptons Funerall' and 'M. John Langtons Pauen');

17  
18  
19  
20  
21 Three of the galliards ('The King of Denmarks Galiard', 'Sir John Souch his  
22 Galiard' and 'Captain Piper his Galiard').

23  
24  
25  
26 ('Lachrimae Antiquae', two of the three non-Lachrimae pavans, and the three  
27 galliards also exist in distinct solo versions.)  
28  
29  
30

### 31 32 ***English lute manuscripts connected with Dowland*** 33

34  
35  
36 Two English lute manuscripts contain a few pieces (probably) in John Dowland's hand,  
37 presumably copied in the context of lute teaching.  
38  
39  
40

### 41 42 ***The Folger 'Dowland' MS***[13] 43

44  
45 The 'Dowland' lutebook, formerly and erroneously thought to have been owned by Dowland  
46 himself, contains one complete piece in Dowland's hand, with signature: 'My Lady  
47 Hunsdons Allmande / Jo: Dowlande / Bachelor of Musick' (f. 22v). As this (Poulton & Lam,  
48 1974, no. 54) is a version of a dance found in several Italian MSS, such as the 'Siena' lute  
49 book dating from about 1580 to around 1620 [14], he probably picked it up during his time in  
50 Italy (1595-6). An alternative view, proposing a later date for the 'Siena' lute book, would  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 have it the other way round: Dowland took his own piece to Italy. It is at present impossible  
5  
6 to be sure which is the most likely case as this would depend on knowing precisely when  
7  
8 Dowland copied in the piece, and when the anonymous Italian work was added to the Siena  
9  
10 LB. Six other pieces in the MS have been signed – and, one presumes, thus ‘authorized’ – by  
11  
12 Dowland. There is also a fragment of ‘What if a day’ in Dowland’s hand (f. 23v), plus some  
13  
14 other fragments. One piece (‘Delight pavin’, ff. 14v-15) is signed by its composer, John  
15  
16 Johnson (died 1594). As John Ward has pointed out (Ward, 1977), all this suggests a didactic  
17  
18 context: the pupil owned a professionally copied book, to which music was added later by  
19  
20 various hands (perhaps lute teachers), which now contains several works by Dowland, six of  
21  
22 which were unattributed by their scribe, and which he signed at some indeterminate time to  
23  
24 establish his authorship.  
25  
26

### 27 28 29 ***The Margaret Board Lute Book***

30  
31  
32 This manuscript,[15] unknown to scholarship until it was purchased by its former owner,  
33  
34 Robert Spencer, as recently as 1973, opens (f. [i]v) with a theoretical diagram explaining the  
35  
36 hexachord in John Dowland’s hand, and contains some fragmentary pieces copied by him; he  
37  
38 also entered a complete ‘Almande’ with a clear ascription at the end to his son, ‘Ro[bert]  
39  
40 Dowlande’. Again, we can safely assume that these entries were made in connection with lute  
41  
42 teaching.  
43  
44

### 45 46 ***Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.5.78.3***

47  
48  
49 The four Matthew Holmes solo lute manuscripts preserved at Cambridge University  
50  
51 Library[16] comprise some 600 densely-written tablature pages, containing over 600 separate  
52  
53 items of tablature for lute (or, in some cases, for its cousin, the metal-strung bandora). Of  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 these, 93 are ascribed to, or can be confidently attributed to John Dowland, many in duplicate  
5  
6 copies which differ in detail (reducing the total number of Dowland works to 73).  
7  
8

9  
10 Dowland himself added the title and his signature to just one piece in the collection, the  
11  
12 chromatic 'Farewell' fantasy (MS Dd.5.78.3, ff. 43v-44). Although the four books seem to be  
13  
14 a chronological series, none is dated; there is evidence that Holmes collected them from  
15  
16 many sources and over about two decades. Nevertheless, some reasonable idea of the relative  
17  
18 dating of pieces in the volumes can be gleaned from details of the types of lute for which the  
19  
20 tablature is intended; for example, while the earliest layer (from around 1580) is playable on  
21  
22 a 6-course lute, additional bass strings are needed for music in the later layers.  
23  
24

### 25 26 *The Galliard to Lachrimae*

27  
28  
29 The most 'authoritative' piece of all is the 'Galliard to Lachrimae' (printed in *A Pilgrim's*  
30  
31 *Solace*, 1612). This is a relatively late source, published long after Dowland's international  
32  
33 reputation had been well established, and when he was finally settled as a court musician to  
34  
35 James I. It includes virtuosic divisions to the first two of the three strains. Actually, it is a  
36  
37 triple-time version of Dowland's most famous composition, the 'Lachrimae pavan' [17],  
38  
39 adhering quite closely to the pavan's melodic and harmonic structure. But it has no  
40  
41 concordances in other sources.[18]  
42  
43

44  
45 Many of the works in the less-authoritative category must have been composed several years  
46  
47 earlier than the Lachrimae galliard, in some cases in the late 1590s, and it is likely that their  
48  
49 'style' might differ in some respects from that of Dowland's late galliard. A similar problem  
50  
51 pertains to the works by John Dowland in his son's anthology of lute solos, *A Varietie of*  
52  
53 *Lute-Lessons* (Dowland, 1610), which had appeared two years before the galliard was  
54  
55 printed. Although only seven of the pieces are explicitly ascribed to John Dowland, *Sir John*  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 *Smith his Almaine* (Dowland, 1610, ff. P2v-Qr) can be firmly attributed to him owing to the  
5  
6 fact that the piece, varying only in minor details, in the Folger 'Dowland' MS is one of those  
7  
8 to which he added his autograph signature (ff. 13v-14, 'mr Smythes Almand', signed 'Jo:  
9  
10 doulande'); similarly, the galliard 'The Right Honorable the Lady Clifton's Spirit' (Dowland,  
11  
12 1610, ff. N1v-N2r), although clearly attributed to Robert in the print, is a version of an earlier  
13  
14 galliard, by John Dowland, 'K. Darcies Sprite'[19], and in all respects seems to be John's  
15  
16 composition. One other dance, 'Sir Henry Guilforde his Almaine' (Dowland, 1610, f. P1v),  
17  
18 although unattributed in the print and without any concordances yet identified, similarly bears  
19  
20 all the hallmarks of John Dowland's style.  
21  
22

23  
24  
25 At least we have two pieces in *Varietie* (the pavan and its galliard named for Sir Thomas  
26  
27 Monson, the dedicatee of the entire volume) that are definitely by Robert Dowland (c1591-  
28  
29 before December 1641) on which to form some kind of partial judgement of the  
30  
31 compositional style of John's son. In pride of place as the first of seven pavans in *Varietie* is  
32  
33 one 'made by the most magnificent and famous Prince Mauritius, Landgrau of Hessen, and  
34  
35 from him sent to my father, with this inscription following, and written with his GRACE'S  
36  
37 owne hand: *Mauritius Landgravius Hessia fecit in honorem Ioanni Doulandi Anglorum*  
38  
39 *Orphei'* (Dowland, 1610, f. H2v). Although it is likely that the Landgrave, well known to be  
40  
41 a competent composer, played the lute to some level, it seems improbable that he was capable  
42  
43 of writing the elaborate and virtuosic divisions to each strain, which surely were supplied by  
44  
45 (John) Dowland.[20]  
46  
47

48  
49 Several pieces in Dowland (1610) by John Dowland were certainly composed at least a  
50  
51 decade earlier in their basic form. Are the divisions in the 'Lachrimae Galliard' and in his  
52  
53 pieces printed in Dowland (1610) representative of his late style? This seems a reasonable  
54  
55 assumption, but can we test this objectively? And, if we believe they are, could this fact be  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 used to assess the authenticity of several works attributed to him in more remote sources, for  
5  
6 instance from early 17th-century Germany, where Dowland is known to have worked during  
7  
8 the years between his earliest known lute pieces and his final return to England in 1612?  
9

10  
11 We need to form a reasoned stylistic judgement on Dowland's compositional style, founded  
12  
13 on empirical evidence from an objective analysis of the most authoritative works. As Tayler  
14  
15 suggests, the evidence should include the substantial body of vocal music he composed (not  
16  
17 just 4-part lute ayres, but also the several psalm-settings). This objective analysis could be  
18  
19 carried out using computational means in order to reduce as far as possible any biases caused  
20  
21 by personal preference and received opinion, and to avoid human error due to fatigue or  
22  
23 distraction. This is a fascinating and tricky Digital Humanities challenge. In principle, we  
24  
25 could build a computer model of Dowland's style from the 'core repertory' of authoritative  
26  
27 lute pieces, plus the vocal works, and test the less-authoritative works against this model.  
28  
29  
30

### 31 32 *Dowland's Divisions* 33

34  
35  
36 The number of lute pieces in the core is small, and, even with the data from vocal works, may  
37  
38 not provide enough good information for classifying all possible candidates as 'Dowland' or  
39  
40 'not-Dowland'. This is partly because the model confined to those works does not include  
41  
42 earlier music by him, which was widespread in Britain and Europe. Also the model will only  
43  
44 have one work – the *Galliard to Lachrimae* – which includes divisions, presumably  
45  
46 representing the state of Dowland's art in this respect in 1612. The style of Dowland's  
47  
48 divisions in this work may be different from that of the 1590s, when we must presume many,  
49  
50 if not most, of his pieces were composed.  
51  
52

53  
54 Although selective quotation cannot avoid the risk of bias, Music Example 1 may help to  
55  
56 point towards some stylistic divergence between early and late divisions for one of  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Dowland's most popular galliards. Under the title of its vocal manifestation, the lute solo  
5  
6 'Can she excuse' (Poulton & Lam, 1974, 42) appears in the Folger 'Dowland' MS (discussed  
7  
8 above) in a copy signed by Dowland himself (f.16); its basic text is close to the one presented  
9  
10 without title or divisions in William Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture* (1596), thus  
11  
12 approximately fixing the date of this dance-setting. In Robert Dowland's collection of solos,  
13  
14 *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (Dowland, 1610), it is given the same dedicatory title as had  
15  
16 appeared with the five-part consort version in *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares* (1604); the lute  
17  
18 solo (Poulton & Lam, 1974, no. 42a) is entitled: 'The Right Honourable Robert, Earl of  
19  
20 Essex, His Galliard'. The latter version has divisions in a somewhat different style,  
21  
22 presumably representing the mature state of Dowland's art in 1610. While the earlier  
23  
24 divisions are restricted to ornamentation of the song melody, those in the revised version  
25  
26 range more freely across the harmonic structure.  
27  
28

29  
30 **MUSIC EXAMPLE 1 near here**  
31

32 Like those of 'The Earl of Essex, His Galliard' (ex. 1c), the divisions in the 1612 'Galliard to  
33  
34 Lachrimae' (Poulton & Lam, 1974, no. 46) show markedly more freedom from the cantus  
35  
36 melody[21] than early versions of the 'Lachrimae' pavan (Poulton & Lam, 1974, no. 15). The  
37  
38 division to the galliard's first strain, in particular, is a sophisticated free variation over the  
39  
40 harmonic framework rather than a mere embellishment of the melody. (See Music Example  
41  
42 2.)  
43  
44

45  
46 **MUSIC EXAMPLE 2 near here**  
47  
48

49 To exemplify the complexity of the task of attributing versions from late, non-British, sources  
50  
51 of works ascribed to Dowland, the current oeuvre (as listed in Grapes (2020), with one  
52  
53 apparent omission – see below) includes six pieces from sources that in themselves cast some  
54  
55 doubt on the validity of their attribution to Dowland. Five of these (Grapes numbers them  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3  
4 D93, D94, D95, D106 and D107) are definitely later than 1612 (the publication date of his  
5  
6 Lachrimae galliard).

7  
8  
9  
10 The last of the six, D113, is one of the manuscript additions (most of them bearing a strong  
11  
12 Polish association in their titles or composer ascriptions) to a copy[22] of J. B. Besard's  
13  
14 widely-distributed *Thesaurus Harmonicus*, published in 1603, which might have been added  
15  
16 at any time in the two decades thereafter. It carries the title, 'Almande Monsieur Johan.  
17  
18 Douland. Angl.', and is a setting of the very popular 'Monsieur's Almaine'; this one has  
19  
20 anonymous concordances in two English MSS, in one case with two additional sections that  
21  
22 may be by Dowland, too.[23]

23  
24  
25 D93, one of three works from the so-called 'Schele' manuscript in Hamburg University  
26  
27 Library, which was rediscovered just in time to be included in an appendix to Poulton & Lam  
28  
29 (1974), is entitled 'Del Excellentissimo Musico Jano Dulando', and dated 'Andegau[i.e.  
30  
31 Angers, France], Anno 1614. 22 Jun.', but Dowland had by then achieved his long-awaited  
32  
33 English court appointment so this is almost certainly the date of acquisition by the compiler  
34  
35 of the MS. However, it is a set of variations on the universally popular tune known as 'Une  
36  
37 jeune fillette' in France or 'La monica' in Italy[24], some of which are to be found elsewhere  
38  
39 ascribed to Dowland's younger contemporary, Daniel Bachelier.[25]

40  
41  
42  
43 Of the other four, all pavans, only D95 ('Schele' MS, pp. 49-51[26]), entitled 'La mia  
44  
45 Barbara. Johan Douland Bachelier', can be confidently attributed to Dowland, owing to the  
46  
47 existence of a concordant consort arrangement for five instruments by Thomas Simpson in  
48  
49 Simpson (1610: XI, Pavan 'à 5 Johann Douland') to which the arranger appended his own  
50  
51 galliard based on the pavan (Simpson, 1610, XII).

1  
2  
3  
4 Another fine pavan (D94), in C minor with an especially effective chromatic third strain, the  
5  
6 unicum 'Pauana Johan Douland', comes from the same source ('Schele' MS, pp. 28-31).[27]  
7  
8  
9

10 The two pavans ascribed to 'Douulandi Angli' in Mylius (1622), D106 in G minor, and D107  
11  
12 in D minor, are of special interest, despite their obviously corrupt readings in this unique  
13  
14 source, since the compiler of the collection, Johann Daniel Mylius (1584-c1632), besides  
15  
16 being employed as a lutenist for a while by the city of Frankfurt, was also a distinguished  
17  
18 physician and alchemist who in the early 1620s served Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse, at the  
19  
20 Kassel court not very long after Dowland had made his mark there in the 1590s.[28]  
21  
22  
23

24 The common feature of these four pavans is the virtuosic nature of the divisions on each of  
25  
26 the strains. For Poulton & Lam (1974), commenting on D95, they did not seem 'convincing'  
27  
28 examples of Dowland's style, although there is no further comment on this. An objective  
29  
30 assessment of the conformity, or otherwise, of these divisions, to the style of those which can  
31  
32 be reasonably definitely attributed to Dowland, would be desirable. But it seems reasonable  
33  
34 to suggest that his style in this respect would have evolved over the years of his maturity as a  
35  
36 performing artist, so we would expect late examples probably to differ markedly from earlier  
37  
38 ones. For a computational approach involving some kind of machine learning (ML), a good  
39  
40 deal of data is required to establish any kind of certainty. In the case of Tayler's 'core'  
41  
42 repertory, there is little to go on, so of necessity the scope needs to be widened, perhaps to  
43  
44 include in the ML model all the music accepted as genuine Dowland by Poulton & Lam  
45  
46 (1974). This would embrace, for example, the works in Dowland (1610) for which it is  
47  
48 possible (albeit unlikely) that the divisions could have been added by Robert Dowland, at  
49  
50 least in some cases.  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Divisions in keyboard music, as a diagnostic feature in the sense discussed here, have been  
5  
6 explored computationally by van Kranenburg & Zoutendijk (2016) (the term used there is  
7  
8 'diminutions'), and it would be worth exploring a similar approach in lute music. However,  
9  
10 there is a further necessary step: the establishment of a model of the norm for lute divisions  
11  
12 of the period (originating from native composers from England and on the Continent) from  
13  
14 which Dowland's might differ in some measurable way. In other words, what is needed is an  
15  
16 annotated, full-text corpus of lute music from around 1580 to 1630.  
17  
18  
19  
20

21 The corpus should include a lot of detail about the sources (i.e. rich metadata), such as, in the  
22  
23 case of manuscripts, any useful information about the various several copying layers and  
24  
25 scribes, system- and page-breaks, notation of rhythm, left- and right-hand fingerings,  
26  
27 ornament signs and the tuning and number of bass courses. Also, it will be essential to record  
28  
29 structural details, such as the individual strains of dance pieces, so that plain and ornamented  
30  
31 passages can be aligned and compared. This is a substantial editorial task, but it could lead to  
32  
33 a further step: an enlarged model of 'Dowland's style' could be used to test anonymous  
34  
35 works in the wider lute repertory that have not so far been identified as his.  
36  
37  
38

### 39 *Some numbers*

40  
41  
42 To get an idea of the numbers involved, we can use the database compiled over the past  
43  
44 decade or so by the late Markus Lutz and Peter Steur (Lutz & Steur, n.d.). This contained  
45  
46 inventories, mostly with tablature incipits, at the time of writing for 974 sources (manuscript  
47  
48 and printed) of lute music. Over 50 of these sources contain works explicitly ascribed to  
49  
50 Dowland. To these we can add about 40 sources containing anonyma which have been  
51  
52 identified with items in the Poulton/Lam corpus by John Robinson and others, some  
53  
54 occurring within the set of sources which contain explicit Dowland attributions. The total,  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 inclusive number of 'Dowland' pieces for solo lute in all sources, as far as can be judged at  
5  
6 present, comes to a grand total of 733 from about 88 sources (9% of the sources in  
7  
8 Lutz/Steur). This compares with the equivalents for Francesco da Milano (1497-1543) with 93  
9  
10 pieces in 25 sources (2.6%), or Silvius Leopold Weiss (1687-1750) with 1434 pieces in 65  
11  
12 sources (6.7%). By way of comparison, Peter Dirksen's article[29] on attribution problems in  
13  
14 the keyboard music of Dowland's exact contemporary, John Bull (1562/3–1628), lists a total  
15  
16 of 214 pieces (in categories ranging from safely-attributed works, through those with  
17  
18 conflicting attributions, to anonyma possibly by Bull) in 33 contemporary sources.  
19  
20

### 21 22 ***Encoding the Dowland digital corpus*** 23

24  
25  
26 In one sense, such a lute corpus very largely already exists. Online resources, compiled by  
27  
28 and for the worldwide community of amateur lute players, have built impressive numbers of  
29  
30 encodings of lute pieces from all historical periods using tablature-editing software such as  
31  
32 *Fronimo* (Tribioli, n.d.), to choose one example from several. The largest of these is the  
33  
34 'Accessible Lute Music' web-site, curated by Sarge Gerbode (Gerbode, n.d.). Since the goal  
35  
36 here is the provision of playable tablature versions, available from the web-site in pdf and  
37  
38 midi formats as well as native Fronimo files, these are strictly performing editions, with  
39  
40 many silent editorial alterations, such as modernised repeats and textual corrections. Also,  
41  
42 there is a high degree of duplication (or, rather, redundancy) within the dataset, owing to the  
43  
44 generous provision of transposed or otherwise altered versions (e.g. separate tablature parts  
45  
46 for lute-songs). But it would form a very substantial basis for the building of a more  
47  
48 'scholarly' resource of the type proposed here, providing provisional 'playing' versions of  
49  
50 some 20,000 pieces from all periods, including several complete sources (manuscripts and  
51  
52 prints) contemporaneous with Dowland, together with basic metadata in spreadsheet format.  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Another resource of direct relevance here is the projected online version of John Robinson's  
5 repository (Robinson, n.d.: under construction at the time of writing) of encoded lute-  
6 tablature supplements to issues of the Lute Society's newsletter, *Lute News*, and its  
7 companion *Lutezine*, over the past three decades. Currently, this is in the form of a GitHub  
8 repository containing about 10,000 encoded items.  
9

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17 Encoding under 750 pieces (many of which are already available in digital encodings of  
18 mixed quality which simply need systematic editing) seems like an attainable task for a  
19 funded research project of reasonable duration. However, the bad news is that the total  
20 number of pieces in the 88 'Dowland' sources in Lutz & Steur (n.d.) is 6,018, all of which  
21 would need to be encoded in order to build the larger 'background' corpus needed to indulge  
22 in stylometric analysis. This would definitely require a significant collaborative effort.  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29

30  
31 Tayler correctly points out that any assessment of Dowland's compositional style needs to  
32 embrace his consort works (Grapes, 2020: items D109, D110, D114-124) and his vocal  
33 music, which comprises 81 works: the four-part ayres and a dozen or so psalm-settings  
34 (Grapes, 2020: D125-204). At present the best way to accommodate both polyphonic vocal or  
35 consort music and that for solo lute (with divisions removed) in a computational style model  
36 still needs to be worked out, but the initial encoding of these polyphonic works should not be  
37 a major extra task.  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

48 Recent interest has been stirred by suggestions that patterns within a rather wide range of the  
49 contemporary lute repertory indicate that Dowland actually composed a much greater amount  
50 of music and from more sources than even those used for the Poulton/Lam edition. In order to  
51 test such assertions rigourously, it would indeed be necessary to use this background corpus,  
52 or at least a representative one including as many sources from his lifetime as possible.  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Plans for an enhancement to the Electronic Corpus of Lute Music (Crawford & Lewis, n.d.),  
5  
6 accommodating these further resources, together with metadata based on Lutz & Steur (n.d.),  
7  
8 are outlined in Cannam et al (2023). Subject to funding, this, together with the addition of  
9  
10 Dowland's non-lute works in machine-readable form, would provide what is needed to begin  
11  
12 the work of computational exploration of the limits to Dowland's oeuvre in the fields to  
13  
14 which he devoted most of his career: the solo lute music and songs for which he is likely to  
15  
16 remain justly famous among the ranks of the finest English composers.  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## References

- Behr, J. (forthcoming). A pavane by Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen? (paper presented at symposium 'Dowland on the Continent', University of the Arts, Bremen, April 2022). *The Lute: Journal of the Lute Society*
- Burgers, J. W. J. (2013). *Joachim van den Hove: Life and works of a Leiden lutenist 1567-1620*. Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis
- Cannam, C., Lewis, D. and Crawford, T. (2023, November 10) *Software Sustainability Challenge: ECOLM and Lute Tablature*. [Poster presentation] Music Encoding Conference, Milan, Italy
- Crawford, T., & Lewis, D. (n.d.). *The Electronic Corpus of Lute Music*. <https://www.ecolm.org>
- Dadelsen, G. von. (1967). *Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben*. Bärenreiter
- Dirksen, P. (2019). Towards a Canon of the Keyboard Music of John Bull. In D. J. Smith (Ed.), *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c. 1630* (pp. 184–206). Routledge.
- Michael Gale, M. & Crawford, T. (2004). John Dowland's 'Lachrimae' At Home and Abroad. *The Lute: Journal of the Lute Society*, 44, 1-34
- Gerbode, S. (n.d.). *Accessible Lute Music*. <https://www.lutemusic.org>
- Grapes, K. D. (2020). *John Dowland: A Research and Information Guide*. Routledge

1  
2  
3  
4 Griffiths, J., Dolata, D., & Vendrix, P. (forthcoming). *Tablature 1300–1750*. An  
5  
6 *Encyclopedia*. Brepols

7  
8  
9 Holman, P., & O'Dette, P. (2001). Dowland, John. *Grove Music Online*. [https://doi-](https://doi-org.gold.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08103)  
10  
11 [org.gold.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08103](https://doi-org.gold.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08103)

12  
13 Hudson, R., rev. Gerbino, G., & Silbiger, A. (2001). Monica [monicha, monaca] (It.). *Grove*  
14  
15 *Music Online*. <https://doi-org.gold.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18955>

16  
17  
18  
19 Humberg, O. (2012). *Johann Daniel Mylius: Arzt, Musiker und Alchemist aus Wetter in*  
20  
21 *Hessen*. Humberg

22  
23  
24  
25 Lewis, R., & Crawford, T. (2016). Review: Music Encoding Initiative. *Journal of the*  
26  
27 *American Musicological Society*, 69 (1): 273–285.

28  
29  
30 <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2016.69.1.273>

31  
32  
33 Lutz, M., & Steur, P. [Eds.]. (n.d.) *Musik für Lauteninstrumente: Eine Datenbank*.  
34  
35 <https://mss.slweiss.de/>

36  
37  
38  
39 Mylius, J. D. (1622). *Thesaurus Gratiarum*

40  
41  
42  
43 Mace, T. (1676). *Musick's Monument*

44  
45  
46  
47 Poulton, D. (1972). *John Dowland*. Faber and Faber

48  
49  
50  
51 Diana Poulton, D. & Lam, B. (1974). *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*. Faber  
52  
53  
54 Music



1  
2  
3  
4 Pugin, L. (n.d.) *Verovio*. <https://www.verovio.org/>  
5  
6  
7

8 Robinson, J. H. (n.d.) [Provisional repository of John Robinson's lute-music encodings].  
9

10 [https://github.com/TimCrawford/jhr\\_repo](https://github.com/TimCrawford/jhr_repo)  
11  
12

13  
14 Robinson, J. H. (2014). Music Supplement: The Complete Settings of Lute Solos by John  
15 Dowland - Part 11. *Lute News: Newsletter of the Lute Society*, 110  
16  
17

18  
19  
20 Robinson, J. H. (2016). Music Supplement: Daniel Bacheler ... The Complete Settings of  
21 Lute Solos by John Dowland - Part 20. *Lute News: Newsletter of the Lute Society*, 119  
22  
23

24  
25  
26 Rooley, A. (1975). John Dowland and English Lute Music. *Early Music*, 3 (2), pp. 115-118  
27  
28

29  
30 Schlegel, A. (forthcoming). Dowland and France – searching for traces: And the way to an  
31 official DowlandWV and a new edition of Dowland's lute music (paper presented at  
32 symposium 'Dowland on the Continent', University of the Arts, Bremen, April 2022). *The*  
33 *Lute: Journal of the Lute Society*.  
34  
35  
36  
37

38  
39  
40 Schulenberg, D. (2005). Editing the Keyboard Music of Bull and Scheidemann. *Journal of*  
41 *Seventeenth-Century Music*, 11 (1). <https://sscm-jscm.org/v11/no1/schulenberg.html>  
42  
43

44  
45 Schulenberg, D. (2016). What is a Composer? Problems of Attribution in Keyboard Music  
46 from the Circle of Philips and Sweelinck. In D. Smith & R. Taylor [Eds.], *Networks of Music*  
47 *and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. pp. 112-115  
48  
49  
50  
51

52  
53 Simpson, T. (1610). *Opusculum neuer Pavanen*  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Simpson, T. (1621). *Taffel-Consort*  
5  
6  
7

8 Tayler, D. (1992). The Solo Lute Music of John Dowland [Unpublished doctoral  
9  
10 dissertation]. University of California, Berkeley. Online edition, 2005:  
11  
12 [https://www.voicesofmusic.org/the%20solo%20lute%20music%20of%20john%20dowland.p](https://www.voicesofmusic.org/the%20solo%20lute%20music%20of%20john%20dowland.pdf)  
13  
14 [df](https://www.voicesofmusic.org/the%20solo%20lute%20music%20of%20john%20dowland.pdf)  
15  
16

17  
18 Tribioli, F. (n.d.). *Fronimo*. <https://sites.google.com/view/fronimo/home>  
19  
20

21  
22 Kranenburg P. van, & Zoutendijk, J. (2016) A Pattern Recognition Approach to the  
23  
24 Attribution of Early Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Compositions using Features of  
25  
26 Diminutions. In D. Smith & R. Taylor [Eds.], *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late*  
27  
28 *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. pp. 169-184  
29  
30

31  
32 Dowland, R. (1610) *A Varietie of Lute-Lessons*. Thomas Adams  
33  
34

35  
36 Ward, J. M. (1977). A Dowland Miscellany. *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 10.  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## ENDNOTES

[1] Rooley (1975), an authoritative review article in response to the first edition by an experienced player of Dowland's lute music, usefully summarises much of the context of the music and its sources.

[2] This is not the place to explore the prevalence of improvisation and the concept of *fantasia* in performance of lute music of the early-modern period, but they should certainly be borne in mind here.

[3] Griffiths, Dolata & Vendrix (forthcoming) is a comprehensive overview of all types of tablatures used in historical sources of Western music.

[4] Note his translation of *Orthinoparcus* (London, 1608/9), plus the table relating tablature symbols on the lute's strings to the gamut in his hand at the beginning of the Margaret Board MS.

[5] Although mentioned in earlier lute treatises, this practice is most forcefully recommended as 'The Rule of Holds' in Mace (1676), although strictly speaking the context is that of playing the solo viol rather than the lute.

[6] See Lewis & Crawford (2016) for an overview of the potential of MEI for musicology.

[7] See Pugin (n.d.).

[8] Poulton (1972) is the standard account of Dowland's life and music; a briefer account can be found in Holman and O'Dette (2001); Grapes (2020) gives a summary chronology of his life, lists of the works, their sources, modern editions and recordings, together with a detailed bibliography of Dowland scholarship to that point.

[9] Schlegel (forthcoming)

1  
2  
3  
4 [10] As pointed out by Andreas Schlegel there is a problem with this kind of numbering, as it  
5 cannot tidily accommodate new discoveries in genres such as the lute solos, consort music, or  
6 songs. Grapes's numbering of various categories of sources and modern literature suffers in  
7 the same way.  
8  
9

10  
11  
12  
13 [11] Some investigators feel the need to pursue this kind of reasoning beyond the limits of  
14 credulity, with the effect of attributing to Dowland almost any anonymous music found in  
15 contemporaneous sources which is perceived to be of suitable quality. This 'catch-all'  
16 approach is hardly within the bounds of good scholarship; besides which, it presupposes that  
17 anonymous music is by 'Dowland' if it is good, and not by him otherwise.  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22

23  
24 [12] Some were reprinted as solos (slightly simplified) by the Dutch lutenist, Joachim van  
25 den Hove; see Burgers (2013), vol. 1, p. 57.  
26  
27

28  
29 [13] *US-*Ws** Ms. V.b.280  
30

31 [14] *NL-DHnmi* ms. 20.860  
32

33 [15] *GB-Lam* MS 603  
34

35  
36 [16] GB-Cul MSS Dd.2.11, Dd.5.78.3, Dd.9.33 and Nn.6.36 are described in the online  
37 catalogue as "a chronological series largely devoted to tablature for the renaissance lute", and  
38 "the major source of the music of all the great English renaissance lute composers", which  
39 "preserves a complete cross-section of the repertoire in common use in England for the  
40 period 1580 to 1615".  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46

47 [17] Gale & Crawford (2004) present a comprehensive overview of a little under 100 sources  
48 for the pavan, including its consort versions, as well as the song, 'Flow my teares', from  
49 which it seems most of the several keyboard versions were derived.  
50  
51  
52

53  
54 [18] There are a few other Lachrimae galliards, but none is connected in any way with  
55 Dowland.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 [19] Katherine Darcy married Gervaise Clifton in June 1591. See Poulton (1972), p. 400.  
5

6  
7 [20] Behr (forthcoming) argues that the original pavan 'made' by Moritz was a five-part  
8 consort piece, similar to several from his hand that survive.  
9

10  
11 [21] The melody of the 'Lachrimae' pavan was well-known throughout Europe since its  
12 earliest published appearance in Johannes Rude's *Flores Musicae* of 1598; like the 'Essex'  
13 galliard, it also appeared in the form of a song, 'Flow my teares' in Dowland's *Second booke*  
14 *of songes* (1600).  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19

20 [22] I-Gu M.VIII.24  
21

22  
23 [23] See Robinson (2014).  
24

25 [24] See Hudson et al (2001).  
26

27  
28 [25] See Robinson (2016)  
29

30  
31 [26] The 'Schele' MS is dated 1619, presumed most plausibly to be the finishing date of its  
32 compilation – several pieces include dates of acquisition in their titles  
33  
34

35 [27] Grapes's entry for D94 identifies this as the same as a *C major* consort pavan à 4  
36 ascribed to Dowland in Simpson (1621: item V), which is otherwise omitted by Grapes  
37 despite its inclusion in the list of consort works in Poulton (1972).  
38  
39  
40

41  
42 [28] See Humberg (2012).  
43

44  
45 [29] See Dirksen (2019).  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Music examples

Example 1

The image displays three systems of musical notation, labeled a), b), and c). Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff, both in 3/4 time and two flats (B-flat and E-flat).  
 System a) shows a melody in the treble staff with a few notes and rests, and a bass line with some chords and a few notes.  
 System b) features a more active treble line with eighth notes and a steady bass line with quarter notes.  
 System c) has a complex treble line with many sixteenth notes and a bass line with eighth-note patterns.

Example 2

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16

a)

b)

17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27

a)

b)

28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38

a)

b)

39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

17

a)

b)

1  
2  
3  
4 **Captions to Music examples**  
5

6 **MUSIC EXAMPLE 1:**  
7

8  
9 John Dowland's lute solo 'Can she excuse'/'Earl of Essex Galliard' : a) and b), strains  
10  
11 A and A' from 'Can she excuse' (Poulton & Lam 42, bars 1-16; before 1596); c)  
12  
13 strain A' from 'The Right Honorable Robert, Earl of Essex, His Galliard' (Poulton &  
14  
15 Lam 42a, bars 9-16; 1610) (transcriptions after Poulton and Lam)  
16  
17  
18  
19

20 **MUSIC EXAMPLE 2:**  
21

22  
23 John Dowland, 'Galliard to Lachrimae' (Poulton & Lam 46; 1612) : a) strain A (bars  
24  
25 1-8) and b) divisions on A (bars 9-16) (transcriptions after Poulton & Lam)  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60